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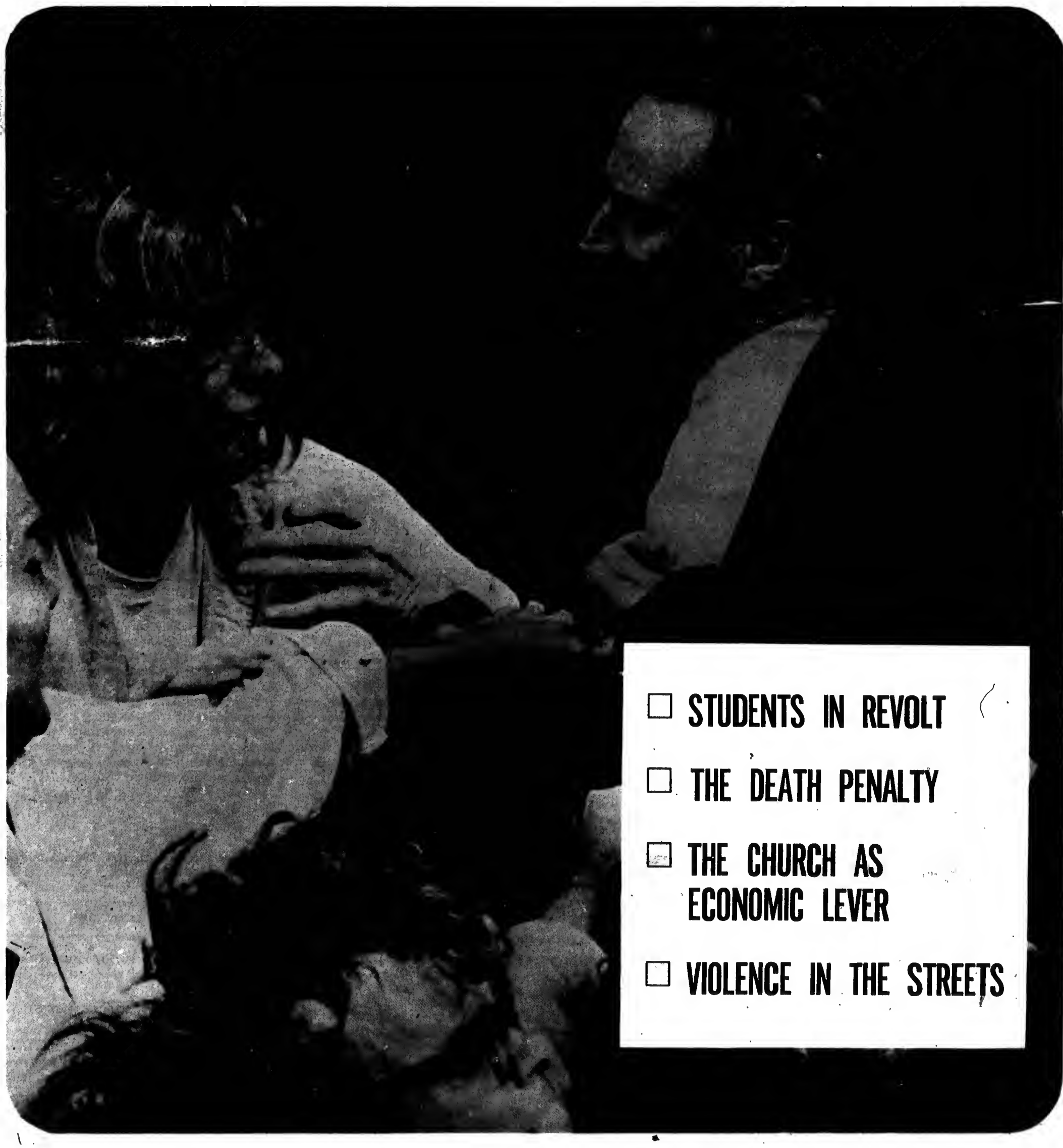
news and opinion of THE LIFE OF THE CHURCH IN SOCIETY



- ☐ STUDENTS IN REVOLT
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Why Be Concerned?

by LEONARD CLOUGH

Why should churchmen be concerned about what is happening on college campuses?

Churchmen have been concerned about higher education ever since the first American college opened its doors 333 years ago. Why should we stop now?

Harvard and Yale and several other colleges were founded in Colonial days to raise up new generations of pastors for their churches and trained leaders for their communities. During the great waves of westward migration in the 19th Century, churchmen planted colleges throughout the country west of the Appalachians.

When the need for higher education had become more widely accepted, state-supported universities grew rapidly in number and in size. By the early 1900's, churchmen came to the realization that in addition to church-related colleges, new expressions of concern for higher education must be developed. Campus ministers began to appear on or near large state universities as denominations attempted to provide a "church home away from home" for thousands of young people.

If churches had not recognized the need for supporting peer-to-peer ministries within and among college campuses, there might never have been the strong denominational Student Christian Movements which have recently been metamorphosized into a University Christian Movement.

Over all these years, American churchmen have been concerned about what has been happening on college campuses. Surely this is no time to diminish such concern — not in this day when increasingly high percentages of the population are enrolled in regular college courses or in "continuing education"; not in this day when industry and government depend so greatly upon services rendered by the universities.

What a challenge lies before churchmen as our colleges and universities see more and more clearly the need for major reformulation of their goals and methods. Churchmen may no longer be able to provide a large percentage of the funds which are needed to establish and maintain first-class colleges, but they can provide communities of people who share some of the deepest anxieties and hopes of college administrators, faculty members and students.

Do not underestimate how much churchmen can benefit from closer relationships with members of nearby college communities. Where else can we find such opportunities to engage in the search for more acceptable standards of personal ethical conduct? Where else can churchmen so fruitfully face, understand and try to overcome the "generation gap"?

When one adds to all these the traditional concern for training lay and clerical leaders for the churches of tomorrow, the burden of proof would seem to lie with anyone who dares to ask such a question as "Why should churchmen be concerned about what is happening on college campuses?"

—A minister of the United Church of Christ, Mr. Clough is director for Campus Ministries, Department of Higher Education, NCC.

STUDENTS IN REVOLT

an open letter to the Churches

THE STUDENT DEMONSTRATION PICTURED ABOVE took place at Columbia University just prior to registration for the new term last month. Since then the campus has been a relatively quiet scene, due in large measure, perhaps, to the "playing it cool" policies of the university's new Acting President, Andrew W. Cordier. Dr. Cordier (who as a representative of the Church of the Brethren recently served as a Vice President of the NCC) favors a larger student voice in determining courses and curricula, inclusion of minority (in this case Negro) representation on the Board of Trustees, and sensitive response to needs and demands of the neighborhood where Columbia exists. Said Dr. Cordier in a recent TV interview: "The policies I'm following are those I would have followed if nothing had happened, because I think they're right, they're sensible, and statesman-like."

A Letter To The Churches: The Crisis In Higher Education

The student protests on several university campuses last Spring are dramatic evidence of a deep-rooted crisis in higher education. The causes are complex and involve profound questions of moral and educational value in our society as well as in the universities. Because these questions have great social and political significance, they are important to the churches and the general public.

Against this background, the Department of Higher Education of the NCC prepared "A Letter to the Churches About the Crisis in Higher Education" in which it analyzed the unrest on our campuses and offered recommendations for understanding and action by the churches. The General Board, meeting in Houston, Texas, adopted the letter and urged its wide distribution.

"Today there is a new situation in higher education with dangers and opportunities that call for new forms of concern for students, faculty and administrators, and for the colleges and universities in which they live and work. It is important that churches study this changing situation and seek an understanding of what is happening.

"Higher education has long had an important place in American life, but in recent years it has moved to the center as a major agent of influence and change. The sheer magnitude of its establishment makes it a dominant force. Enrollments in our colleges and universities have increased from three and one-half million in 1960 to seven million in 1968 and are expected to rise to nine million in the next few years.

"Universities have become indispensable to government and industry; cities are dependent upon the services and leadership provided by them, and millions of individuals look to these institutions for the training and education required for vocational placement in our society. What happens on the campuses is of importance to all organizations and institutions and to all individuals and families. . . .

"As our universities have expanded and assumed a larger place in society, they have become greatly changed themselves. Sheer size and numbers have made bureaucratic structures necessary, and the result has been that personal relations have often been replaced by impersonal organizations. . . .

Student and Faculty Unrest

"Many of the personal and institutional factors involved in the student protests in the United States are symptomatic of a pervasive moral unrest in our society as a whole.

"This unrest is partly due to the depersonalization of our scientific culture. But even more, it arises from the sense of powerlessness and the moral outrage felt by black and other minority groups, by the poor who live in urban ghettos and rural slums, and by sensitive students and others who are aware of the immorality of an 'affluent society' which continues to tolerate hunger amidst plenty, poverty surrounded by wealth, segregated bondage covered by a veneer of freedom, and powerlessness obscured by the promise of equal opportunity.

"For many, this unrest has been augmented by a profound conviction that American involvement in the Vietnam war is wrong and that even if it were right, our present draft laws are unwise and unjust. Military research projects in the universities have been a significant point of tension and protest.

"There is further disillusionment with the pleasure-seeking materialism of much of our culture. Such questioning has aroused some of our most sensitive students and faculty to serious protest and action. Some (the 'hippies') protest by withdrawing from accepted patterns of behavior; some have repudiated our political processes and procedures for change; some engage in peaceful or sometimes violent protest.

"These students are the products of our homes, churches, and schools, where we have taught sensitivity to human rights, the primacy of personal relations, the rightness of democratic processes, abhorrence of injustice and war, the importance of hope and commitment.

"They see the adult world not only falling far short of its professed ideals, but also unwilling to take them seriously. The number of activists is relatively small, but the response to their leadership reveals widespread support among students as a whole.

"It must be recognized that some of the elements in the 'new left' and the 'new right' among students are themselves authoritarian and destructive of the best interests of the university and society. Even as these are resisted, they must be understood. The churches should take seriously the prophetic protest among students against aspects of the power structure in our society that are irresponsible and indifferent to human need.

"The protests have centered in the universities partly because today's young people are questioning all institutional structures, and the university is the one with which they are most closely associated. They are critical of the dominance of professional demands in the graduate schools, of research that is useless or even destructive. They are critical of institutional indifference to the needs of people and society.

"Faculty and administrators may claim that their work is ultimately serving society. They have failed, however, to make the case to students. . . .

(Continued on page 10)

The Church's Economic Force at Work For Social Justice

CAN THE CHURCH PUT ITS ECONOMIC POWER TO WORK—to help effect social justice? An increasing number of leaders believe so, among them the policy-making members of the General Board of the National Council of Churches. In session at Houston, Texas in mid-September, the representatives of the 33 denominations in the Council instructed the NCC to be guided in its purchasing policies on the basis of encouraging those suppliers and "vendors" who "best contribute to social justice." And going further, the Board also told the NCC that, when "convincing evidence" is at hand that suppliers and vendors are guilty of "exploitation, discrimination or other anti-social behavior" it must withdraw patronage from them—and transfer it to those not guilty of such social transgressions. Details of the policy statement are spelled out below. . . . At the same session, the Board then decided to apply principles of the policy statement in the specific case of the striking grape workers in California. In a resolution (also highlighted below) the Board aligned the Council with numerous other church and civil groups the Board called for full support for the striking vineyard workers, including a boycott of table grapes pending a fair solution to the growers-workers impasse.

N.C.C. POLICY STATEMENT:

The "substantial economic power" of the churches and their agencies requires its responsible use, the General Board agreed in Houston.

In urging all its constituent members, agencies and related institutions to use their purchasing power to encourage suppliers to adhere to fair employment practices, it asked them to try to get the firms they deal with to do so but, if this doesn't work, to take their business somewhere else.

The Board's statement said: " The institutional church enters into the economic life of society in a variety of ways — as purchaser of foods and services, as employer, as builder, as property owner and as investor and depositor."

Stating that these financial transactions total many billions of dollars annually, it pointed to the "ethical responsibility" of a religious institution in the exercise of such power.

The Board's action climaxed a two-year study of the issues involved with the church as purchaser of goods and services. It has already advised the same considerations by the churches in their capacity of employer, property owner and investor.

"Most purchasing decisions by the church involve a selection among competing vendors," said the statement. It referred to quality, performance, convenience and price. "But the nature of the church requires that, as an economic institution, it also consider the social impact of its purchasing decisions in terms of justice and equity."

The statement also made the point that in cases where injustice is found to exist, efforts should be made through moral persuasion to have the abuses corrected, and that churches should offer their services as agents of negotiation.

If such efforts are unsuccessful, said the Board, "the church is not only justified but, in faithfulness to its nature, is required to give its patronage to sources of goods and services whose policies and practices better serve social justice."

The statement was adopted by 111 for, 2 against, with two abstentions.

N.C.C. RESOLUTION:

The General Board of the NCC has declared that "the nature of the Church requires that as an economic institution it consider the social impact of its purchasing decisions in terms of justice and equity";

Farm workers are unfairly singled out in the language of the National Labor Relations Act for exclusion from the union certification and collective bargaining procedures under the National Labor Relations Board,

Through the field operations and field contacts of the Division of Christian Life and Mission and of the California Migrant Ministry over the past several years convincing evidence has been accumulated that the cause of the California farm workers organized in the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, demanding union recognition and the right of collective bargaining, is a just cause; and that the resistance to the demands of UFWOC by growers of California table grapes constitutes a denial of social justice and provides the basis for continued exploitation of farm workers;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

That the National Council of Churches, including its several units, refrain from the purchase or use of California table grapes until such time as union recognition and assurance of good faith collective bargaining are granted by the California growers. —Sept. 13, 1968

"One of the most beautiful and satisfying results of our work in establishing a union in the fields is in witnessing the workers bloom—the natural dignity coming out of a man when his dignity is recognized. Even some of the employers are seeing this point. Workers whom they previously had treated as dumb members of a forgotten minority suddenly are blooming as capable, intelligent persons using initiative and showing leadership."

Cesar Chavez, Director, Farm Workers Organizing Committee

VIVA LA HUELGA!

Church councils, church-related organizations and civic groups across the nation have rallied to the cause of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. Among them:

The Northern California Council of Churches

The Fresno Area Council of Churches (whose support of the "Grape Strike" has forced it to close down)

The United Church of Canada

The Council of Churches of St. Joseph (Ind.) County

The California Migrant Ministry

The Catholic bishops of California

The Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) whose members are: The American Baptist Home Mission Societies; the American Jewish Committee; the Black Affairs Council — Unitarian-Universalist Church; Board of Missions, United Methodist Church; Board of National Missions, Presbyterian Church, U.S.; the California Center for Community Development; the Catholic Committee for Urban Ministries; the Capitol East Foundation of Washington, D.C.; the Detroit City-Wide Citizens Action Committee; the Episcopal Executive Council; the Foundation for Voluntary Service; HOPE, Inc., Houston, Texas; the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; the National Welfare Rights Organization; the Milwaukee Northcott Neighborhood House; the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries; **Reconciliation,** the Urban Emergency Program of the Disciples of Christ, and The United Presbyterian Board of National Missions.

The National Council of Churches

CRISIS IN THE NATION

"The Crisis in the Nation is **not** over. Now as never before the churches are called to continue their ministry in this nation by working together, to stir the conscience and commitment of the American people so that this land becomes in fact 'one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.' "

— Dr. Charles S. Spivey, Jr.

To those church leaders who have been trying to reverse American racist attitudes, the deepening gloom of the national political picture was momentarily broken in Houston, September 12, when Dr. Charles S. Spivey, Jr. spoke at a luncheon for local clergy and laymen in the course of the last NCC General Board meeting.

Whether or not a reversal of attitudes can take place amidst the rising wave of conservative reaction depends upon the depth of understanding and commitment of those who seek this change, and it was to enlarge this element in society that Dr. Spivey spoke.

Stating that "white resistance to black attempts to gain power" is the cause of the crisis in the nation, his ringing reminder of what it's like to be black in America and his later call before the General Board for action to support theory had immediate results.

The board decided to extend its Special Order on the Crisis in the Nation, made last February, through the year 1969, and to seek an additional $360,000 from NCC member communions to finance it.

In his report, Dr. Spivey made this analysis of the current situation:

► The crisis facing this nation continues in all its gravity, intensity and threat of chaos.

► The suface calm of this past summer, with its less intensive riots than the preceding summer, is a thin disguise for the explosive conditions that persist.

► Blacks and whites are carefully watching one another as fear, hostility, and tensions mount higher and higher.

► The sale of every conceivable type of firearm, stockpiled in cities and suburbs, is increasing. The organization of gun clubs, vigilante and para-military groups is taking place in many suburban areas.

► Local governments incapable of finding money to purchase the latest, most efficient weaponry for their police forces.

► A massive conservatism discourages even small appropriations for national welfare or OEO programs, and prevents the adoption of a free food stamp program to feed the hungry.

► There is great reluctance to take up the issues of police brutality and violence raised by the black community.

► For the foreseeable future liberal forces, including the churches, will continue under heavy attack from conservatives.

His call for the churches to expand and intensify the crisis program suggested nine ways in which this could be done:

1. The issue of white racism should be kept in focus. Citing instances of racism in economic forces which must be overcome, he said that less tanh ten percent of craft union membership is non-white; the percentage of black unemployed in the nation is twice that of white; twenty-five to thirty percent of blacks between 16 and 21 years of age are out of work; and white institutions continue to perpetuate their own privilege without recognizing the racism this promotes.

2. Material on racism must be included in all church school curriculum.

3. A massive, long-term program should be conducted through the NCC's Washington office to promote "grass-roots" understanding of legislative issues.

4. A "Program of Advocacy" for the poor and powerless which pulls together efforts now carried out separately should be started. This would include an action-based study on "Economic Power and Responsibility," an effective response to hunger in the U.S.A., a "Police and Community" study of violence and brutality, and an effort to secure funds for ghetto enterprises.

5. The communications system, linking major areas of the country in support of the NCC crisis program, should continue to be developed and relationships to the public media must be extended to support responsible use of their facilities.

6. Support must be given for local groups such as was done for the St. Petersburg, Fla., sanitation workers.

7. Effective relationships to groups such as the Urban Coalition, Operation Connection and the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) must be cemented.

8. Relationships with the National Committee of Negro Churchmen and black denominations should be continued with increasing recognition of the "integrity, strength and development of the black church and community, as they acquire sufficient power to achieve full self-determination." A clear enunciation of white churches' goals and intentions for the inner city is necessary.

9. The possibility of one denomination accepting responsibility for one program on behalf of all denominations must be realized so that duplication can be avoided and a better use of staff and resources may be affected.

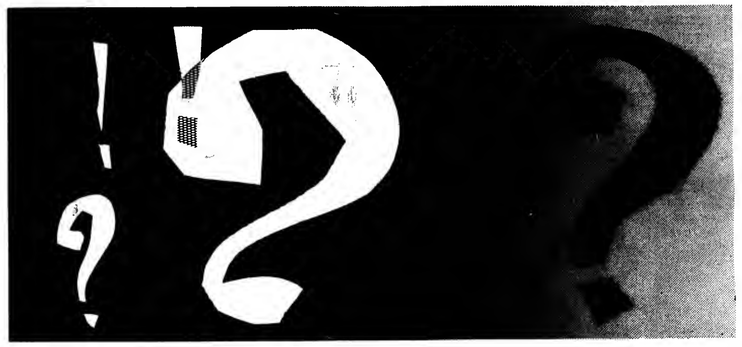
PAST

Watts in Flames

present

Poor People's Campaign

FUTURE



THE struggle for racial justice (long a major concern of the National Council of Churches and its predecessor, the Federal Council of Churches) moved out from the pulpit into the streets of Selma and the dusty byways of Mississippi in 1963. The formation that year of the Commission on Religion and Race, under Dr. Robert W. Spike, executive director, and Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, chairman, propelled the churches into an unprecedented involvement in the Freedom Movement.

After the Watts riot of 1965, the greatly escalated U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, and the advent of the "black power" slogan, the Civil Rights movement in the NCC as elsewhere faced a period of turbulent change in philosophy and strategy.

In 1966, under the leadership of Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, the NCC Commission on Religion and Race played a key role in the White House Conference on Civil Rights, in which its proposal, "A Strategy for the Next Stage in Equal Rights: Metropolitan-Rural Development for Equal Opportunity" received strong support. The document was endorsed in December, 1966, by the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches. It said in part:

"The core of equal opportunity is equal economic opportunity. Therefore, a strategy for the next stage of the equal rights movement must introduce many-sided economic development as a new focus: jobs, homes, schools, and health care are the indispensable minimum requirements. Essential programs for economic development, requiring at least $41.81 billion each year in our country, will be fulfilled only if millions of Americans give this purpose their unswerving commitment."

This proposal became the focus of a new Department of Social Justice, formed on January 1, 1967. The new department brought under its umbrella what was the Commission on Religion and Race, the Anti-Poverty Task Force, the historic units on Church and Economic Life, Social Welfare, Civil and Religious Liberty, the Migrant Ministry and the work with American Indians and Spanish-Americans.

That summer, devastating "rebellions" in Newark and Detroit and civil disorders across the nation escalated the social crisis to unprecedented proportions. The NCC General Board meeting in Atlanta adopted, on September 14, a Resolution on the Crisis in the Nation which noted:

"Riots in the cities of America are the portents of civil disaster, which may be postponed by repression, but cannot now be prevented without massive social reconstruction. . . . Our enemy is the persistent and pervasive **racism** of the white majority of our land, against which the riots are an anguished and self-wounding protest. . . .

"In the century since the Civil War, we have not solved the problem which brought on that conflict, and the riots in the cities are the beginning of retribution for another century's bondage. This retribution will not be turned aside by words or gestures; it requires sacrifice and suffering on a scale with the pain and deprivation inflicted. It will cost the nation and its people sorely in financial and human resources, and the longer the payment is deferred, the greater will be the cost."

The resolution set forth an eleven-point platform on "new ways of helping people." It denounced paternalism and "welfare colonialism" and called for a re-allocation of church and national resources to give the poor and powerless the ability to determine their own destiny. Practicing what it recommended, The Board authorized ten percent of the Council's unrestricted capital funds to be used for low-return investment in ghetto enterprises planned and directed by ghetto residents.

Continued unrest across the country led NCC President Dr. Arthur Flemming to call a special Consultation on the Crisis in the Nation prior to the General Board's February, 1968, meeting in San Diego. The Board then adopted an emergency program as the highest priority for the council's units in these words:

"It is the firm conviction of the General Board of the National Council of Churches that this nation is in the midst of its most threatening domestic crisis of the last one hundred years. Continued denial of equal opportunity produces mounting frustration as we move further into 1968, As a nation we rapidly approach the brink of armed conflict in our cities. This crisis demands unprecedented action by the churches working together. We, therefore, direct that a special action program be undertaken at once to reorder, strengthen, accelerate and fully coordinate the resources of the churches and the National Council of Churches in the crucial struggle for justice in the nation. This program shall stand along with the Priority for Peace Program as the highest priority of the National Council of Churches."

The Board gave sweeping powers to President Flemming, and the general secretary, Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy. Responsibility for developing and implementing this special Crisis Program was given to a Core Staff Committee Chaired by Dr. Spivey and including Dr. Leroy Brininger, associate general secretary for administration; Dr. David Hunter, deputy general secretary, and Dr. Jon Regier, associate general secretary, Division of Christian Life and Mission.

Denominational staff were seconded (loaned) and NCC staff re-deployed to the special program. A budget of $300,700 was asked from member denominations, most of which was secured.

What has happened since San Diego? A detailed report to the General Board's Houston meeting on September 12 included the following:

1. The program has stimulated the churches to face up to the issue of white racism as the foremost cause of the crisis.

2. The Division of Christian Education prepared special study material (29 pieces) for the denominations, including a study guide, "Crisis in America: Hope through Action." Approximately 300,000 copies of the guide have been distributed. A third edition is interreligious and is being used by Catholic and Jewish groups.

3. A dramatic technique for dealing with social issues — called a "Docu-Drama," has been developed.

4. In the NCC's Washington Office, new staff relationships — with seconded staff from denominations and representatives of Catholic and Jewish organizations — have been developed, providing the groundwork for a new pattern of joint action in legislative and governmental matters.

5. During the month of July, 130 persons from 15 selected states assembled in Washington for the Interreligious Legislative Conference — a two-day intensive effort in behalf of the Kerner Report recommendations and the goals of the Poor People's Campaign.

6. The development of Project Impact, an effort to organize legislative support groups in 100 Congressional districts, is of major importance. Visits by staff have been made to about half of the districts; some 1,200 persons in these districts now receive regular action alerts and other mailings on legislative matters from the Washington Office.

7. The Liaison Committee for the Poor People's Campaign, part of the Washington operations, began on April 1 and was terminated on July 31. This interdenominational task force of 13 people gave continuous and vital support to the Poor People's Campaign and participated in its many aspects. It helped mobilize a large contingent of church groups for the June 19 Solidarity Day March.

8. A full-time staff person was added to work with state and local councils of churches. Information and consultation was provided and many local programs were initiated, some of pioneering significance.

9. "Guidelines for Aid to Victims of Riots" — a plan for organizing legal, medical and material relief was developed and widely distributed. Over 60 cities utilized it and in a number of cities — Akron, Cleveland, St. Petersburg, Wichita and others — the guidelines were tested when unrest developed.

10. Support for several local groups in crisis situations was given. Most significant was the assistance to the St. Petersburg sanitation workers who were discharged from their jobs May 10 when they sought redress of grievances. At the request of the local council of churches and black community organizations, a community organizer was sent and additional support was given.

11. To facilitate fast action on legislative issues and to respond to emergency situations, a Communications Center was established linking the NCC by TWX (teletype) with nine regional centers and the Washington Office. An AP broadcast newswire, a phone recorder and tie-line to the Washington Office were installed. The center also maintains an Information Bank and issues weekly reports of what's happening in 17 regions and in the denominations.

12. A radio-TV news and special events office was established to provide networks with information and resources and to advise churches of important broadcasts concerning the crisis.

13. NIGHT CALL, a national radio hook-up for black-white dialogue, was initiated by the United Methodist Church for the NCC, Catholic and Jewish groups and the Urban Coalition.

14. The NCC's Broadcasting and Film Commission has produced a number of radio and television programs for the networks.

15. APPROACH, the weekly newspaper seconded from the United Presbyterian Church through September 30, gave 62,000 readers news and information about the crisis and what the churches were doing about it.

16. The Youth Department organized several teams to involve white youth in dealing with and understanding white racism, initiated a training program for leaders, issued a study packet on white racism, and fed information to 1500 youth leaders across the nation.

17. A Planning and Strategy Committee developed short and long term goals for the Crisis Program. This document has been useful in establishing priorities and evaluating the flood of program ideas and suggestions that have come from all parts of the church.

18. Relationships with Catholic and Jewish groups, with the Urban Coalition, the Inter-religious Foundation for Community Organization, Operation Connection and the National Committee of Negro Churchmen have been an important part of the development and operation of the Crisis Program.

toward LAW and ORDER with Justice

Law and Order, Yes — says the General Board of the NCC. But — with Justice and Freedom, too.

The real question of "law and order" in our nation today is rooted in demands for social justice, that are among the most imperative and traumatic that have ever confronted responsible citizens in a presidential election year. Some political leaders, candidates on the national, state and local levels, have placed this explosive issue of "law and order" in the context of an extremist philosophy that goes far toward circumventing the real issue of **social justice** and that bears many earmarks of a police state.

If our nation is to be true to its heritage, the demand for law and order must be combined with a demand for **justice**, which is the objective of law, and for **freedom**, which is the purpose of order. Law and order with justice and freedom must be applied to all persons equally, not alone to those who are noisy, dissenting or defenseless.

The greatest influence for the maintenance of true order is voluntary compliance with just laws on the part of the vast majority of citizens. One responsibility of the churches is to help inculcate respect for laws that are just and equitably enforced.

The churches have a like responsibility to help eliminate injustices and victimization, and to side with the poor and the victims of social inequity. This responsibility may sometimes require criticism of civil authorities, including the police, where they are at fault. It may also require criticism of fascist tendencies and extremist groups either of the right or of the left.

Our nation has placed an almost impossible burden on the police in expecting them to be the guardians of law with little training, low salary, and small respect from the community. But beyond that, our nation misunderstands the role and function of police in a democratic and constitutional society when they are used to contain or suppress lawful assembly and protest by citizens.

In the light of the complexity of issues and the Christian imperatives for action, the General Board of the National Council of Churches makes the following recommendations:

1. Churchmen are urged to study the issues of justice, law, order and freedom in the impending national and local elections and make discriminating judgments as to their application.
2. Churchmen are also urged through study and action in their local churches to work in their own communities for the implementation of the recommendations concerning police and the community made by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.
3. No meeting of any unit of the National Council of Churches shall be held in any city without investigation of the policies and practices of the local police. Council personnel shall determine whether a meeting in that city would be a tacit endorsement of policies which cannot be condoned, or on the other hand a symbolic action or protest with potentially creative results.

Chicago: where the churches Stood

By John Wood, Exec. Director Dept. of Youth Ministry, NCC

The "Church played two roles, at least, in the Chicago events — although neither has been widely seen or understood. Churchmen were on hand as participants, as citizen-observers, in providing housing and food and medical centers, and in perhaps unconventional but certainly traditional roles as pastors/counsellors and as priests/celebrants. (The Communion Service in the park would have made such interesting-footage, with the cheering of the Magnificat, it's a shame the film editors missed it all or left it out of the Chicago official wrap-up program.)

The "church" was on hand in a form of missionary presence. That role, now familiar and generally accepted in ecumenical theological circles, is most certainly not widely understood or accepted by the average citizen—or even church member—in Chicago.

But the "church" was on hand in another role — and in consequence of the Chicago experience it is a role which may find wider acceptance in at least some quarters: — not as an "observer", or a "reconciler", or even a "presence" but as one who identifies with and joins the cause.

That is a role best symbolized by the spirit of Camillo Torres and it is a role which a number of laymen and clergy in Chicago have now espoused as their own. That is a role still less understandable to the respectable majorities in church and general public.

Therein lies the kernel of the "ecumenical questions" of a new age to which we might address ourselves if we can ever shake loose enough of the ecumenical questions of other eras (including the recent past) which now so shape our thought and action. For it is world-view and life-style and practical tactics which now become the basis for new "confessional" groupings within the oikoumene, and an ecumenical movement or ecumenical institution which is not geared to the participation and open to the influence of such new confessions of faith and mission will quickly be seen as an arachronistic relic and an offensive impediment to the manifestation of the unity of that church which is.

All of these concerns could be re-ordered in a different way. Some would organize everything in terms of "law and order" as the overarching issue of the year. Some would organize everything in terms of the viability of institutions — whether necessary reform can come within the system or only by breaking with the system. We cannot avoid either question. Perhaps in our factoring-out those "larger" (and frequently more emotional) issues into the set of issues presented here we may find more manageable handles for understanding and response on the full range of questions now before society (and the churches—including, in their own internal life).

ELECTION ISSUES OF 1968

An Excerpt of Pertinent Policy Statements and Resolutions of the National Council of Churches

As citizens of the United States, we have the opportunity in 1968 to help determine public policies that will affect the lives of millions of people in this country and around the world.

There will be differences of opinion among Christians on these matters and these differences must be respected. We hope, however, that both those who agree and those who disagree will be able to use this summary as a basis for discussion of the issues within a Christian context and with a Christian spirit.

NATIONAL ISSUES

Within the nation we face a serious crisis which will determine whether we will be one society, two societies or no society. The alienation and despair of the poor and powerless are only intensified by the inadequacy of measures designed to help them.

1. Adequate Standard of Living

a. Guaranteed Income **(1968)**

The National Council of Churches endorses the concept and desirability of a guaranteed income. Such a program should meet the following criteria:

(1) It should be available as a matter of right, with need as the sole criterion of eligibility.

(2) It should be designed to afford incentive to productive activity.

b. Public Welfare

We recommend that the present public welfare provisions of the Social Security law be amended to strike out the punitive restriction on aid to families with dependent children added by Congress in 1967. **(1967)**

2. Economic Development and Full and Equal Opportunity

Believing that most Americans, including those presently on public welfare, want to work and want to participate fully and freely in the nation's life, we offer the following recommendations:

a. Jobs

(1) Strengthening and expanding of public and private programs of increased employment, job training and retraining, including preferential hiring of the so-called "unemployable," to enable the unemployed to qualify for membership in the labor force.

(2) The elimination of discrimination in hiring, promotion and discharge, with particular emphasis upon the apprenticeship programs of certain labor unions, and the strengthening of the Federal Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. **(1960)**

b. Housing

(1) We recommend state and national laws that will open the sale of all housing, public and private, to qualified buyers without discrimination on the basis of race, religion or national origin. **(1967)**

(2) We recommend a vast increase in the inadequate supply of low-income housing, through Federally-assisted construction, rent supplements, etc.

c. Model Cities

We recommend a rapid and massive expansion of the Model Cities program. **(1967)**

d. Education

We recommend a substantial increase in the proportion of our nation's resources which are being devoted to equalizing and improving education for all children. **(1965)**

We recommend that there be a substantial increase in Federal support for compensatory educational programs such as Head Start, Follow-Through, Upward Bound and the National Teachers Corps. **(1967)**

e. Health and Medical Facilities

We recommend that the Federal government assist State and local governments in establishing community health centers where they will be most accessible to those who need them most. Medicare and Medicaid (for low income families) should be expanded and the Federal government should use every means to encourage the states to implement the latter. **(1960)**

f. Civil Rights

We recommend passage of legislation that will protect those exercising or seeking to exercise their full citizenship rights, through prohibition of discrimination in selection of Federal and State juries, and through "maximum feasible participation" of all citizens (including particularly the poor) in determining the public decisions that shape their lives. **(1966)**

3. Law Enforcement and Violence

We recommend:

(1) Tighter control of firearms at State and Federal levels **(1967)**

(2) Curbing of abuse of drugs, rehabilitation of drug abusers and initiation and support of rehabilitation services for drug addicts. **(1965)**

(3) Better coordination of governmental action against organized crime. **(1967)**

(4) Investment of public funds in studies designed to enable law-enforcement agencies to apprehend and convict criminals without violating the recent decisions of the Supreme Court safeguarding the Constitutional rights of persons accused of crime. **(1967)**

4. Selective Service

We recommend:

(1) That Congress or the Executive provide for the application of unified standards of deferment and exemption throughout the nation.

(2) That the personnel of local draft boards more adequately reflect the distribution of the population from which they select young men for induction into the armed forces.

(3) That Congress revise the provisions relative to conscientious objectors so that alternative service will be available to men whose consciences will not permit them to participate in the present war, and to men whose consciences are formed by other than traditional "religious training and belief." **(1967)**

5. The Right to Dissent

We recommend that all citizens, and especially public officials, resist any effort to curtail freedom of speech, press, assembly and petition. Dissent is most valuable precisely at times when it is least popular — namely, when civil liberties are threatened. **(1966)**

6. The Rural Poor

We recommend:

(1) That this nation embark on an intensive and comprehensive program to alleviate and ultimately to eradicate the cause of widespread poverty in our rural areas.

(2) That there be a full funding of the Office of Economic Opportunity programs de-

(Continued on page 10)

ELECTION '68...

(Continued from page 9)

signed to eliminate this blot on our national life. **(1967)**

(3) That agricultural workers be included in the collective bargaining provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. **(1966)**

7. Public Television

We regard the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 as a significant step toward realizing the full potential of non-commercial broadcasting in the United States. **(1968)**

INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

National issues are inseparable from international. A new isolationism would confine our nation's concerns within its borders.

1. World Hunger and the Population Explosion

We recommend that:

a. Foreign aid grant and loan programs be focused increasingly on agricultural development in recipient nations.

b. Our government take all possible measures to double food production in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the next 20 years to avert widespread starvation.

c. Our government expand and intensify its programs for assisting family planning at home and abroad.

d. Our government increase its programs of food aid (P.L. 480).

e. Our government increase its aid to farm cooperatives and to agricultural education in food-deficit countries. **(1968)**

2. Refugees

We recommend:

a. That the United States observe International Human Rights Year by ratifying the 1951 United National Covenant Relating to the Status of Refugees. **(1963)**

b. That the United States reaffirm its continued concern and support for refugees. **(1952)**

3. Foreign Aid and Trade

We recommend:

a. That the United States' contribution to development be increased and maintained.

b. That a vastly increased program for development be established by the people and government of the United States. The amount of this program should not be less than 1 percent of the gross national product.

c. That our nation's trade policies be liberalized in favor of the less developed countries. The proposals in Congress for import quotas on a wide range of products are in direct opposition to this goal. **(1968)**

4. East-West Trade

We recommend that our nation's trade policies be expanded to encourage trade with what were once called "Iron Curtain" countries. Restrictions on imports from such countries should be removed (as has already been done for Poland and Yugoslavia) and on exports of non-military, non-strategic goods to such countries. **(1968)**

5. Disarmament and Arms Control

We recommend:

a. That Congress enter into a full public debate of the necessity for and consequences of proposals for the extension or expansion of defense systems. **(1966)**

b. That the United States continue and increase its efforts to secure enforceable agreements which limit and control the production, testing and means of delivery of weapons of mass destruction. **(1951)**

c. That the United States should intensify its efforts to secure substantial and rapid progress toward arms control and enforceable world disarmament. **(1960)**

6. The United Nations

We recommend:

a. That it be the first objective of United States power that the United Nations be established on a new basis of great strength.

b. That the United States participate fully in the World Court by repealing the Connally Reservation.

c. That the United States take leadership in strengthening the peace-keeping and development functions of the United Nations, including the greatest utilization of UN agencies as channels of distribution of our international aid and development funds.

DR. ARTHUR S. FLEMMING, President of the National Council of Churches, explained to the platform committees of both major parties where the National Council of Churches stands on major 1968 public issues, both national and international. His position statements to both groups—the Republican meeting in Miami Beach and the Democratic in session in Washington—were based entirely on policy statements and resolutions adopted by the NCC governing bodies over the past decade and more.

d. That the United States Senate ratify the remaining Human Rights Conventions which its representatives helped to develop and which most other nations have already ratified.

e. That the United States work for universality of membership in the United Nations. **(1968)**

7. Southeast Asia

We recommend:

a. That the United States, while participating in measures to deter actual threats of aggression by any nation in Southeast Asia, should avoid provocative military actions directed toward China, and should work toward reducing and minimizing the United States military presence in the area.

b. That the United States should welcome initiatives from within Asia for increased regional cooperation and be responsive to the possibilities for increased multilateral responsibilities for the common problems of these areas.

c. That the United States should greatly increase its financial and other support of the tasks of nation-building, economic development and social change in Asia. **(1968)**

8. China

We recommend:

a. That the Government of the United States facilitate travel, cultural exchange and trade in non-strategic items between the U.S. and China.

b. That the Government of the United States take positive steps to bring China into the community of nations and to regulate diplomatic communications between it and the United States, and the rest of the world.

c. That the Government of the United States espouse an honorable formula for seating the People's Republic of China without unseating Taiwan. **(1966)**

9. The Middle East

We recommend that the proposals advanced by the United Nations be used by all parties as a basis for beginning discussions of a settlement of the hostilities between Israel and the Arab nations. **(1967)**

10. Southern Africa

We recommend:

a. That the United States give the fullest possible support for strengthening the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations Council for South West Africa, including recognition of a South West Africa government-in-exile.

b. That the United States Government support an increase in and tightening of economic sanctions and political pressures against the illegal government of Rhodesia by the United Nations and individual governments.

c. That the United States Government undertake actions with regard to official and private business relationships with the Republic of South Africa that are consistent with the stated policy of the United States which opposes the unjust and discriminatory system of **apartheid. (1966)**

Crisis in Higher Education

(Continued from page 4)

"Students are critical of the impersonality of institutional life, the lack of meaningful relations with faculty, who are all too often preoccupied with research, involvements outside the university or professional relations. There is dissatisfaction with the fact that many faculty and universities claim to be neutral in values and yet, by their involvements with business, the military or government, support practices which to the students seem questionable or immoral.

"Despite changes in some areas, the universities have resisted change in others. . . . Students continue to feel harassed by petty rules and regulations and feel they are denied a significant voice in the institutional decisions so crucial to their present existence and future careers. Some students have given up hope that higher education is capable of reform. They would abandon present types of institutions and create radically different ones.

"Student eruptions have also brought to the surface a latent unrest among faculty. Many feel helpless in closing "the generation gap" between themselves and their students. . . .

"In effect, the crisis in the colleges and universities, not unlike the moral and social crisis in our culture, lies in the breakdown of a common fabric of purposes and assumptions that bind the institutions together as communities with a common commitment to humane ends.

The use of police force in some campus situations was indicative not so much of the need to uphold proper authority as of a breakdown in understanding and communication with respect to the grounds of authority in the academic community.

"It is of crucial importance to the churches and to Christian people that we listen to what young people are saying. The words may not seem right and we may not always agree, but we must listen seriously to their message. We must follow closely what is going on so that we may understand the inner meaning of it, respond with openness to the criticisms that are being made, and press for the changes that are necessary.

"Further, this is no time for emotional reactions, snap judgments, and calls for legislative or police action that lead to forceful restraints, punitive measures, and coerced obedience. . . ."

In seven recommendations offered to the churches for action, special stress was laid on (1) the involvement of local congregations to identify and involve themselves with their own members of the academic community to seek to close the "communication gap" often separating university and community;

2. The support by regional church bodies and local churches of campus ministers and chaplains "engaged in exciting but difficult experimental ministries";

3. The need for careful study of the issues facing contemporary higher education through contact and discussions with students and faculty;

4. The responsibility for regional church bodies, councils of churches and other church groups to analyze critical situations on campuses in their vicinity and to experiment with solutions to them;

5. The importance for clusters of congregations and church councils to ally themselves with community groups and educational institutions in attacking community problems;

6. The support for humane and liberalizing aspects of higher education which local churches and individuals can provide to encourage effective innovations on campus; and

7. The need for state, regional and national church bodies to assist colleges and universities in the long-range task of resisting pressures that may undermine their freedom "whether from the public, the military, the "whether from the public, the military, the government, industry, the churches or from constituent elements within the institutions themselves."

NEWS IN BRIEF

HOUSTON, TEX. — In two-day policy sessions here, Sept. 12-13, the General Board of the National Council of Churches dealt with a wide range of issues confronting the nation and the world. (See preceding pages for reports on selected major actions.) Among other business matters, the Board:

CALLED — for a new approach to national defense which sees security more in terms of international community than in competing nation-states. The Board's policy statement said that an increase in military power does not "necessarily mean an increase in security";

PROTESTED — military intervention in Czechoslovakia and appealed to the United Nations to "seek possibilities of constructive action";

COMMITTED — the National Council to strengthen and enlarge its existing programs of family planning;

URGED — President Johnson to use every effective influence to continue his efforts toward immediate delivery of desperately needed food supplies to starving people in Biafra;

HEARD — the report of a Council deputation to the Middle East which said that Christians in those countries are disheartened by what they term "Western Christian indifference."

* * *

NEW YORK CITY — An end to the "get tough" approach to social issues has been demanded by two leading spokesmen for religion. Dr. Arthur Flemming, president of the National Council of Churches, and Rabbi Jacob Rudin, president of the Synagogue Council of America called police suppression of social dissent "pagan" and in direct conflict with the laws of God. They warned against the danger of America becoming "a police state instead of a nation ruled by the concepts of freedom and justice." The two religious leaders said further that under the "laws of God" and "our Judeo-Christian beliefs" there is a specifically religious way of dealing with social dissent.

* * *

NEW YORK CITY — During the 1968-69 term, nine separate workshops on international affairs will be offered by the National Council of Churches through its Department of International Affairs at the Church Center of the United Nations here. Groups of students and journalists will also take part in workshops keyed to their special interests.

* * *

DETROIT — More than 400 church women, Protestant and Roman Catholic, pounded the sidewalks all last summer to find out whether the poor pay more or less for their groceries and drugs. In one of the largest consumer surveys made in the country, they checked prices and quality of items in nearly 900 area markets and drug stores. Generally they found, prices tend to run higher in slum sections. They plan to return in six months to see which stores have improved their price policies.

* * *

LOS ANGELES — A statement expressing concern over the growing tension between the police and minority citizens has been issued by the Council of Churches of Southern California. Noting the "evidence of malpractice piling up against the police," it declares that "recent police actions in the Metropolitan Los Angeles area are pushing peaceful people to the breaking point and to the confrontation which will cause the very explosions and violence which police practices should be designed to prevent."

* * *

NEW YORK CITY — Through Church World Service more than $500,000 worth of high protein foods and medicines have been stockpiled and much of it delivered to Biafra when deaths due to starvation are mounting. CWS has also supplied the overhead costs for Nordchurch Aid, representing the Scandinavian churches, which have supplied planes which by the first week in September had made 55 night flights from Sao Tome, off the coast, to the mainland at great risk. From August 15-September 24, CWS reported a total of 285 mercy flights were made.

They're Saying...

Both black and white America have been stirred more deeply than either had expected to be by the report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders. The usual report of this nature is either dull and routine or flashy and superficial. But, straight from the shoulder, it draws upon its witnesses, its research, its expert consultants and the documents and statistics to declare to the American people: "White racism is essentially responsible" for the current crisis. If the report was blunt on white racism, it was no less direct on black racism, black violence and black separatism. "The community cannot — it will not — tolerate coercion and mob rule. (Those who) preach separatism unconsiously function as an accommodation to white racism." . . . This report calls insistently, almost ominously, for action now.

—Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In economic history one has to search rather diligently to find instances where the "haves" or the possessing classes have willingly given up any of their privileges. The "have nots" have almost invariably had to wrest their rights through agrarian movements, workers' movements, trade union activity. Rightly understood, development is disorder because it changes existing social and economic relationships, breaks up old institutions to create new, and brings about radical alterations in the values and structures of society. (But) development is the new name for "peace."

—S. L. Parmar, economist at Allahabad University, India, to the World Council Assembly in Uppsala, Sweden.

It is the "good people" of this country who want to keep things as they are which is the cause of our nation's troubles today. The shame of our cities falls upon decent, respectable Christians who are white and proud of it, who are well off and blindly selfish. If Christians changed their minds and accepted their Negro brothers as neighbors, the whole mood of America would change. Let no Christian in America be fooled: the crisis in our cities is not caused by Communists or stirred up by foreign agents. The crisis is caused by good people who have what they want out of life and want to keep it that way. . . . Whatever you call it, this is the hard, frozen attitude of many Christians and God cannot and will not permit any rest, any peace, as long as disciples of Jesus refuse to change their minds. If you don't want to call this "white racism," call it what you please.

—Methodist Bishop Eugene M. Frank, St. Louis, Mo., in a national radio broadcast.

Our country is in deep trouble! It is not merely that our communities are rent asunder by hostility and internecine conflict. The trouble is more profound. We Americans — who have prided ourselves on our resourcefulness, our inventiveness, our virtuosity in improvisation—do not know how to handle our present situation. For the first time in our history, we have ground to a halt and do not know how to get in motion again. There is a pervasive sense of defeat. We are running out of time. We are running out of confidence in one another. We are running out of hope. In large areas of the world, there is grave question as to whether "America is hope," or whether America is mainly a threat to the hopes of the common people.

—The Rev. Dr. Truman B. Douglass, Executive Vice-President, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, in "Journal," UCC Division of Higher Education.

My entire ministry has been spent on a college and a university campus. I think I know students. They are coming to the university better "trained" in various disciplines than ever before. I say trained rather than educated because most of them are not educated. They have been drilled and coached to pass exams and strive for grades . . . and now in the university, it's the same grades chase — get high grades or you won't get into a good graduate school. It's a sickness and it's deep. The capacity of very many students to carry on a spirited conversation around a great idea or great book is almost nil. But my deeper concern is their religious illiteracy. Not one in a luncheon group of 20 had ever read the whole Bible.

—H. Richard Rasmusson, Director, Westminster Foundation, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE . . .

HOW TO END THE ARMS RACE

A PASTOR, HIS CHURCH, HIS COMMUNITY

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE CHURCH

THE ARAB REFUGEE:

HOW LEGITIMATE ARE HIS CLAIMS?

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As things stand now . . .

Religion in the Public Schools

by J. BLAINE FISTER

Staff Associate, Public Education Department of Educational Development NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

One would really need to be clairvoyant to know what is actually happening across the country in the thousands of classrooms of over 20,000 different school districts, each cherishing a certain degree of autonomy over course offerings and educational practices. This is certainly true with the way that religion is dealt with in the public schools.

The Supreme Court Decision of 1963 declaring the devotional use of prayer and Bible reading in the public schools unconstitutional was a jolt and a shock to many educators and citizens as well. And while it affected the practices in many schools and school systems, there are others that have continued with "business as usual" as though the Supreme Court had never spoken, offering sectarian Bible courses on school premises, conducting devotional exercises.

At the same time, however, it caused many educators to take a serious look at the appropriate ways for public schools to deal with religion. The American Association of School Administrators immediately appointed a special Commission on Religion in the Public Schools which produced a report that has now become a "classic" in its suggestions for guidelines and policies for public schools to consider. One of the most significant chapters of the report is on the "curriculum and our religious heritage."

In trying to report on "developments across the country" generalizations would be dangerous. One needs to look at developments within specific states, school systems, classrooms.

Someone has said, and it is probably true, that schools can do almost anything, whether it is illegal or not, and get away with it as long as no one challenges them. So practices vary; some schools have continued with devotional exercises, others have given them up reluctantly, hoping for a Constitutional amendment permitting the practices to be restored; others have sought ways of substituting practices such as silent meditation or inspirational readings.

Still others have conscientiously tried to implement the *dicta* in the Supreme Court decision in the Schempp-Murray case and the recommendations of the American Association of School Administrators to incorporate the "objective" study of religion and religious literature where it falls naturally in the curriculum or through special elective courses.

The two major roadblocks to this approach are still teacher preparation and the lack of adequate instructional materials. In my opinion, the most significant developments across the country are those programs that are aiming to correct these deficiencies. However, even with progress being made in these two areas (curriculum development and teacher education) there will still remain additional hurdles to be overcome.

There is fear on the part of school personnel of getting into controversial areas; there is fear or anxiety about the lack of support and encouragement on the part of religious and community groups. At the same time, there is still considerable lack of awareness of the challenge and opportunity open to educators to deal effectively, adequately, creatively with religion in the public school curriculum — all within the legal framework of our Constitutional limitations. There is still a lot of work to be done in "educating the educators" about the possibilities that are open to them in teaching about religion in the public schools.

There are some privately incorporated groups working on this, and in some cases very vigorously. I mention only two of them: The Religious Instruction Association of Fort Wayne, Indiana, and the 4th R Foundation of Lincoln, Nebraska.

A number of chapters of the National Conference of Christians and Jews as well as chapters of the Religious Education Association have shown an interest in this subject, and have been willing to sponsor meetings and conferences of religious leaders, educators, and interested citizens in widening the discussion of the issues as well as potential programs.

In a number of states, the State Council of Churches has taken the initiative in sponsoring or co-sponsoring conferences or consultations along with other faith groups and public school educators on "Religion in the Public Schools": Connecticut, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Kansas, Michigan. Special committees on public education have been active in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Virginia. At least ten other states are in the process of exploring the possibilities of sponsoring state-wide consultations.

A number of denominations have also been active through special task forces or committees on public education. The ones that come to mind immediately are the United Church of Christ, the United Presbyterian, the Presbyterian U.S., Episcopalian, the Lutheran Church in America. There may be others.

Our Department of Educational Development has two project committees at work in the area of Teaching About Religion in the Public Schools. One of these is concerned with encouraging and stimulating regional or state conferences of workshops on Teaching About Religion in the Schools. Study packets are being prepared for wide distribution for use by community groups and by educators.

There is also in process a compilation of reports from all conferences or consultations that have been held thus far, giving in brief form the purposes or objectives, the audiences reached, the program details, as well as an evaluation. It is hoped that these will serve as models for future events being planned.

Another project committee we are calling a "national task force." This group has decided on three main areas of activity: conversations with leaders of departments of religion in state universities, and some private colleges and universities, leading toward the development of teacher training programs for public school teachers; the development of an annotated list of all curriculum materials being developed around the country dealing with religion; and development of the use of mass media, as well as church and secular press for dissemination of ideas, issues and programs aimed at a more informed public.

But, no matter how many conferences or consultations are held, nothing will happen until those responsible for public education — the educators themselves — take upon themselves the task of experimentation and implementation in the classrooms, in the teaching-learning experiences.

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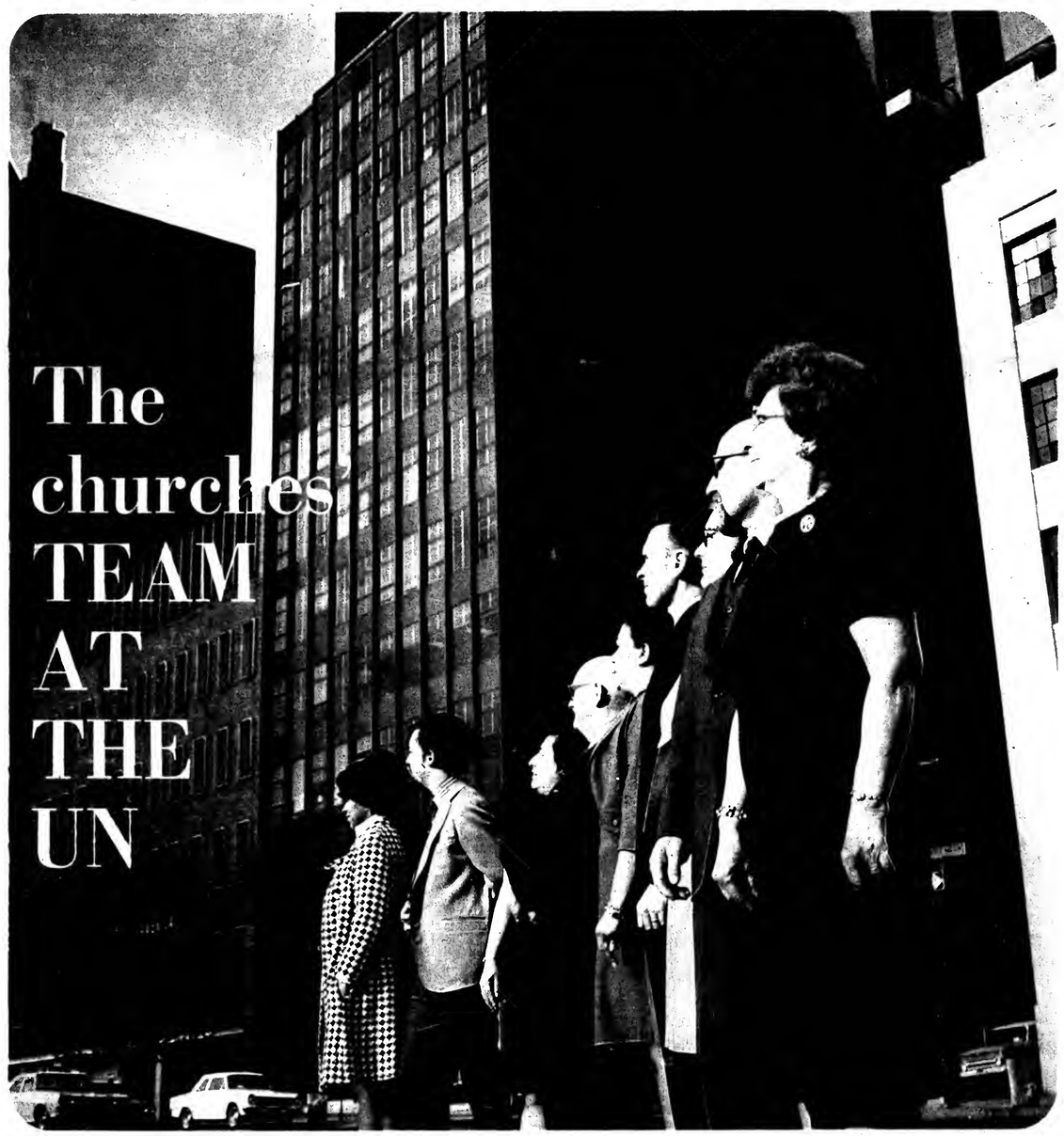

TEMPOsitions . . .

THE VIEWER VIEWED

David Poindexter

It is interesting when two men look at a Picasso and one is repelled by a crazy mixed up jumble, while the other is entranced by a work of art. It is a matter of supreme importance when two men look at a street scene in Chicago, and one sees police brutality while the other sees the law being enforced.

The central question, be it art or TV news, is not which man is right. It is, why do they see things so differently?

The common sense answer, of course, is that we see and hear what we want to. And this answer is correct. There is considerable research which attests to it.

The professionals have an eight cylinder word for it (don't they always?). It is "selective perception." In any encounter we filter out information which accords with our pre-suppositions and discard the rest. Thus it is that two people can compare notes following attendance at the same committee meeting, and come away wondering if they were in the same room with each other.

In his book, *The Effects of Mass Communication* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960 p. 22), Dr. Joseph T. Klapper suggests that what registers in one's mind "is in part or whole determined by what persons want to perceive, have habitually perceived, or expect some form of social or physical reward for perceiving."

A picture of a white preacher, with arm raised delivering the benediction before a predominantly black congregation, was perceived by a group in Africa as a white man telling the black man he must keep down.

It is easy to find fault with persons we don't like very much and to forgive those we love. Similarly, it is easy to agree with groups which accord with our way of thinking and to misinterpret groups with which we expect to disagree.

Leaders of the National Council of Churches and the Synagogue Council of America publicly deplored Chicago police actions during the Democratic Convention, while 56% of the populace approved of these actions (according to the Gallup Poll). What is alarming is that increasingly our society is polarizing into groups which perceive the same data in totally different ways. Should this polarization process continue the result must inevitably be increasing violence and social upheaval.

Television is a magic window on the world. But it is limited. By and large it does not affect our presuppositions. They change slowly as a result of our participation in small group relationships. Indeed, the evidence is that most of the time television serves to reinforce our previously held opinions. Obviously.

After Chicago, I more clearly understand Jesus' comment to his disciples, "Are your hearts hardened? Having eyes do you not see, and having ears do you not hear?"

It may be that one of the most important functions the church can perform in our time is to bring us together from our polarized positions for earnest discussion, not only of what we think we see and hear, but for the presuppositions we hold which create partial blindness and deafness for us all.

—David O. Poindexter

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Guest Editorial

Who Speaks For The Church?

by Harold Bosley

Dr. Bosley

THE question "Who speaks for the Church?" is raised each time a church conference issues a pronouncement or a preacher preaches a sermon on a matter that is in public controversy. The General Board and the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches, for example, have issued five statements in five years on the war in Viet Nam, condemning it as immoral and dangerous to the peace of the world. Each statement was greeted with the cry of many church members "They don't speak for me!". The positions taken by churches on the right of civil disobedience are being greeted in similar fashion.

The question "Who speaks for the Church?" is as old as organized religion itself, and it will continue to be raised as long as religiously-minded folk gather in societies and congregations and seek to live, act, and speak responsibly.

We hear the question raised in almost contemporary form seven hundred years before Christ by a confrontation which occurred in the Temple in Bethel in Israel, the Northern Kingdom. Amaziah, high priest of the temple when Amos came storming in from the Southern Kingdom and took over the marketplace crowds, is the prototype of the reasoning of the civil and religious establishments then and now.

Recall what he said to Amos who was criticizing in unsparing terms the injustices in the life of the country. Amaziah had reported Amos' activity to the king, calling him a malicious disturber of the peace. Then, doubtless with royal approval, he confronted Amos with the cry, "O seer, go; flee away to the land of Judah, and eat bread there and prophesy there; but never again prophesy at Bethel, for it is the king's sanctuary, and it is the temple of the kingdom."

The reasoning of the high priest is clear enough: only one like himself, a fully informed and fully accredited citizen of the northern kingdom and the priest in the temple, had a right to speak for God in that land. Amos, he charged, had no right to speak for God in that land or in behalf of the poor. He advised Amos that, if he must prophesy, let him go home and do it.

Amos replied, in effect, that God had given him something to say and he was saying it, no matter what Amaziah or the king or anyone else thought about it.

Deep-lying, then, in our heritage is the truly fundamental question, "Who speaks for God?" and this, I take it, is both prior to and inseparable from the question we face today, "Who speaks for the Church?"

The Church, historically, has regarded itself as a special creation of God; as the family of God, to be exact. Its members felt themselves to be the ones to whom and through whom God spoke to men. Israel's ancient concept of the covenant and of herself as becoming a people through the covenant prefigures the early Christian notion of **ecclesia**, the Church, the gathered community, a community called into being by the response of men to the Word of God as spoken in Jesus Christ. The Church, as such, did not think of itself as a merely listening community; it was a speaking community as well — in both listening and speaking it was an obedient community, obedient to God.

The early church received from Jesus Himself the great commission to go to the ends of the earth teaching and preaching the gospel. The people in worship in the upper room on the day of Pentecost were the Church. And those same people, spilling out of that room into the streets, ready to go anywhere God should direct, were the Church, too.

I take it that there is no ground at all for questioning whether those Pentecostal preachers thought they were empowered by God to speak for Him and for the "Followers of the Way" — as the first Christians thought of themselves. Others might question it; they did not. The power structure of the temple questioned it; Pilate questioned it; the overwhelming majority of all who heard them questioned it — but these preachers, who were destined "to upset the world," did not question it. They believed it.

Nor dare we permit ourselves the luxury of doubting the simple fact that this assurance was the source of their insight, courage, enthusiasm, and seemingly boundless energy. When we seek — as we may properly do — to define the Church in more technical theological categories, let us make sure that our categories neither blur nor blot out this basic assurance that brought the Church into being and propelled it into the main current of human history as a formative force in the affairs of this world.

Any answer we give to the question "Who speaks for the Church?" must take into account the 3,000 years of self-conscious, self-critical and God-conscious experiences. These experiences suggest several assumptions that lie back of the answer.

The first may be phrased this way: **Religion is relevant to life.** It drives its roots deep within the actual soil of the process of human living. It is a vital concern. It is concerned with life. Its concern expresses itself in values, goals, purposes, relationships, institutions, causes, crusades, and plans of action.

Faith is to be thought of as a way of living, not as a retreat from life. Faith is

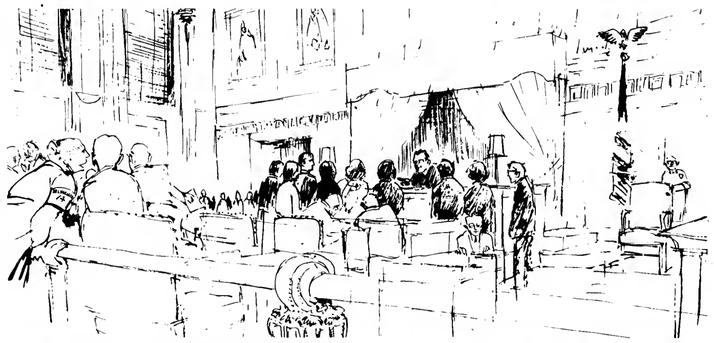
(Continued on page 11)

THE COVER—TEMPO photo by Fujihira shows the Church Center for The U.N. with National Council of Churches program staff, from right: Mrs. Esther Hymer, Church Women United; J. Murray MacInnes, Dr. of Mission & World Service; Miss Katherine Koob, secy.; Paul M. Dietterich, Dir. of Program; Miss Palmera Peralta, Adm. Asst.; Gerard Widdrington, Dir. of UN Services; Miss Sophie Degan, secy.; Sheppard Ferguson, librarian; Miss Carla Piggery, secy.

PHOTO CREDITS—Religious News Service (p. 3), United Press International (pp. 4, 5), New York Times (p. 12), Church World Service (pp. 5, 8).

Tongues of Flame

by Harvey G. Cox Jr.



General courtroom scene: Judge Roszel Thomsen reading charges individually to the "Catonsville Nine"

SHE sat on the first row of the jury box, an attentive expression on her face. Her black hair was pulled back neatly from her round thirty-five-ish forehead. She was the youngest juror. Someone's mother, sister, aunt? She listened carefully—almost raptly it seemed—to the charges: destroying government property, defacing Federal records, obstructing the selective service of young men for military duty. She listened to the prosecution: a TV movie taken at the time, a display of wire scrap cans and charred folders.

She listened to the nine defendants: Fathers Dan and Phil Berrigan, both priests; Tom and Marjorie Melville, former missionaries in Guatemala; George Mische, John Hogan and Tom Lewis; Brother David Darst, and Mary Moylan, a Baltimore nurse. Each told why the group had on May 17, 1968, entered the Catonsville, Maryland, Draft Headquarters, seized about 400 1-A classification folders and burned them in a nearby parking lot with home-made napalm they had concocted from a recipe published in the Army Special Services Handbook.

Harvey G. Cox Jr.

Why had they done it? "I want to say yes to life and to the possibility of a human future" (Dan Berrigan). "Because napalm is destroying people around the world" (Mische). "Because we don't want Guatemala to become another Vietnam" (The Melvilles). "I want to celebrate life" (Mary Moylan). In May the group had issued a joint statement which said in part:

We, American citizens, have worked with the poor in the ghetto and abroad. In the course of our Christian ministry we have watched our country produce more victims than an army of us could console or restore. . . . We destroy these draft records not only because they exploit our young men, but because these records represent misplaced power concentrated in the ruling class of America. . . . We believe some property has no right to exist. Hitler's gas ovens, Stalin's concentration camps, atomic-bacteriological-chemical weaponry, files of conscription and slum properties are examples having no right to exist. . . . We have pleaded, spoken, marched, and nursed the victims of . . . injustice. Now this injustice must be faced, and this we intend to do.

Still the round-faced lady in the first row of the jury box listened, now to the crisp summations by the government attorney. Then to the moving summation of the defense's case by William Kunstler: "This is an historic moment. This is no ordinary trial and these were no ordinary records. These documents mean life and death to hundreds of young men and in destroying them the defendants were trying to save lives. Can you really find them guilty of a criminal act?" The lady listened, unblinkingly.

It *was* no ordinary trial. No ordinary trial would have brought 2,500 friends, fellow peace

A TEMPO EXCLUSIVE

workers and supporters to Baltimore to march, picket and demonstrate for five days. No ordinary trial would have transformed St. Ignatius Church into a five-day festival of song and testimony and joyous community. No ordinary trial would have lined Baltimore's Calvert Street with hundreds of riot-helmeted police equipped with gas masks, walky-talkies and dogs. No ordinary trial would have brought me and a diverse group of character and expert witnesses to Baltimore. We were all there—police, witnesses, resisters—because we knew something incalculably larger than the burning of a few "public records" was at stake. What was at stake was put very clearly by Father Dan Berrigan himself in a statement prepared even before the burning took place:

We ask our fellow Christians to consider in their hearts a question which has tortured us, night and day, since the war began. How many must die before our voices are heard, how many must be tortured, dislocated, starved, maddened? How long must the world's resources be raped in the service of legalized murder? When, at what point, will you say no to this war?

We have chosen to say, with the gift of our liberty, if necessary our lives: the violence stops here, the death stops here, the suppression of the truth stops here, this war stops here.

We wish also to place in question, by this act, all suppositions about normal times, about longings for an untroubled life in a somnolent church, about a neat time-table of ecclesiastical renewal which, in respect to the needs of men, amounts to another form of time serving.

The message of the Catonsville Nine was directed to all of us. How in a time of fear, despair and catastrophe do we "redeem the times?" As the trial proceeded, an answer began to penetrate to some of us. We all cannot do what the Nine did in Catonsville or the Fourteen did in Milwaukee. What we can do is leave behind the notion that these are ordinary times and seek out the actions which in our own environments will "say yes to life."

The action at Catonsville is not without precedent in religious history. For centuries the prophets and seers have immolated property of one sort or another as a means of symbolic expression or protest against unrighteousness. Moses not only burned the idolatrous golden calf but forced the errant children of Israel to swallow its bitter ashes. The prophet Jeremiah smashed a pitcher as a sign of God's anger with his disobedient people. Martin Luther not only burned the Papal Bull of excommunication but later went on to incinerate the entire corpus of canon law.

Scene outside Federal post office and courthouse where trial was held

The Trial of Dan Berrigan and the Catonsville Nine

Fr. Daniel Berrigan

American patriots dumped tons of tea in the Boston harbor and, a few decades later the abolitionist leader William Lloyd Garrison publicly burned a copy of the United States Constitution, which he saw as a "covenant with death." (The Constitution allowed slave states to count black people as two-thirds of a man when computing population for congressional representation.) The burning of documents which symbolize evil is no innovation for men of faith.

As the trial drew to a close it was clear, however, that the jury would not be permitted to decide the case on the basis of the larger issues—truth, the war, life and death, freedom of expression. The judge solemnly charged them to decide only if the nine defendants had in fact *done* what the prosecution said they did. The jury, including the round-faced lady in the first row, filed out. When they returned an hour later with a verdict of guilty on all counts for all defendants, no one was really surprised.

There was a surprise, however. After the conviction was announced each defendant stood in turn and expressed disappointment that the court had served the letter rather than the spirit of the law. Judge Roszel C. Thomsen, who had appeared fidgity and uncomfortable about the whole procedure, surprisingly allowed the defendants to make their statements. When they were finished someone from the back of the courtroom called out, "You've just condemned Jesus Christ." Confusion, gavel-pounding. Then Father Dan Berrigan asked if everyone could join in the "Our Father." The judge looked even more uncomfortable. A hurried conference with a legal aide, then: "permission granted."

What followed was a Pentecostal Moment. As the words of the Lord's Prayer rose from the fifth-floor courtroom, men and women sobber, U.S. Marshals bowed their heads and wiped their eyes, jurors and prosecuting attorneys mumbled ". . . forgive us our are trespasses as we forgive those . . ." City police, bearded peace workers, nuns and court stenographers prayed together: "For Thine is the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory . . ."

Then everyone left. The round-faced lady juror returned, as we all did, to the regular round of chores. The "historic moment" had passed. The letter had once more crushed the spirit. The war went on. But for one luminescent moment it seemed that truth had broken through the network of lies and evasions. And when men meet truth, however briefly and transiently, they are never quite the same again. ■

Toward A New World Community

On September 12, 1968, the General Board of the National Council of Churches adopted by a vote of 88 for, none against, and two abstentions, a comprehensive policy statement on "Defense and Disarmament: New Requirements for Security." In these columns are the highlights of its content, abridged from the background study prepared by the NCC Department of International Affairs. Copies of the study and the policy statement may be obtained from the NCC Department of Information.

DURING the past two decades questions of defense and national security have increasingly become the chief concern of the United States Government. A growing proportion of our national substance is being channeled into defense-related endeavors in a search for increased security. This has created an astronomical increase in the destructive power of our military forces. As a result, the problem in the nuclear age is no longer the increase but the controlling and curbing of power. It is imperative that Christians in the United States address themselves to questions raised by the United States' emphasis on military power in the pursuit of security.

There has been historically a diversity of Christian conscience regarding military power, its legitimacy and use. For some, defense is grounded in the commission of government to maintain peace and order in a world always threatened by chaos, to develop and maintain a positive order of justice as a work of love, and to provide a stable political existence within which life may become more genuinely human.

For others, the use of military power cannot be supported by Christian teaching. For them, the reconciliation and love which the gospel proclaims and to which it summons men are antithetical to the use of military force. Most would agree, however, that the roots of the Christian concern for the management of existing power, i.e. the belief in God as Creator, Sovereign, and Reconciler, place qualifications on its establishment and use.

In theological terms, the adequacy of present defense policies must be questioned.

In political terms, the adequacy of present defense policies must also be questioned in light of the criticisms of many knowledgeable observers. Among these are the following:

a) The national security of the United States has declined as the nuclear arms race has increased. There is no adequate defense against a sophisticated nuclear attack.

b) The distrust and suspicion of the Cold War are often further exacerbated by some of the military postures that are designed to cope with it.

c) The nuclear arms race and the perpetuation of the Cold War have resulted in an enormous outlay of money and resources for military purposes which jeopardizes other national programs.

d) The power and influence that inevitably accompany the control of such a large portion of our national resources mean that military considerations now influence virtually all other national decisions.

A New Context for Security

The demands of the Christian faith, and the most salient features of the international situation to which Christians must respond, lead us to ask for a new approach to national defense and security issues on the part of the citizens and the Government of the United States. Such an approach should encompass at least three interrelated requirements:

> **"The most important international issue today is a slowing of the nuclear arms race."**
>
> From a NY Times Editorial, Oct. 6

A. A first requirement is a new understanding of security. We believe that present military planning, with its emphasis on the continuing buildup of military forces, is out of touch with the real security needs of the nation. The present threat to United States security arises from neglect of social justice, a result in part of defense spending. Only a new understanding of national security and its integral relationship to the needs of the underdeveloped world can make international security possible.

B. A second requirement is a new approach to the use of national resources. We believe that, while national security does require the maintenance of an adequate military force, the level of armaments reached today far exceeds that needed for security.

C. A third requirement is a new emphasis on human rights and values. We believe that defense policies should be, in the last analysis, for the service of human life on earth, and must be constantly revised in the light of what they are designed to defend. Otherwise it may be possible for the defense establishment to make its work an end in itself.

ments of force have netted little agreement.

Many years of effort to seek mutual agreements on the control and reduction of the instru-

In striving to achieve the objectives required for a national reorientation on issues of defense and security, we urge:

1. A mutual halt in the further production and deployment of strategic offensive and defensive missile systems and a mutual halt in the deployment of missile systems, at least for an agreed period of time.
2. Widespread support for the non-proliferation treaty.
3. A mutual cessation of the production of fissionable material for military purposes, under IAEA-approved safeguards, and the transfer of agreed quantities to peaceful uses.
   We also urge the United States to continue to seek ways to make the peaceful services of nuclear explosives and nuclear fuel available to non-nuclear states through appropriate international bodies and with safeguards against their use for military purposes.
4. A comprehensive test ban treaty, taking into full account available national means of detection and inspection.
5. A United Nations declaration forbidding nations to place weapons of mass destruction on the seabed.
6. Continued study and planning in problems related to conversion from defense to non-defense production.
7. Efforts to strengthen international measures against the production and use of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

Some of these steps are already United States' policy. Others are not. But in all cases they are first steps which will do little more than freeze the status quo.

Defense Spending and Use of Resources

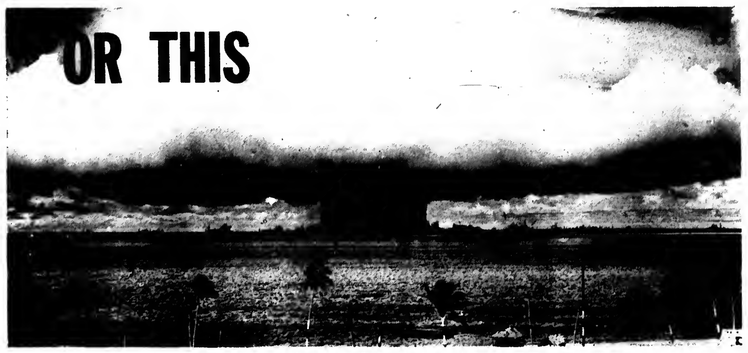
1. Significant reduction in United States defense spending and the channeling of the funds into development projects both at home and abroad. The fiscal 1969 United States defense budget equals our total national budget of only a few years ago, surpassing the total national economies of the great majority of nations.
2. A radical curtailing and strict controlling of the supply of arms to other countries, and a halt to the supply of sophisticated weapons to underdeveloped nations.

The U.S. should also seek agreement on registration of all arms shipments with the United Nations.

Peace-keeping, Peace-making, and Disarmament

1. An increase in United States' efforts to strengthen the United Nations as a peace-making agency.
2. A major and sustained effort by the United States, in conjunction with other nations, for substantial and rapid progress toward arms control and general disarmament.

In seeking a just and peaceful international order, Christians must first seek to ameliorate the conditions that set men against each other and to create conditions in which reconciliation can take place. ■



THE CASE OF THE "MISSING" ARAB REFUGEES

Food and shelter: scenes from Middle East refugee camps

This fall, UN discussion of the Arab refugee problem promises to be important in view of the mounting tensions between the Arab states and Israel.

In its Sept. 17 issue, LOOK Magazine carried an article by Mr. Ira Hirschman under the title "The Case of The Missing Arab Refugees." In it, Mr. Hirschman was highly critical of the work of the United Nations in behalf of Arab refugees, and he challenged official figures on the number of refugees who actually exist.

Both the United Nations and the U.S. State Department have replied to LOOK, protesting inaccuracies and stating that Mr. Hirschman lacked the official status with these groups which he claimed in the article he had at the time his research was done.

Against this background TEMPO asked Dr. John H. Davis, who for the past ten years has devoted most of his time to the Arab refugee problem, to write the following article. Dr. Davis served, from 1959 to 1964, as Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for the Palestine Refugees. He has since been Vice-Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Director of the New York Office of the American University of Beirut. His latest book, *The Evasive Peace — A Study of the Zionist-Arab Problem*, was published this month by John Murray in London. U.S. publication is anticipated. The article draws heavily from a chapter in this book. (Editor)

The ARAB REFUGEE TODAY and TOMORROW

by John H. Davis

A TRAGIC by-product of the creation of the state of Israel has been the emergence of an Arab refugee problem of large and increasing proportion. It has never been well understood in the western world and the six-day war in June, 1967, which displaced some 800,000 Arabs (300,000 refugees from 1948, 200,000 Syrians and 300,000 Egyptians) has merely added to the confusion.

One common belief widely held in western circles is that the refugees from 1948 have remained unsettled and unemployed largely because Arab governments have inhibited their settlement, or even held them as hostages by not permitting them to go to work. Supposedly the motivation has been a desire to keep alive the Palestinian issue in the eyes of the world. But the evidence is quite to the contrary.

Following the upheaval in Palestine in 1948, virtually every able-bodied adult male refugee sought work. For the most part, the heads of families from cities and larger villages were able to find work and almost immediately become self-employed. Never dependent on charity, they comprised over 20 per cent of the total number of persons who became refugees in 1949.

In contrast, the farming sector of the refugee population, comprising about 70 per cent of the total, did not fare so well. Their problem was and is that they became surplus farm workers in an era when the world at large, and Arab countries in particular, already had a surplus of workers in the rural sector. In the Arab world, as in all developing areas, farm families are large, the number of youth more than three times that of adults. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that the typical rural holding is already too small to adequately support a large family or to finance the use of modern equipment. Hence it was the rural refugees who become dependent on international charity, not because they were held hostages but because they were unemployable under competitive conditions that then, and still do, exist.

John H. Davis

But the initial problem of the farmer was only the beginning. Since 1948 more than 30,000 young people have grown to maturity each year. This means that during the past 20 years more than 500,000 young refugees have reached maturity. To understand their plight, one has to keep in mind that in the Middle East, as in all developing areas of the world, young people learn work habits and skills from their fathers in rural and village life. Because refugee farmer fathers have been unemployed, their sons have had limited opportunity, if any, to learn even the basic self-discipline of work or the skills of their fathers. Therefore, in competition with other young persons, particularly indigenous rural boys who are migrating from farms to urban centers in vast numbers, tens of thousands of refugee boys have been and are at a serious disadvantage. It is for this reason above all others that they are forced to live the life of dependent refugees, not because they are being held hostage or because they do not want to work.

Increasingly in recent years, UNRWA and certain voluntary agencies have sought to overcome this handicap by providing specialized training. While this has been very effective, it has been on far too small a scale; one that has given opportunity to about one youth in ten.

Contrary to general opinion in western countries, the host countries of Jordan, the United Arab Republic, Syria and Lebanon have themselves been generous to the refugees. In terms of direct assistance they have spent more than $100 million, mostly for education and health services, camp sites, housing, road improvement and the maintenance of security in the refugee camps. In addition, the people of these countries have borne with courage the economic and social hardships resulting from the presence of such large numbers of refugees within their borders. Arab governments have also sought to help qualified young refugees obtain employment, both within their countries and elsewhere. The result of this effort is that today tens of thousands of young Palestinians are employed in and outside of Arab states.

Sweden, in 1963, accepted at her expense 50 graduates from UNRWA vocational training schools for a year's advanced training. This experiment proved so successful that each subsequent year Sweden has taken a similar new group. Sweden has also financed, through UNRWA, the building and equipping of an advanced technical training institute in Lebanon where some from among those who have had a year's experience abroad, can have further training to qualify them as vocational instructors or industrial foremen.

More recently other countries, notably Federal Germany, Switzerland, and France, have begun taking UNRWA graduates for employment or for advanced factory experience — all without opposition from Arab governments. In general the young men who go abroad to work not only support themselves but help to support their families at home. The tragedy is that so small a proportion of the youth have had this advantage.

In addition to the work of the UN, many voluntary agencies, particularly Church World Service working through the Near East Christian Council, the World Lutheran Federation, the Mennonites, Friends and Catholic Near East Welfare, have provided valuable assistance with emphasis on health and education. This assistance too, has been accepted by the refugees and governments of host countries.

The truth is that the Arab refugee problem could have been largely solved by now had the western world, 15 years ago, started generously supporting a well-thought-out program of education in the countries where the Arab refugee has lived. Education would have made the young refugees employable, even under the circumstances that have existed in the Middle East.

That such a program would have been acceptable to the host countries is evidenced by their own contribution of some $50 million in support of refugee education and by the readiness with which they have co-operated in almost all efforts aimed at education, whether provided by the United Nations, by Western-supported Beirut, or by voluntary agencies. In addition, it is evidenced by the fact that the host countries have themselves provided both the facilities and the instruction for secondary education for refugees, with UNRWA merely paying the respective ministries of education a per-pupil fee.

But instead, the Western world has largely pushed for rehabilitation and resettlement projects of types which virtually no country in the

(Continued on page 11)

The Churches at the United Nations

CCUN plays host to foreign students—gathered here to discuss issues of peace.

by Dorothy Rensenbrink

MOST Americans' mental picture of the Protestant pursuit for peace shapes up in the form of a preacher on a picket line. Small wonder — for as the war in Vietnam escalated into the catastrophe it has become, many clergy and laymen concerned with the value of human life took the lessons they learned when they hit the streets in support of civil rights and used them to protest the war.

This year's trials of the "Boston Five," with Yale's Chaplain William Coffin sharing the defense with every mother's Dr. Spock, and the Catonsville Nine (reported on elsewhere in this issue) are dramatic evidence of the face-to-face confrontation with the powers-that-be, which many Christians choose as their way to witness their faith.

But peace is also sought in other ways, and perhaps the success of those with the guts to take the final step is due in no small measure to the support they have from thousands whose hearts have been prepared through subtler ways.

The Church Center for the United Nations is a small and lovely building across the street from the esteemed world establishment, built in 1963 to house the work of the churches in pursuit of the same ideals as those of the UN—peace.

That some embattled idealists were grateful for this effort was reflected in the dedication speech that the then American Ambassador to the UN, Adlai E. Stevenson, made upon the opening of the building.

He recalled the old story of a revival meeting at which an intoxicated man sat in the front row. Said Stevenson: "When the preacher reached his emotional climax he called for all those on the side of the Lord to stand up. After they had all sat down, the preacher shouted: 'Now all those on the side of the devil stand up!' Startled out of his nap, the befuddled man struggled to his feet, looked around, and said: 'Preacher, I'll stick by you, but we seem to be in a hopeless minority.'

"With that," Mr. Stevenson said, "let me thank the National Council of Churches and all its member churches which stand with us. You are *not* asleep, and you stand up at the right time, and you know why you're standing up."

Scene five years ago when Adlai Stevenson and U Thant were among notables at the Center's consecration.

Unhappily, in the five short years since the building has been standing, peace and conditions for peace are no closer to being realized. Those cynics whose reaction to any mention of the UN is a large ho-hum cannot be entirely written off, for the Church is responsible to a large degree for "overselling" the UN, according to Paul Dietterich, director of the National Council of Churches program at the UN Church Center.

Dr. Dietterich sees part of his job — both with the idealists and the yawning cynics who visit the center — to be one of "de-mythologizing" the UN, of trying to make Christians become "selective supporters" of the organization. To those who see it as a shrine, he explains that its yearly budget is less than that of the New York City Sanitation Department, purposely kept that low by wealthy governments unwilling to see it grow stronger for fear that they may have to give up a modicum of power or sovereignty. To cynics, he asks what other organization, operating on such a relatively paltry pittance, has accomplished so much in terms of influencing men's minds, setting standards of political behavior, and involving smaller countries in the family of nations.

The NCC quarters at the center are located on the tenth floor of the building that was erected by the Board of Christian Social Concerns of the United Methodist Church to be a non-profit ecumenical venture in peace education. Besides the NCC and its eight-member Department of International Affairs staff, other tenants in the building are Baptists, Greek Orthodox, Unitarians, the United Church of Christ, and the Antiochian Orthodox, along with the Methodists, each having its own program.

The NCC holds seminars for groups whose denominations do not have offices in the building, and under Paul Dietterich, who arrived there a year and a half ago. the emphasis has been changing from the standard "support the UN" approach, to something quite different.

Paul Dietterich is a lanky, friendly looking man with a face as open as the corn fields of Iowa, where he had his most recent church. His impeccable academic credentials include a Th.D. in behavioral science, and when he thinks of education he means "education with a kick."

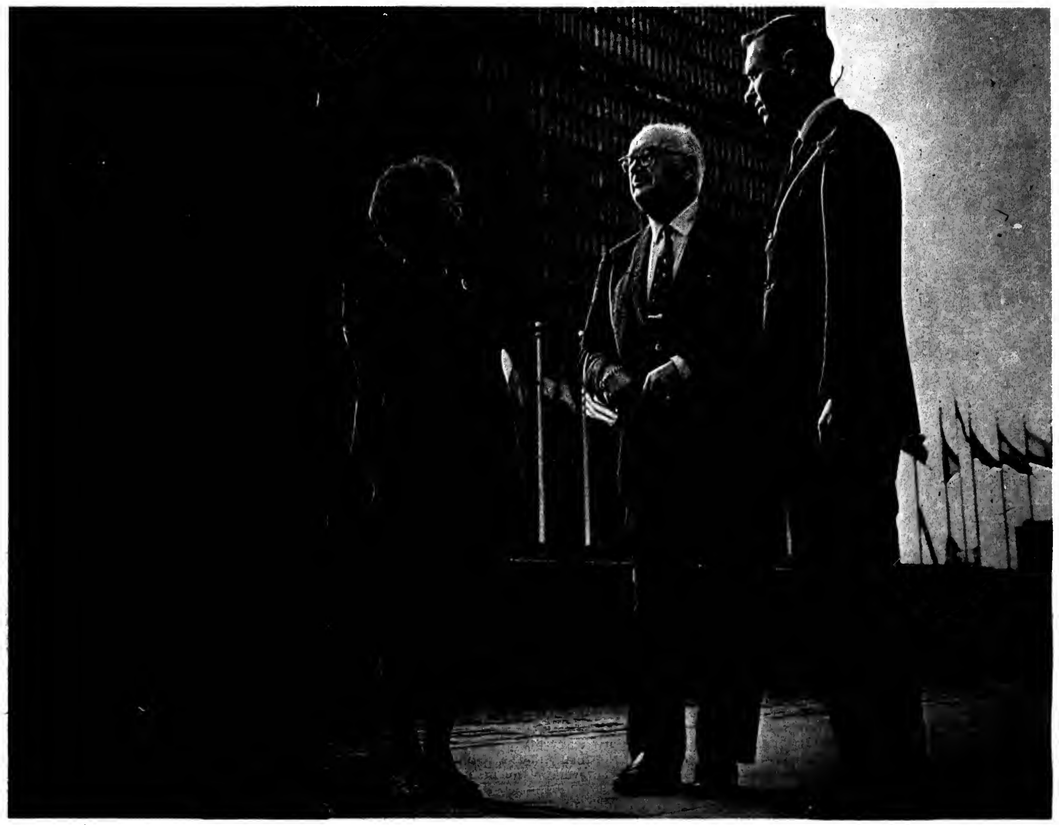
He is not content to have the groups from all over the country which troop through the "CCUN" come merely to pay their respects to the ideals across the street and return home feeling virtuous—he wants to "pull off a wedding between education and social action" and before his groups escape they have to face his shotgun.

Paul Dietterich points out that the last time the churches made a thorough study of the relationship of ethics to action was in the year 1920, and this long-overdue study is one of the projects he has assigned to his Joint Project Committee on International Affairs Education. This committee is made up of representatives of denominational Boards of Education, Roman Catholic consultants, specialists in the field of Christian education and international affairs, and liaison people from the staffs of the NCC's Department of International Affairs and Department of Educational Development.

Along with making the study of the relation of ethics to action, the joint committee works through the Boards of Education of the NCC's thirty-three member denominations, seeking ways in which it can serve their curricular needs. It also develops study courses in international affairs for ministerial groups and for seminarians.

But while the "guideline writers" pour over these assignments, Paul himself has his psychological-theological fun with the groups which go through the seminar programs in a steady stream all year long, trying new methods of getting them to see themselves not only as learners, but as "change-agents."

One of his favorite ways of doing this is through simulation games. The visiting cynics and idealists become presidents, secretaries of state and defense, generals and diplomats, and through complicated game rules, go about achieving their idea of a peaceful well-ordered world. Often they wind up deposed, on the floor, with a somewhat chastened view of the nature of the human beast, the possibilities of power, and with some second thoughts on how to use it if they get it.



CCUN program planners talk over a day's activities—UN General Secretariat in background

One of his favorite stories is of a fellow Iowan, a matron who returned to her conservative state all fired up over the possibilities of peace through the UN. She had brought home all kinds of information for newspapers, radio and TV, to counter the completely distorted picture of the UN being promoted by right-wing people. They ignored her and in her frustration she decided to picket her local radio station, which happened to be located in the middle of a corn field. This strange sight eventually earned her statewide coverage, a situation she blithely took advantage of to make her pitch for a truer perspective of the UN.

Peace can be worked for in a variety of ways, and on the whole the NCC staff discourages any "peacenik" image, feeling that picketing is often more counter-productive than helpful to its cause.

More typical of the ways suggested by Paul to work for specific ends was his hint to a roomful of Michigan Church Women United leaders that they might buy stock in the Dow Chemical Corporation (makers of napalm) and then show up at stockholders' meetings to press for a change of product.

Within the past year and one half, the kinds of groups taking part in the NCC seminars have changed from being primarily made up by women and youth, to what Paul calls "multipliers." These multipliers range from Iowan editors, journalists and newscasters sent by that state's Council of Churches to nine Presbyterian women leaders, to seminars of ministers pursuing "continuing education." These people, as teachers or information givers or program starters, multiply the effects of the seminars like a wave sets off ripples, Paul feels, and he welcomes an increase in their numbers.

Church Women United also hold a program of seminars at the CCUN, with Mr. Esther Hymer in charge. Mrs. Hymer used to run the American Baptists' program at the CCUN and before that was director of Christian World Relations for Church Women United.

Most of the seminars held this year by Church Women United are on the theme "Human Rights" as it is the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Approximately twenty-five workshops are held by this group annually.

The University Christian Movement also keeps an office at the NCC and Sonja Hedlund, its director, monitors the UN Conference on Trade and Development for the UCM, whose primary concern is with international economic justice.

She is also developing a January Study Month for university students. Many colleges now give their students the month of January off to do research in some particular field, thus earning a course's credit in one month of intensive study. The course Sonja is developing filled this bill for some 30 students last year, and will again next January.

Filling out the NCC staff are the Rev. Murray MacInnes who is lent by the United Church of Canada and who designs and directs educational programs. Murray also does a lot of work helping to "politicize" groups going overseas, counseling African students, and meeting with graduate students coming to the United States.

Finally there is the invaluable Gerry Widdrington. Before coming to the NCC, Gerry was on the staff of the UN Secretariat for sixteen years, in charge of the UN tour operation. Having been there so long, he is one of those organization people who seems to know in his bones that the bureaucracy is run by human beings after all, and he knows the human beings.

When someone wants to get into some certain meeting, Gerry knows which guards to speak to in which way if some church official wishes to see U Thant, Gerry will know when is the best time and what procedures must be followed. He takes very special guests on very special trips through the UN, not open to tourists, and he holds weekly briefings for denominational and NCC staff, interpret the latest actions taken at the UN and their implications.

The philosophy upon which the NCC program of international affairs is based is contained in the policy statement passed by the General Board in February 1968 entitled "Imperatives of Peace and Responsibilities of Power."

In it religious leaders question the view of the world upon which U.S. foreign policy rests, and identify five major assumptions of current policy:

1. an oversimplified view of a world composed of two camps, with a "third world" hovering in a neutral vacuum.

2. a deep sense of responsibility for peacekeeping throughout the world. . . .

3. a confidence in military power as the chief means of keeping the peace. . . .

4. the habit of making unilateral decisions concerning the use of U.S. power and the fact that

5. power is too often used in the service of the status quo.

Countering this, the statement describes three imperatives for achieving a "just peace." First it says, limits must be imposed upon the use of military might, and the inherent limitations of force in the solution of human and social problems must be recognized; secondly, international nation building and the development of viable national institutions must be sought, and thirdly, the necessity to promote human rights and to satisfy individual aspirations for justice and freedom must be admitted.

That policy statements such as this become another tool in the building of peace was evidenced early this year by the fact that ideas from it were used by three different presidential candidates, according to Paul. It is also studied in the State Department and receives wide distribution among experts in foreign affairs.

This year, a series of nine special workshops in international affairs is being planned by the staff at the CCUN. Church leaders will be offered:

(Continued on page 11)

THE AGONY OF BIAFRA

A Letter From Biafra

by Cornelia Middelkoop

THE following is the transcript of a voice-recorded letter from a Dutch sociologist, wife of Dr. Hermann Middelkoop, missionary physician and coordinator of all Protestant relief work in besieged Biafra. As Organizing Secretary, Refugee Relief Committee, Christian Council in Biafra, Dr. Middelkoop represents many national church bodies sending food and other aid to the strife-ridden country, including the National Council of Churches' relief agency Church World Service. The Middelkoops spent several months this summer in the U.S. and Europe organizing relief supplies. They returned to their Biafra headquarters in mid-September.

Cornelia Middelkoop

UMUHIA, Biafra, Oct. 8 — Hermann and I are now back in Biafra three weeks, and we still feel a bit strange. Things are getting more and more difficult and organization is not as good as it should be, but we keep on trying.

We were welcomed warmly by our friends and I think it comforted them to see people coming back to them in this misery. When we talk freely, I notice that they are tired of this war, even those who have been very fierce in a political way. More and more you hear, "Oh, let's have peace — how can this war stop." It is getting too much for many of them. On the other hand, the officials, young teachers, doctors here on the compound and nurses still keep their strong political views and say, "We will win, Nigeria will never conquer us, Britain will suffer," still keeping high spirits although even for them it is very hard because food is very, very rare.

Prices have risen enormously these past two months, and although there is a bit more food, the price makes it impossible to buy. This morning a Roman Catholic sister was sitting in my room crying bitterly. She has 250 orphans in her camp and although she has enough money, she is not able to get staple food. She also has 350 refugees, so this poor girl is the whole day running around from market to market. This is a good season for bananas and oranges, but it's not so easy to make the Biafrans buy this. They think that fruit is a luxury, although we tell them to give their children lots of fruit fried in palm oil, so they have a base of minerals, vitamins and even fat from the oil.

Many, many orphans are in camps — about 1,000 have been flown out but that has now stopped and we don't know why. I suppose there are not enough hospitals to receive these children. It is too bad, for people don't have enough food to look after them now, especially not after orphans whom they don't even know.

The situation in the camps is not so bad at the moment. They receive much of the food that is sent in and are comparatively better off than villagers. Those in the villages have all got their relatives as refugees and must provide them with food. They also have difficulty going to clinics, while in the camps very often a sister or a doctor regularly visits.

The relief workers struggle on. We try to help them and to cheer them up. They see too much misery and suffering. Our two nurses and our Dutch doctor, who go out every day, come home very, very depressed and you cannot find the words to cheer them up. They see too many children dying every day. They meet mothers who have been to the clinic last week with children who are now dead. These mothers are really worn out, and they just close their eyes and beat their breast and say "there's war — there's war." It is very difficult to find words to comfort them. There are hardly any words to say in such situations.

Every day we get reports of the military situation. The last is not so good. Although we have got more ammunition, the Nigerians are entering yet another town not so very far from here. We hear that the Nigerian soldiers are not behaving so bad. That they hardly enter the villages and leave people undisturbed on their farms. That is especially true in the north — I don't know about the south. We were very afraid of one, in charge of one sector who threatened to kill everybody — to keep on shooting even after everything stopped moving. From that area we haven't had any reports recently.

The air attacks have been more intense these past weeks again. Through May, June and July they practically stopped attacking civilians from the air, but for three weeks they have been bombing and strafing hospitals and markets again. One hospital, for instance, was strafed very badly and I heard that 17 children were killed in their beds, along with many other people. Saturday they dropped rockets near the church and living quarters in a town I was in, and about 55 people died, with double that number wounded. That makes everyone again very afraid and for the next two days you don't see people in the streets — they hide in the bush during the daytime.

In the daytime we are awfully afraid for every noise that sounds like an airplane. We take cover immediately, but on the other hand, after half-past six, if there is any noise in the air we turn and smile at each other and say "there they are — those are our planes." You cannot imagine how much pleasure it gives, how much joy to have every night the noise of planes over your head. It means not only relief goods being brought in, like milk powder, egg powder, stock fish, but it also

(Continued on page 10)

RELIEF OF STARVATION IN NIGERIA-BIAFRA

A National Council of Churches Resolution

The mass starvation in Nigeria-Biafra that is now occurring, and which will increase in the next few weeks, reaching overwhelming proportions probably in October, is a major human tragedy. Our church people, in company with many others in the U.S.A. and other countries are spontaneously giving money, and publicly urging that action be taken to prevent further starvation.

Voluntary agencies of different nations, including our own, and churches especially, have alone under severe difficulty been able to get some relief supplies in. The political issues in the conflict are serious. But we speak concerning vast starvation, and are convinced that large scale relief of this human suffering must not be subordinated to the tragic conflicts of battle.

We appreciate the leadership of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), especially the efforts of its President Emperor Haille Selassie, to secure the agreements whereby relief supplies may be distributed. We support continued efforts by the OAU, confident that African leadership is essential, and hopeful that it will be successful in the immediate future. Under that leadership, many peoples and nations will be willing to help in the massive relief effort now required.

We note with appreciation the offer of President Johnson, expressed to Emperor Haille Selassie, to provide large scale relief supplies. We urge the President, using every effective influence, to continue his efforts toward the objective of immediate delivery of desperately needed relief supplies to the children and adults who are starving. Appeals for increased money for relief are already out to our churches; we pledge our efforts to secure generous support of church people and agencies in this effort.

WASHINGTON COMMENT

by John W. Turnbull

The Disaffected

HOLDING on to political power is like a juggling act: it requires constant attention to an orbit of rapidly-moving objects (called in politics blocs of voters), and even a momentary lapse can bring the performance to a confused and embarrassing end.

It is increasingly clear that both our major parties have allowed their attention to an important segment of the electorate to lapse more than just momentarily, and that millions of what someone characterized as "the unblack, the unpoor, the unyoung" have as a result been falling out of the political orbit altogether.

Indeed, they had been so long unnoticed that we had nearly forgotten what they looked like — until George Wallace began turning them out all over the country in numbers sufficient to make their presence inescapably and weightily felt.

There were white people in both North and South, for instance, who couldn't see why everybody kept on doing more and more for the Negroes, especially when all they did to show their gratitude was to cause more and more trouble.

There were people struggling to make ends meet who didn't like paying out their tax money in welfare assistance to people who wouldn't work and who used the money to buy color TV and still complained that the system wasn't good enough.

John Turnbull

There were people saving to send their kids to college "so they can have the advantages we never had" who were fed to the teeth with those dirty (dirty minds and dirty hair) students who occupied their time laying siege to college buildings and personnel.

There were people sending their sons to risk their lives in Vietnam, or maybe on the Chicago police force, who now heard these same smarty kids yelling that the war was immoral and the police were pigs.

There were people afraid to walk down the street at night who had the impression that the main thing the courts spent their time on these days (besides giving encouragement to Communists, atheists and peddlers of dirty books) was figuring out ways to get crooks out of jail.

* * *

Never mind that these hostilities were largely the result of ignorance or fantasy or both: a balanced perspective on reality does not come easily to any group that feels itself to be victimized by circumstance or design. And these were what Peter Schrag, writing in Saturday Review for Sept. 21, called "the most alienated and disregarded people in America."

Well their day has now dawned like thunder, for it is clear that they hold the balance of power in this election, and no group is being more ardently wooed by both major parties. The shortest route anyone has yet discovered into their affections is, of course, the commodious and ambiguous theme of "law and order." The words, are, to be sure, a code phrase for a racist appeal; but also for a whole system of values which these people feel are being threatened and betrayed on every hand, by blacks, by the militant poor, by criminals, hippies, war protesters and liberal clergy among others, often with the connivance if not the outright encouragement of the federal government.

* * *

The question is not whether the claims of these people (these "forgotten Americans," in Mr. Nixon's phrase) upon the political order can or should be recognized; they have advanced too far toward coherent and effective political power for them to be ignored by a new administration or a new Congress of whichever party. The question is rather **how** they shall be dealt with — most importantly whether responsible political institutions can find ways of symbolizing and meeting them within the mainstream of enlightened social philosophy and action, or whether they will be left to the purveyors of reaction and repression marching under a "law and order" banner.

It will be a difficult and thankless challenge, especially given the existence of the noisy and articulate groups of the disaffected on the left, whose interests and commitments are at almost every point antithetical to these, and given also the indifference or hostility of most conventional liberals to lower-middle-class values. But there is no more important item on our national agenda in the next four years.

WASHINGTON REPORT

By David M. Ackerman

Congress and Domestic Crisis: 1968

THE response of this session of the 90th Congress (now adjourned) to the nation's domestic crises can, perhaps, best be characterized as ambivalent. It has passed some significant legislation authorizing a few new social programs but has failed to support these programs with adequate funding. It has reduced most of the administration's requests for appropriations for existing social programs, but for the most part has not cut them below last year's levels. It has opened the door to equal opportunity in housing, but it came perilously close to closing the door on desegregation in education.

It has been a session primarily dominated by the demand for fiscal economy, a demand made unprecedentedly effective in the "Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968" which not only imposed a ten percent surcharge on individual and corporate income taxes but required the government to reduce its fiscal 1969 expenditures by $6 billion and its civilian work force to the level of June 30, 1966. It has also been a session dogged by the political need to respond in some way to the nation's fears about crime and violence; here, reflecting the nation's uncertainty, its response has been both creative and repressive. Finally, this session has been haunted by an awareness of the critical problems of the cities, the poor, and the races. Here Congress has taken a few steps forward, but in this election year has been more inclined to wait and see on what track it ought to run.

In sum, these demands and needs have permitted this session of Congress no peace and little joy in doing its work. As might be expected in this atmosphere, Congress has not moved decisively on the questions before it. The following is a summary of its actions in the areas of civil rights, hunger, housing and poverty.

CIVIL RIGHTS: (A) OPEN HOUSING — Congress in April this year passed a civil rights bill that included a fairly strong open housing provision which will by 1970 bar discrimination in the sale or rental of 80% of the nation's housing. Enforcement powers are vested in the Department of Housing and Urban Development. To enforce this provision Congress granted two million dollars of the administration's $8 million request.

(B) WHITTEN AMENDMENTS — Congress came very close to attaching amendments to the appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education and Welfare that would have severely undercut HEW's efforts to bring about desegregated education, as authorized by title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. But in a surprise move, the House in early October, rejected the version of the Whitten Amendments it had earlier passed and accepted the relatively harmless senate version on votes of 175-167 and 166-155.

HUNGER: Congress went beyond the administration's request and increased the authorization for the food stamp program from $225 million to $315 million for fiscal 1969 and $340 million for fiscal 1970. It appropriated $280 million of the $315 million authorization, enough to permit a fairly substantial expansion of the program but only a limited reduction in the price of the stamps.

HOUSING: Congress passed an excellent housing bill this year, authorizing in the "Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968" a substantial expansion of efforts to provide adequate housing for low and moderate income families at prices they can afford. The law not only authorizes expansion of existing programs such as model cities, rent supplements, public housing, and urban renewal, but proposes two new programs which, through a mortgage subsidy technique, could enable more low and moderate income families to buy and rent adequate housing. Congress provided for $25 million in contract authority and $7 million in payment authority to begin each of these programs.

POVERTY: Congress reduced the appropriation for the Title I education program designed to concentrate funds in poverty area schools by almost $75 million below last year's level of $1.2 billion; increased the appropriation for the Office of Economic Opportunity from $1.78 billion to $1.948 billion, with much of the increase ticketed for the community health centers program and family planning services; increased funds for the teacher corps from $13.5 million to $20.0 million, and funded a new program to support bilingual education with $7.5 million and a new program to prevent school dropouts with $5 million. A strong senate effort to transfer the politically popular Head Start Program from OEO to the Office of Education was defeated in conference by the efforts of Rep. Carl Perkins (D-Ky.).

it says here . . .

TEMPO's News Page

Medical Teams and Funds Speeded to Biafrans

NEW YORK, N.Y. (RNW) — Recruited by Church World Service, a doctor, four nurses and a former Peacecorpsman are now serving under the International Red Cross and the Nigeria Council of Churches bringing food and medicine to the suffering civilians in Nigeria-Biafra.

With them is the wife of the doctor, who is a pharmacist. In Lagos, they joined John Ellis of San Francisco, a British citizen who is administering the team's feeding and material aid program.

The team has two land rovers for medical personnel and supplies and a five-ton truck for food distribution. Medicines and medical equipment sufficient for one year, and six-months' rations for the team had already been airlifted to the area by CWS.

The U.S. churches, through Church World Service, have made more than $500,000 worth of high protein foods and medicines available for Biafran relief to date. In addition, the Scandinavian churches are also maintaining an airlift, for which CWS has supplied the overhead costs, between the island of Sao Tome and the mainland.

In New York, the American Committee to Keep Biafrans Alive presented a check for $20,000 to James MacCracken, executive director of Church World Service, and to Msgr. Andrew P. Landi, assistant director of Catholic Relief Services, which have joined forces in the Catholic-Protestant Biafra Relief Program.

* * *

DISCIPLES SUPPORT NON-VIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

KANSAS CITY, MO. — (RNS) — The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) stated its support here for civil disobedience — but only if such disobedience is non-violent, resorted to when all other methods fail, and the participants are willing to accept the legal consequences of their act.

The Church's General Assembly also called for tougher gun control laws and backed the right of farm workers to organize.

However, rather than accept as an official statement of the Church the two proposed resolutions from the denomination's social action department — wide-ranging documents on Christian response to revolution and the world situation — the Assembly approved the documents for study.

Had they been passed as resolutions, the social action statements would have favored UN membership for the two Germanys, the two Koreas, the two Chinas; would have asked for a Cabinet-level advisor for disarmament; would have condemned riots but asked the poor to "protest more loudly"; and would have urged the Church to pioneer in the "development of non-violent forms of revolutionary action."

* * *

Major Churches Pool Funds for Ghettos

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Representatives of seven denominations got together here in October to weigh ways to pool funds and create model projects for church investment in city ghettos, it was revealed by the Rev. Dr. Shirley Greene of the National Council of Churches.

The result of the initial session was formation of a Consultative Committee for Ghetto Economic Development, said Dr. Greene, who is administrator of the Council's own investment program.

Another committee task will be to guide church people in the "problems of transferring economic power into the hands of ghetto residents." Named chairman of the committee was Mr. Charles W. Dryden, executive director of the Presbyterian Economic Development Corporation.

The record to date of the churches' investments shows a total of more than $15 million.

The seven denominations participating have announced a total of more than $15 million worth of investment commitments. Beyond these, five of the seven have made actual investments of more than $1,250,000 in a variety of ghetto-situated business, housing and other enterprises.

The seven are: The Episcopal Church, the Lutheran Church in America, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., the Reformed Church in America, the United Church of Christ, the United Methodist Church and the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

* * *

PRIEST EXPLAINS ARSON ACTIONS

MILWAUKEE, WIS. — Selective service records were burned here as "a concrete response" to the "concrete problem" of Vietnam, according to a Catholic priest who took part in the action.

The Rev. Robert Cunnane, staff member of an ecumenical center near Boston expressed the reasoning behind the third such burning by groups of clergy and laymen.

Fr. Cunnane said that the group of seven priests and seven laymen chose a city for their symbolic action "because it is mostly the poor who are fighting the war."

"This is really an action of hope in God and man," said Fr. Cunnane. "Positive actions are needed merely to keep us human."

(For an account of the trial of the "Catonsville Nine," involved in a similar situation, see the article by Harvey Cox Jr. on page 3.)

* * *

"NIGHT CALL" NOW ON 70 STATIONS

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The final night of September brought Radio Station WGY of Schenectady, N.Y., into a network of some 70 stations across the nation now carrying "Night Call."

The night-time talk show is the first in the country to be heard throughout the United States and to take collect phone calls directed to its often controversial guests. "Night Call" is produced by the United Methodist Church and sponsored by the National Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic radio-television office.

A phoner calling in from any part of the country finds himself talking with moderator Del Shields and his guest of the evening. Among those heard — and cross-questioned — in October were Father James Groppi of Milwaukee, Fr. Malcom Boyd, Miss Joan Baez, the Hon. Brooks Hays, Fr. Daniel Berrigan and Betty Furness.

Federal Communications Commissioner Robert E. Lee recently told "Night Call" sponsors: "You are to be congratulated on a device which appears to have a great deal of potential in serving the public interest." And the Commissioner added: "I regret that I didn't think of it first." "Night Call" functions nationwide each week night.

* * *

S. California Council Warns Of Police-Minority Tensions

LOS ANGELES — (RNW) — With "the most complete and sorrowful candor," the Council of Churches of Southern California has issued a statement expressing its concern over the growing tension between the police and minority citizens in Metropolitan Los Angeles.

The statement, drawn up by the Council's Commission on Church and Race, referred to current hearings in the City Council of testimony of minority leaders who have charged the police with malpractice in the ghettos and barrios of the city.

The Council's appeal declared: "We are compelled to speak out publicly to urge that our constituencies, our public officials and the decision-makers of our business and financial communities, listen sensitively to the grievances being voiced by our brothers from the ghettos and barrios of our city."

A Letter From Biafra

(Continued from page 8)

means there is still contact with the other world—that outside friends are not forgetting us. The psychological effect of these planes is unimaginable and the people really rejoice in it. Even we are like children when we hear it because we feel more or less closed in by the Nigerians now.

We have no idea how the war will develop. Our commander has said that this is just the beginning, that they would enter into guerrilla war, but we feel that if the airfield is not operating any more there will not be much for Europeans to do. We will only eat the little bit that remains —so I suppose that when it reaches that stage we then have to decide that we cannot leave—but most of us do not think too much about that—we just enjoy every night the sounds of the planes.

I want to tell you that because we heard that you (Church World Service) are taking part in this operation from the Scandinavian churches, we are very, very grateful because we know that it is costing very much. On the other hand, it is also good if you can do something for these people who have little sense of politics and still expect everything from the white people. Every person that you meet says, "Oh, it's wonderful what your church, your Red Cross is doing, but can't you tell your government that England is killing us?" It's so pathetic to hear over and over again. "Why do people allow England to kill us?" That is something that you cannot make clear to them, so we just hope that the United Nations may do something, because the OAU conference in Algiers has disappointed us very much indeed.

This was just a talk from an easy chair, and I think I hear the car that will bring Hermann and George to the airfield. George will leave tonight and Hermann will return after a discussion with the Red Cross representative and a man from Caritas. They want to coordinate the work as much as possible, and we are very happy for that because one feels things can go a bit better if we work together and not apart. Many, many greetings to you from everybody and we hope to hear from you soon and that you are not too busy there on Riverside Drive with all these African problems. ■

Who speaks for the Church?

(Continued from page 2)

a matter of the marketplace, the classroom, the home, and the places where men work. It lives where men live. It speaks about the way men live. How could it be otherwise? The Christian faith is centered in one who said, "I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly" (**John** 10:10).

The second assumption grows from the first: **Religion must find ways of declaring the meaning of her relevance to life.** She cannot be true to herself and be silent about the problems that are occupying the thought, work, and prayers of men. She must speak to them, and speak in God's name. She must bring the judgment of her understanding of God's will to bear on all that impedes or distorts the incarnation of His word in the actual processes of living.

The third focuses on the body of believers, the Church: **The Church by her self-understanding is called to speak and act as the people of God.** She can not pretend to be one among many social and political groups. Ideally, she knows herself to be a channel between God and man. Without pretending for a moment that God has no other way of speaking to the human enterprise, she nonetheless knows that the proclamation of the gospel has been committed to her. When she speaks, therefore, it is not by the permission of men, but by the commission of God in Jesus Christ which is her very life.

Then there is the undeniable humanity of the Church: **Whatever the Church says is finite and fallible.** All Protestants and an increasing number of Roman Catholics question whether there is any such thing as an identifiable infallible utterance by the Church. As one one Roman Catholic theologian has said, "The very idea of infallibility has been more trouble than it has been worth." Whatever the Church says exhibits the finitude of the experience and understanding with which she speaks. Though called and commissioned of God to speak in His behalf, she is not God. Her noblest efforts, confessedly, are a rich blend of human fact and divine vision. The only infallibility she may claim is that of her concern to be an obedient people.

I find myself wondering:

—Was Jesus speaking for God that day on the mountain when He preached to all who came to hear him?

—Did Paul speak for God to and through the Church when He preached and taught from one end of the Mediterranean to the other?

—Did Augustine speak for God and to and through the Church when he wrote **The City of God** and the **Enchridion?** When he sought to clarify and defend the theology of the Church?

—Did Luther speak for God to and through the Church when he defied Pope and emperor alike in behalf of freedom of faith?

—Did John Wesley speak for God to and through the Church when he turned away from the stately cathedrals for the open fields and the simple meeting places of the people called "Methodist"?

—Did Martin Luther King, Jr., speak for God to and through the Church when, in love, he mounted his attacks on the injustices visited upon his people by custom, convention, and law?

So far as I am concerned, the answer in every case is **yes** — they spoke for God and for the Church.

But let us never forget that the overwhelming majority of their contemporaries, including sincere churchmen, would disagree with this. In every case, had a Gallup poll been taken, it would have shown these men to be in the minority — at least during their lifetimes.

While we are raising such questions, what shall we say of the great church councils: NICEA, Chalcedon, Trent, and Vatican I and II? Or of the assemblies of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam, Evanston, New Delhi, and Uppsala? Or of the great study conferences on faith and order, life and work, and the Church and society? In what sense, if any, do they speak for the Church?

There can be no denying the weighty influences of such conferences in the churches and in Christian history. Called into being by human questions to which human beings knew no answer, they sought to find and fashion in words and resolutions for action what they believed to be the will of God for men. Had a single one of them raised the question, "Will all sincere churchmen agree with us?" the conferences would have been over before they began. But the question before them was: "What is God trying to say to us and through us to mankind on the issues before us?"

If men and conferences like these do not speak for the Church, then who, pray, can claim utterance for the Church? Silence these for any reason, and the Church will be denied the right of responsible, corporate speech. Thank God, they have spoken and others like them will continue to speak. For, without exception, they have sought to speak to the Church, through the Church and for the Church to the world in God's name.

The Church must continue to speak in these ways today, tomorrow, and to the end of time.

Dr. Bosley is pastor of Christ Church (Methodist), New York City. His editorial was based on a sermon he delivered to the NCC General Board, Houston, Texas, Sept. 12.

The Arab refugee

(Continued from page 5)

world would have accepted under similar circumstances. Inherent in these proposals was the giving of preference to refugees over the several million native rural youths who each generation are forced to migrate from the country to the city.

Western countries, particularly the U.S. and Britain, have made great issue of the inaccuracies in UNRWA's ration rolls. It is true that there are serious inaccuracies in the ration rolls of UNRWA, a fact which no one has more vigorously pointed out than the officers of UNRWA themselves. These discrepancies in rolls exist because there is not an accurate recording of deaths or of persons who become self-supporting. But this does not mean that the ration rolls have grown in volume like mushrooms.

In 1950-51, the year that UNRWA was created, rations were granted to about 850,000 individuals, and this total of 850,000 persons is precisely the number that received rations in the year 1967-68. The number has been held at this level by ceilings which UNRWA has imposed, country by country. It has done this in the face of a total Palestine refugee population that has grown to 1.3 million, in order that it might provide as much assistance to education as is feasible. But this rigid imposing of ration ceilings has not been without hardship on the part of refugee families with small children, because the agency has pursued a policy of not placing such children on ration rolls until there is a vacancy created by death or the removal of a name because the person became self-supporting, a policy that in Jordan has often meant waiting for years.

The fighting of 1967 has left in its wake a refugee problem of even greater proportion in that there are now approximately 200,000 displaced Syrian Arabs from the Golan Heights and 300,000 Egyptians who fled from the area near the Suez Canal under shelling, in addition to the Palestinian refugees. Therefore, while the world waits for a political settlement of the problem of the Middle East, the refugee problem continues on this yet more tragic scale.

So far as the refugee problem is concerned, the question confronting us is will the Western world, having learned from the experience of the last 15 years, make adequate resources of education and training available, so that maturing refugee youth can be self-supporting and live productive lives?

While insisting that justice be sought through a political settlement, the nations must simultaneously and immediately move to meet the full human needs of those who are without a home or a future. Will America take the lead to champion this cause and enable this need to be met?

Churches at the UN

(Continued from page 7)

"The Local Church and International Issues: Conflict Management," to be held in two sections, from October 18 through November 1 and from February 10 through 14, 1969; a seminar leaders' workshop from November 18 through 20: "Simulation Games for Church Education" from November 25 through 27, and "Journalists United Nations Workshop" from January 12 through 15.

Under the general title "Crucial Issues Workshops," will be offered "The presuppositions of USA Foreign Policy from December 4 through 6 and "National Building and Economic Development" from March 25 through 27.

Student programs being planned are the January University Program from the third through the thirtieth of that month and a June Seminary Program from June 9 through 27.

Further information and applications to these workshops may be obtained by writing Director of Program, Church Center for the United Nations, 778 United Nations Plaza, Room 10-D, New York, N.Y. 10017. ■

IN THE NEXT ISSUE...

VIOLENCE AND THE LAW

DECENTRALIZING THE SCHOOLS

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A RATING SYSTEM FOR MOVIES

A MOTION picture classification system, designed to protect the young, has been announced by the Motion Picture Association of America.

The new system is based on four categories—using the letters G, M, R, and X—and is expected to be enforced by the National Association of Theater Owners which represents 95 per cent of U.S. theaters.

The classifications are as follows:

G — Approved for general audiences.

M — An adult movie which may be attended by those under 17 with the written permission of their parents.

R — An adult movie which may be seen by those under 16 provided they are accompanied by a parent or legally responsible adult.

X — A movie which has not received the Motion Picture Association's seal of approval. Those 16 and under may not attend showings of an "X" film.

Any U.S. or foreign-made film which is not submitted for classification will automatically be classified as an "X" film.

In the past, American producers who did not want to seek a Motion Picture Association seal of approval because of the content of the film, or some other reason, have released their movies through foreign subsidiary companies of a U.S. firm.

Thus the Warner Bros. film, "The Fox," with a theme of lesbianism and containing nudity scenes, was produced by Claridge Films of Canada, a Warner Bros. subsidiary.

Under the new regulations this type of evasion would not be possible since the film would have to be submitted or be automatically classified as an "X" film and those patrons 16 or under would not be allowed to see it.

The 16-year age limit is one established by the new industry regulations. Local communities would, of course, be free to raise the age limit if they wished.

Recent threats of federal censorship or classification of films is admittedly one factor in the development of the new policy.

The United States is believed to be virtually the last major Western country to adopt some kind of a movie classification system.

G M R X

MOVIE AUDIENCE ******GUIDE**** A SERVICE OF FILM-MAKERS AND THEATERS.**

These ratings apply to films released after Nov 1, 1968

THIS SEAL in ads indicates the film was submitted and approved under the Motion Picture Code of Self-Regulation.

G — Suggested for GENERAL audiences.

M — Suggested for MATURE audiences (parental discretion advised).

R — RESTRICTED — Persons under 16 not admitted, unless accompanied by parent or adult guardian.

X — Persons under 16 not admitted. This age restriction may be higher in certain areas. Check theater or advertising.

Printed as a public service by this newspaper

Text Excerpts

NATIONAL CHURCH FILM OFFICES RATE NEW MOVIE RATING SYSTEM

SHARING the concern not only of the public but also of the industry, the National Catholic Office for Motion Pictures and the National Council of Churches' Broadcasting and Film Commission endorse in principle the new MPAA rating system as being consistent with the rights and obligations of free speech and artistic expression, as well as with the duty of parents and society to safeguard the young in their growth to responsible adulthood. NCOMP and BFC of the NCC have repeatedly affirmed the position that these ends can best be served through a voluntary classification of film by the industry rather than by government regulation.

Recognizing that this may be the last opportunity for the industry to discharge its public responsibilities, and fully aware that its failure to do so will result in compulsory legislation, NCOMP and BFC give genuine and full support to this plan and urge its conscientious implementation on every level—production, distribution, and exhibition.

Conscientious implementation of this new rating plan, which is so essential for generating public confidence, will be measured by the industry's performance in the following crucial areas:

1. The Code and Rating Administration's first responsibility is faithfully to apply to each film submitted to it the Standards of Production required for obtaining the Production Code Seal. Its second and new responsibility is to assign the appropriate rating after judicious and prudent deliberation, aided by whatever professional consultation and research may be necessary.

2. For their part, exhibitors must firmly uphold and enforce at the box office the age restrictions which are applied to certain films.

3. Advertising, in whatever medium it is presented, must clearly indicate the rating which applies to the film in question.

The success of the new MPAA plan obviously also depends upon public understanding and support. With this in mind, NCOMP and BFC commend to community, Church, parent, and civic organizations active involvement in the application of the rating system at their local theatres and in local theatre advertising.

The New System: Antidote to Censorship

Written for TEMPO by James M. Wall

THE beautiful thing about the new film classification system is that it just might work. If it doesn't, the censorious element in our society is going to plunge into another decade of debilitating and uncreative hassling over what is "dirty" and what is "clean." All political signs warn that repression is in the air. As one who loves the arts, especially the popular ones, I dread any setback in the right of the artist to explore any subject in any manner he deems appropriate. I believe this new system represents the film industry's best effort to provide this freedom—continue to make handsome profits—and still ward off the local, state or even national repression that is sure to come if self-regulation fails.

Child care is the major feature of the system, operating on the correct assumption that freedom of speech does not have to apply to what is said to the immature. What is protected in the system is the freedom of the adult to see any subject treated in any manner he chooses, restricted only by that which is legally obscene, and therefore not covered by freedom of speech.

It is quite probable that this new classification of films will result in an increased number of gratuitous sex scenes in major Hollywood productions and perhaps even more dehumanizing fare in the low-budget productions. The film industry, after all, is not an eleemosynary establishment. But this is the price a free society pays for permitting its more serious and responsible filmmakers to operate unhindered by oppressive censorship. The important thing is that the system will safeguard the adult's right to view, while at the same time it will protect the child from experiences beyond his emotional level.

Its voluntary nature is the system's best and worst feature. Best because the creative industry imposes restrictions upon itself; worst, because voluntary implementation will be no stronger than the industry itself wants it to be. The classification decisions, which have to be subjective, will be based largely on what the general public will tolerate, rather than upon any esthetic or psychological criteria. For this reason, a single horror sequence, or a moment of violence, may, in its context, be less valuable (I deliberately refuse to say "harmful") for a child than the viewing of a bare female breast. But the industry classification office, in spite of the fact that it is staffed by men of sensitivity, knows that it is dealing with a product, and the key word for product-peddling is public acceptance. Classification decisions will be made accordingly.

The system will have its flaws, but they are flaws created by the ambiguity felt in society about sex and violence. The flaws are also built into a system which must remain in tension between the freedom of the individual and the common good. There are also loopholes. Is 16 the correct age for dividing children from adults? Probably not, and some communities may elect to raise this to 18. And what about that group from 13 to 17, caught in the bind between childhood and adulthood?

Such questions are to be expected in a system that is not doctrinaire, but is primarily a parents' guide. Churches might well decide to seize upon this opportunity to educate parents and children as to what constitutes good and inadequate film fare. The industry is trying to provide some honest statements about what a film contains. The least we can do is pay attention.

Hopefully, as our society moves through its present conservative phase, it will enter a more responsible era when adult topics can be treated with respect and good taste and it will be understood, rather than required, that children do not need to listen to every adult conversation. In the meantime, this new system is a good compromise. And I for one, hope that it works. If it doesn't, creative cinema will suffer for years to come.—Mr. Wall is Editor, *The Christian Advocate*.

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TEMPO

November 15, 1968

A Twice-Monthly Publication of the National Council of Churches

news and opinion of THE LIFE OF THE CHURCH IN SOCIETY

TEMPOsitions . . .

ON GIVING THANKS (Officially)

Kevin Miller

Just about affluent everybody feels ambivalent about Thanksgiving Day.

Only some of those lodged at the receiving end of the cornucopian stream will be uninhibited and guiltless enough to offer carefree thanks to God for blessings enjoyed.

Why inhibitions?

Very plainly there remain the poor in our own country, widespread misery in so many other countries. Inwardly, there is doubt, and not only among the young, that the progressive piling up of ever vaster heaps of goodies by ever expanding technology and productivity is the sole aim and end of man guilts? For one, it is hard to engage in traditional gluttony, in the name of thanksgiving, when we as a people have for so long heavily, if unwittingly, committed ourselves to neargenocidal activities in a small country half a world away. These and other such reflections could occupy the mind of anyone who, after the big dinner, gets caught in a hopeless traffic stall, en route to the day's big football game.

But, after due editorial consultation, *Tempo* went ahead anyway with a Thanksgiving Day cover for this issue. When we first took a look at the drawing, we felt it suitably expressed both thanksgiving and ambiguity toward its official observance. We also felt that if thanksgiving is ignored and someday quietly buried — because everybody is too bitter, or sophisticated or feeling too much guilt — then all of us would stand to lose something important in our lives: the very spirit of giving thanks. With this spirit gone, there can only be arrogance and the closed heart, hard self-satisfaction and the ugly assumption that the good that comes our way is all our own doing.

The talented young man who sketched the cover puts his feelings about it nicely.

Writes Kevin Miller, who is at present a student at Manchester College:

> "In explanation of the picture, I would first admit ambiguity, because of my ambiguous feelings concerning Thanksgiving. I started the picture with the pilgrim woman in the lower right corner, intent upon satire, and ended with the cornucopia which I consider an affirmation of the celebration of abundance.
>
> "Among the forms which express both satire and affirmation of Thanksgiving are the rigid pose and lack of facial elements in the early American couple, contrasted with apparent affection and protective attitude of husband for wife. The man is the most satiric element of the picture — a combination of the all-American images of Uncle Sam (the hat), Peter Pilgrim, and Santa Claus. Thanksgiving is, after all, an American celebration.
>
> "The cornucopia is my favorite part of the picture because of its positive attitude and surrealistic form. Here are mixed humanoid forms with huge apples, pears, grapes, and flowers. Humanity must be the most important element in our abundance. . . ."

Our thanks, then, to artist Kevin Miller, and to the Church of The Brethren *Leader*, which commissioned the drawing in the first place, published it in *Leader*'s November issue, and happily shared it with *Tempo*.

Fletcher Coates

TEMPO

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EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS: Dorothy Rensenbrink, Doris Thompson
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Guest Editorial

"Where Law and Order?"

by DEAN M. KELLEY

CHRISTIANS are devoted to law and order. We know by the long experience of the human race that order is hard to achieve and easy to lose, and that without it all our other goods are precarious. Order, to be more stable than the whim of tyrants, has been codified in laws, and the appeal to law as the impartial arbiter of human conflict is one of man's noblest traditions.

CHRISTIANS realize that without law and order there can be little freedom, justice, compassion or peace. But we also realize that "law-and-order" can exist *without* freedom, justice or compassion, and the peace that goes with it can be that of a prison, a slave-camp, or a sedation ward. Therefore, we conclude that some forms of law and order are better than others, and we are not equally devoted to all of them.

CHRISTIANS know that human institutions fall far short of what we would like them to be. Any particular code of law or state of order will not be equally beneficial to all, and may indeed benefit relatively few at the expense of many.

"LAW" to the poor man may be what evicts him from his home when he has no job and cannot pay the rent. "ORDER" to him may be what protects the jobs of teachers who are paid to teach his children but do not effectively do so. When he hears the phrase "law and order", he feels little identification with it: "*Whose* law and order? Not mine; I didn't make it. Law holds you down while order picks your pocket; that's all it's ever done for me!" It does little good to tell him that he would be worse off without **somebody**'s law and order; the present reality seems worse thany any hypothetical alternative.

CHRISTIANS are devoted to law and order, but not necessarily to the version embodied by a given regime. Like the poor man, we want to know **whose** law and order we are called to uphold. Our basic commitment is to uphold a divine Law and a divine Order that are only imperfectly reflected in human institutions. The divine law and Order are characterized by justice, compassion, freedom, peace. When human institutions manifest more injustice, cruelty, oppression and strife than the opposite qualities, Christians begin to ask themselves whether the divine Law and Order might not be better served by different institutions.

In this sense, Christians are more devoted to *genuine* law and order than some governments may be. We do not automatically uphold all human institutions which may happen to exist; we "look them over" critically. We work for their strengthening, amendment or replacement to reflect the Law and Order that we call "divine" because it enables us to be more nearly the kind of beings we were meant to be.

Mr. Kelley is Director for Government Relations, and Director for Religious *and Civil Liberties, National Council of Churches.*

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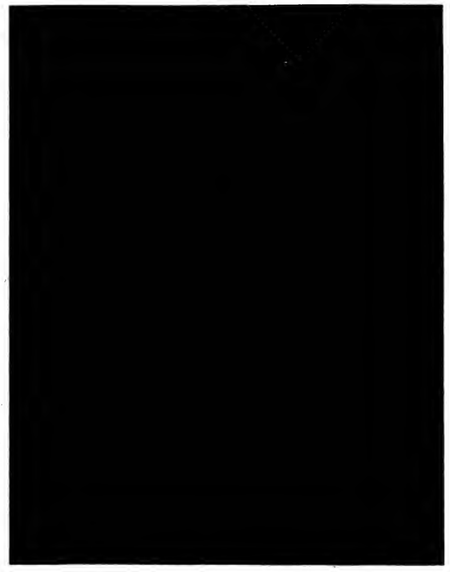
PHOTO CREDITS — Photo of Miller By Eckstein (p. 2), Ken Thompson (p. 3), Douglas Gilbert (pp 4-5), UPI Photos (pp 6-7-8), Wagner Int'l. (p. 10).



LAW ORDER AND THE PUBLIC MIND

by GLEN W. TRIMBLE

The following analysis of polls taken by George Gallup and Louis Harris prior to the recent election reveal data providing a clear warning to Christians and all other citizens concerning the state of the nation. Editor

NOW that the election and the campaign talk are over, we still have a vacuum in which neither an end to the war nor a positive attack on basic problems at home is a live option. In this vacuum, and largely because of it, the central issue has become a clearly negative one with the omnibus label of "law and order." As we will see, both the label and content were largely the contribution of the radical right and George Wallace to the politics of 1968.

In recent Gallup and the Lou Harris polls (these two are used because of superior reliability and scientific integrity) law and order or "crime in the streets" was second to the war in Vietnam as a perceived "major issue." With the elimination of the range of choice on Vietnam, the saliency of "law and order" steadily increased. Perhaps the most significant poll on this question, both in content and its impact on the candidates, was conducted by Lou Harris on Aug. 24. The two basic questions and the tabulations on response alternatives supplied deserve reproduction in full:

Statements about Law and Order

	Agree	Disagree	Not sure
Law and order would improve if more people backed up their local police	87%	8%	5%
A strong President can make a big difference in directly preserving law and order	84	10	6
Law and order has broken down in this country	81	14	5
Keeping law and order is much more a local than a Federal problem	78	13	9
The rights of many people can be endangered in the name of law and order	73	16	11
Violation of law and order has been encouraged by the courts	69	23	8
Until there is justice for minorities, there will not be law and order	63	27	10
Demands for law and order are made by politicians who are against progress for Negroes	22	58	20

Harris next posed the question: "I want to ask you some things which some people think have been causes of a breakdown of law and order in this country. For each, tell me if you feel it to be a major cause of breakdown of law and order, a minor cause or hardly a cause at all."

Causes of Law and Order Breakdown

	Major Cause	Minor Cause	Hardly A Cause	Not Sure
Organized crime	61%	21%	6%	12%
Negroes who start riots	59	26	7	8
Communists	56	26	9	9
The courts	51	25	13	11
Anti-Vietnam demonstrators	38	40	13	9
National Leadership	37	30	19	14
Hippies and student protesters	29	43	19	9
Right-wing demogogues	20	33	13	34
Police brutality	13	35	42	10

Some responses will strike careful readers as "good sense," some as "nonsense," and readers' lists of each may well differ. All will discover points at which pairing of responses seem to involve basic contradictions. What follows is this writer's selection of items that strike him as combining into frightening evidence that "it can happen here."

Breakdown?

Out of the first listing is the central fact that 81% of this national cross-section agreed that "law and order have broken down in this country," only 14% disagreed. Eighty-one per cent believe and affirm a proposition which, to the best of this writer's knowledge, has never been empirically demonstrated or proven and which, probably, is simply not true.

"TIME" for Oct. 4, 1968, provided a fact-packed and generally insightful cover story and essay which is strongly recommended reading. Said TIME in its introductory comments:

"Everyone is for law and order, or at least his version of it. Few Americans can define precisely what they mean by the term but the belief that law and order is being destroyed represents a trauma unmatched in intensity since the alarums of Joe McCarthy in the Korean era. The issue has virtually anesthetized the controversy over Vietnam. It has distorted debate over pressing urban problems. It perverted the presidential election.

"For millions of voters who are understandably and legitimately dismayed by random crime, burning ghettos, disrupted universities and violent demonstrations in downtown streets, law and order is a rallying cry that evokes quieter days. To some, it is also a short-hand message promising repression of the black community. To the Negro, already the most frequent victim of violence, it is a bleak warning that worse times may be coming.

"The law and order issue has elevated George Wallace from a sectional maverick to a national force, making the two-party system seem suddenly vulnerable." . . .

Perceived Causes

Returning to the second question on the perceived causes of the "breakdown in law and order," the "nitty-gritty" of the national trauma begins to emerge.

It is not surprising that 61% see organized crime as related to defiance of law and order; rather, one wonders about the other 39%. The next three *majority* selections form a much more surprising and ominous configuration. These three are "Negroes who start riots," "Comunists," and the "courts."

The first lends support to the view of Sen. Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts and many others that, more often than not, "law and order" has become a "code word" for hostility toward and suppression of the Negro.

The second, "the Communists," almost defies rational explanation. The American Communist Party is at an all time ebb, scorned by the "new left" and the students, virtually bankrupt, splintered and ineffectual. Here again, "Communist" must be a "code" word.

The third component of this trinity selected by a majority is "the courts," the very bodies assigned by our American system to maintain law and order. It is a curious but also a significant fact that the most avid proponents of "law and order" tend to be the strongest opponents of the nation's Supreme Court and of any and all measures for gun control.

What is currently most apparent is that, probably in reverse order, these three—the courts, the Communists and the militant Negroes have been the major targets of the radical right—the John Birchers, the Citizens' Councils, the Liberty Lobby and the rest—for years.

Equally, and not at all coincidentally, they were the targets of George Wallace whose candidacy was supported by the troops of the radical right. Wallace provided the key to the "code" of the word "Communist" each time he delivered his speech. The Communists, he told us, are "running wild in the United States." The context made it clear that "Communists" are "anarchists," "free-speech folks," "liberals," all the "theys" that look down their noses at the "we's." He stressed his racist record even by the tongue-in-cheek act of denying it. He attacked the courts wholesale and, with them, "bureaucrats," "pointed-head intellectuals," the whole structure of rational, democratic government.

A quarter to nearly one-third of those who see courts, Communists and militant Negroes as major causes of the "breakdown" of law and order did choose Wallace as their candidate in the August Harris poll. The rest divided between Nixon and Humphrey, but in sharply contrasting proportions from those who did not see these factors as major causes for "breakdown."

The actual tabulations of the contrasting preferences are given:

Impact of Court Issue

	Courts and Disorders: Major Cause	Not Major Cause
Voting Preference:		
Nixon	43%	37%
Humphrey	24	45
Wallace	25	8
Not sure	8	10

Impact of Communist Issue

	Communists and Disorders: Major Cause	Not Major Cause
Voting Preference:		
Nixon	43%	36%
Humphrey	29	41
Wallace	21	11
Not sure	7	12

Impact of Riot Issue

	Negro militants and Disorders: Major Cause	Not Major Cause
Voting Preference:		
Nixon	43%	37%
Humphrey	23	49
Wallace	31	2
Not sure	3	12

And Hitler

Beyond the implications of these probings of the contemporary American mind, there is a deeply disturbing historic parallel. Hitler, too, conducted a fear campaign. The specters he raised were the Communists, a "race" — the Jews — and the "decadent bourgeois democracy." The debt of the American radical right to *Mein Kampf* is neither accidental nor incidental. The apparent fact that a majority of Americans has bought the essentials of their propaganda arsenal is new and is serious beyond the possibility of exaggeration. It can happen here! ■

Dr. Trimble is NCC Director of Research Interpretation and Editor of "Information Service" from which this article was adapted.

A Local Church Renewed

Un-Ghettoing Suburbia

Harold Fray and Eliot Church

by L. I. STELL

IN affluent Newton, Mass., a man is actually mixing oil and water — blending a community out of 500 conservative and liberal suburbanites. He is the Rev. Harold Fray, a United Church of Christ minister. In a recent informal NCC survey of 150 denominational leaders, his name came up most often as one of the best local catalysts of church renewal in the country.

Fray, 43, is softspoken, but carries high the stick of doom, shared by many critics, that the majority of local American churches are "suffocating" — his favorite description of modern church malaise. Yet in contrast, Fray assumes "dem dry bones are going to be around for a long time and contain potential for new life"—the skeleton doesn't have to be cremated. It is when a church is sure it's not mistranslating John 3:16 into ". . . for God so loved the *church*. . ." says Fray, that this new world is opened to it.

Even critics would agree he has brought a new world into his own Eliot Church. Nobody's suffocating. Even though the airdrafts were too heated for some, more people actually joined the church during his stay than fled the rise in temperature (12 families joining last month).

When Fray arrived in 1963—fresh from fighting organized crime in his first pastorate at Utica, N.Y.—the church showed little trace of its origins. John Eliot, famous for converting and championing 1,000 Massachusetts Indians, had founded it as a mission, one day's ride from Boston. In the '60s, however, many influential members (two of the last four mayors of Newton were members of Eliot) of the local tribe could drive 12 minutes from their shady verandas to jobs in the heart of Boston. They and their fellow Newtonians, housed in a like-topsy blend of 14 former villages, now number 90,000 and have a mean income of $9,500.

After Fray's arrival the complexion of Eliot church life changed even more radically than has the town's. For example, a controversial Peace Center for Newton was alloted free office space in the church building. Besides the invasion of this peace force, in 1964 Eliot's corridors began to echo with the enthusiastic sounds of black children.

They came from central Boston to join members' children—Fray has three boys and three girls of his own—in a Freedom School. In the summer of 1965 more Boston children were bused in from the city for a Headstart Program. The educational fervor generated by these programs led the church to establish a year-round nursery school.

Outside the confines of the church grounds, six Eliot churchmen, including Fray, responded to the call to march in Selma in 1963. Nearer home, the church's lay-led Long Range Planning Committee became the dynamic catalyst of an ecumenical attempt to provide low income housing to South Boston where study revealed that urban renewal by the city would soon price many residents out of their community. By 1968 the Committee's investment of a generous amount of time, talent and some $10,000 of church funds had yielded the Cooperative Metropolitan Ministry. The CMM is now sponsored by 23 other churches and synagogues (including three Roman Catholic Parishes) and budgets $250,000. Its experimental low income housing program is being cited by experts as an example of how private—religious and secular—institutions can help demolish slums without depersonalizing them.

Other issues and innovations came up in the last five years at Eliot. One of the most striking was sparked by a $2,000 legacy received in 1963. After soul-searching, the church offered it as seed money for a fund to sponsor black student scholarships. Added to by other churches, the fund has already dispended $65,582 to 240 deserving college students. The increase in giving, despite sky-will-fall predictions, has been sustained and the budget balanced.

Along with Eliot church's pilgrimage into activism, Fray personally became the center of several controversies. The most widely publicized was his acceptance on November 16, 1967, of an offering of draft cards burned on the altar of Old West Methodist Church, Boston. (He did so as elected chairman of a regional group of clergy, the Committee of Religious Concern for Peace.) Fray, holding two offering plates still smoldering for peace, appeared close up, on page one of a Boston newspaper.

Outside the church Fray often joins youth-dominated peace demonstrations.

Such corporate and personal activity led Eliot church to caucus publicly, as a whole and in small groups in the spring of 1968. No formal vote of confidence in the church's staff or officers was ever asked for. Open discussion salved the wounds of splintered feelings and opinions and even instigated new areas of concern. The details of all aspects of Eliot's story are clearly put in a short book by Fray titled, *Conflict and Change in The Church*, to be published in January, 1969, by the Pilgrim Press.

In a recent interview, Fray elaborated his style and assumptions about the church, the world and the minister as a part of both. He tends to punctuate his remarks with laughter, gently spoofing the deadly seriousness which often accompanies and convolutes ecclesiastical self-analysis.

If Fray chose any single method to achieve his individualistic approach to ministry, it could be candor, a word he uses again and again. On several occasions when his personal actions to foment peace and civil rights raised criticism, Fray responded with lengthy pastoral letters. One of their main themes was that the openness which makes for real community, real discipleship, "*only comes into focus when the church has to face specific decisions*" over the use put to church space or the members' financial and human resources. "The church is not seeking to hit society over the head—to tell people they're a bunch of SOB's," he says. "It needs to release material and human wealth for the good of all men. This tremendous potential in the church needs to be baptized. It's sacrilege, for example, for men of real power in secular fields to only be Sunday ushers."

In most suburban communities, says Fray, "the church together with other organizations merely performs a social function of fellowship." The only difference is context, for many in the church are "nearing the end of their lives and asking, 'what's it all about anyway?' " But in a positive way, this dependence works against schism, says Fray, "because many can't emotionally break with the church even though they violently disagree with becoming involved in social issues."

Inside the church one of his own six children engages him.

"The church is not seeking to hit society over the head – to tell people they're a bunch of SOB's. It needs to release material and human wealth for the good of all men."

At Old West Methodist Church in Boston a resister burns his draft card, while from the lectern Fray ignites consciences on moral issues knotted to Vietnam.

For this reason, he concludes, one of the roles of the church is, and will remain, being a "reverent infirmary" for all of its members.

At the same time—unless it only wants to rattle dry bones—the church can learn to be a "relevant armory," a fort to arm for the battle of becoming truly human—and demanding that right for others. One sociological result of attempting to be both armory and infirmary is that "the church becomes pluralistic," says Fray. Interests and needs, particularly if decisions of priority are forced on members, bring people together in like groups.

The key to Christian fellowship then hinges on "not stifling the freedom" of the various groups to do their thing. To help formally recognize this key, the congregation of Eliot Church adopted on October 18, 1967, what Fray describes as an "Ecclesiastical Tonkin Agreement":

"As members of the Eliot Church of Newton we set, as our goal for 1968, the development of opportunities through which each one in the church may exercise his Christian ministry and commitment by personal involvement in projects and service on his own choosing, within the framework of a balanced budget."

Despite this pluralistic bill of rights, says Fray, freedom from others' wet-blanketing the individual conscience comes hard. "Inside, as well as outside the church, people are experiencing a breakdown of power and authority as they have grown to know it. They are seeing a rapid breaking apart of the social order in which they have a vested interest," says Fray. "It takes a highly mature person to believe enough in his own convictions to let his neighbor be different. To let truth prevail and not suppress it. But once one of these doors to freedom is unlocked, "five more appear behind it." Through these doorways lie the new task and form of the church.

But Fray not only publicizes the truth, he says the church in the last quarter of the 20th century, must attempt to "incarnate" the truth. Ministers should be in the vanguard of those in the church who sacrifice themselves to the teeth of amoral social mores in "making the truth flesh." "There is no qualitative difference between them and the laymen who accompany them," says Fray, "but quantitively, in the economy of time, I'm freed to some things laymen can't do." Thus, action forms the backbone of Fray's time schedule. He often purposely weaves his counseling into the context of actively working for change.

Peace reigns at an Eliot Church School play, where children and parents quietly share their faith and insights.

Fray cheerfully admits that he fights the temptation of megalomania. Submitting his ideas to a thorough evaluation by his conscience, his wife and his congregation, Fray says, prevents him from becoming a stereotyped activist: the modern super-Christian—all glassy-eyed for human rights and peace as his predecessors used to be all for temperance.

One example of where this kind of posture leads him was the accepting of draft card ashes. "In taking them I feel as patriotic as anybody else. Though I very strongly support due process of law, I also believe very strongly in the cry of Jeremiah—who was passionately concerned for the welfare of his nation—that sometimes you must 'tear down, in order to build up.' These days, to simply go along with the government is not functioning as a citizen or under the mandate of being Christian."

Fray and his congregation are considering putting more flesh on their convictions. During his vacation last summer, four on Eliot's Board of Deacons attended a Friends' meeting in Boston, which discussed the concept of the "church as sanctuary" for draft resisters (sanctuary as support in the form of prayer, counseling, legal aid rather than a haven from arrest).

The four deacons came back and called for meetings in the church to consider the feasibility of opening Eliot as a sanctuary. As one 72-year-old member of the board put the situation in a recent conversation with Fray, "A year ago the hair would stand up on the back of my neck to even hear of such a proposal. But now I believe we have to listen."

And then there's this other group of laymen who asked Fray to meet with them the other night to "revamp the unreal world of the 11 o'clock service." In the meeting, Fray admitted that Sunday worship "is one of the biggest hang-ups I have as a minister. A minister pontificating from up here to a congregation down there isn't the way we communicate in this society. But you can't rip off old clothes, if you haven't got a new suit for people to wear."

After the meeting, Fray didn't have his complete suit, but the group at least produced some work togs. More lay participation was the first change needed, they concluded. Result: In late October, a man and wife were given complete charge of a service to treat the theme of life and death.

"But our experiments will be real," Fray concluded, "only as our total life develops." ■

SCHOOLS: New Frontier of Human Rights

by JOHN FISLER

The front line at Ocean Hill-Brownsville

As TEMPO went to press, the New York City school teachers' strike was still in progress. By now, it may have been settled in one way or another. But the issues it raised are very live and will continue to be of major importance in urban communities throughout the country. In his article, Contributing Editor John Fisler sketches these issues sharply. . . Editor

A CONFRONTATION of "teacher power versus community power" is the way New York Times education editor Fred Hechinger described the New York City School crisis on the eve of the first of three teacher strikes that have paralyzed education in 900 schools serving 1.1 million students.

Since then the power struggle over decentralization and community control of schools, centered in Brooklyn's eight school Ocean Hill-Brownsville experiment, has escalated into a dangerous racial confrontation and growing black-Jewish tensions.

Similar crises in urban education are taking place in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Miami, Milwaukee and other large cities across the nation, as largely black communities move to exert more control over the education of their children. This movement comes after efforts to improve the quality of education through integration in urban centers is generally admitted to have failed, and parents continue to face what the National Urban League calls the "intolerable" situation in which their children are three to four years behind their suburban counterparts.

As Mr. Hechinger wrote, "The demand for local power is in part the result of the complexity of urban life. But in even larger measure it is the consequence of the general failure to bring about greater racial integration in American urban society."

What is "decentralization" and "community control"? Why do most professional educators view it as a promising step in large cities now under a centralized educational bureaucracy? How did it first gather momentum?

Writes Hechinger: "Long years of dissatisfaction with a lumbering central bureaucracy had demoralized all sectors of the system. Everything from policy decisions to supplies had been coming down to the local levels too slowly.

"Although dissatisfaction had long been simmering, it erupted only when the racial question moved to the fore. School enrollment is now 52 percent Negro and Puerto Rican.

"Efforts at integration, hopeless in many ghetto areas, failed to satisfy the demands of civil rights forces. When Intermediate School 201, which had been promised white students, opened all-black in 1966, the community demanded the right to take over. Following the 201 controversy, the Ford Foundation, in 1967, helped create the three demonstration school districts — at I.S. 201, Ocean Hill-Brownsville, and on Manhattan's lower East Side. Decentralization had already been urged by Mayor John V. Lindsay four months earlier. The program at the demonstration districts was designed to test the concept of decentralization.

"Decentralization in all the varied proposals had this common denominator: locally elected or appointed boards would have wide powers over the selection of personnel, allocation of budget funds, the adaptation of the curriculum and the deployment of staff; the central board would retain substantial powers over the quality of curriculum, would enforce the rules protecting teachers' rights, would continue system-wide collective bargaining with the union, and would allocate budgets to local districts."

The essence of decentralization and community control is to involve parents, teachers and pupils in creating a new community climate for education that will raise the level of children's achievement. Motivation, discipline in classes and achievement are strongly influenced by the degree parents exercise responsibility for education. What most suburban parents take for granted in their close relationship to their "decentralized" schools is now viewed as a critical necessity for improving ghetto education.

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville experiment in decentralization, and the plans in New York to begin city-wide decentralization in 1969 by creating 30 local school districts have now been placed in jeopardy by the massive intervention of the United Federation of Teachers with a membership of 50,000, led by Albert Shanker. There are approximately 60,000 teachers in the New York City school system.

This union, backed by the AFL-CIO labor council, has mounted an all-out campaign against the Ocean Hill governing board. It claims that the 19 teachers the board wanted transferred last May were not given "due process" (nine of these later voluntarily requested transfer leaving 10 "disputed teachers"). The board also requested transfer of 73 other teachers who went out on strike last May and since then has militantly resisted efforts of the Board of Education to restore the 83 teachers to classroom assignments.

Proponents of "community control" insisted that while the UFT claims it is for decentralization, it opposed the formation of the community board at I.S. 201 in 1966 and spent an estimated $500,000 last Spring, lobbying at the state capitol in Albany to defeat or water down the legislation that authorized New York City's decentralization plan. Expenditures for almost daily ads in newspapers and radio announcements in the current campaign far exceed what the union spent last spring, most observers agree.

Why is the union waging what the New York Times has called a "rule or ruin" campaign in the face of what has developed to be the most dangerous racial polarization in New York history?

"The union fears," writes Hechinger, "that if it gives in to the governing board's demands that 100 or so teachers be transferred out of the district, it will have lost the confidence of its members in its ability to protect them.

"Althought every decentalization plan proposed has emphasized the need to preserve the hard-won right of the union to bargain on a city-wide basis, the UFT seems afraid that unless the powers of the local boards are clearly defined, it will find itself in the chaotic situation of having to bargain with 30 different boards."

The lack of clarity in defining the powers of the experimental boards by the Board of Education has been identified as the major cause of the crisis and is an object lesson for other cities as decentralization plans are implemented.

The New York Civil Liberties Union's documented report, "The Burden of Blame," lays heavy responsibility for the conflict on the Board of Education and the UFT. Its conclusions were:

"1. That from the beginning, *the central Board of Education attempted to scuttle the experiment in Ocean Hill-Brownsville* by consistently refusing to define the authority of the local Governing Board;

"2. *That the United Federation of Teachers has used "due process" as a smokescreen* to obscure its real goal, which is to discredit decentralization, and sabotage community control;

"3. That there are serious shortcomings in existing Board of Education standards of due process, which have long permeated the entire school system; and that to the degree that the Ocean Hill-Brownsville board violated due process, it did so only by following normal standards and procedures of the Board of Education;

"4. That the major burden of blame for the chaos in Ocean Hill-Brownsville must fall on the central Board of Education and, lamentably, the United Federation of Teachers."

Complicating the issue have been the charges of the union that the local board is anti-white and anti-semitic. Actually the present staff of "loyal" teachers and new teachers hired by Rhody McCoy, unit administator, is 75 percent white and 50 percent Jewish, according to the Rev. Herbert C. Oliver, board chairman. He also says that not one of these teachers has been threatened or intimidated by community people.

At this writing the powerful forces allied with the union against the relatively powerless and unorganized proponents of community control, coupled with the difficult contract negotiations under way with the police, the firemen and sanitation workers, has greatly limited Mayor Lindsay's power to effect a settlement that would not place in jeopardy the city's entire school decentralization plan.

There is hope, however, in the growing public awareness of the real issues and the mounting support of major organizations for school decentralization. The National Council of Churches, in addition to the supportive statement of Dr. Charles S. Spivey, Jr., executive director of its Department of Social Justice, has formed a task force of denominational representatives to assist church groups in large cities to meet the issues of decentralization. The United Church of Christ's Committee for Racial Justice is forming, in New York City, an Interreligious School Decentralization Foundation to organize and train parents to participate in community control of schools. William Land, a community organizer, has been employed to lead this effort. He and a staff of five have been at work for several weeks, assisting Ocean Hill-Brownsville and organizing parents in several Manhattan districts.

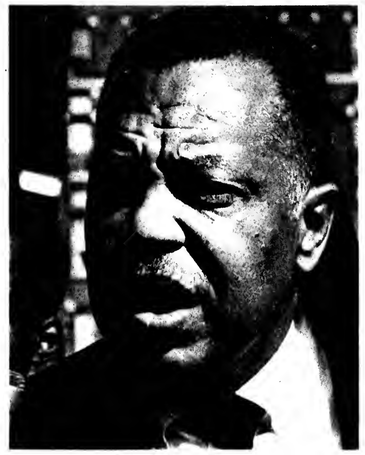
An impressive number of educators and leaders have formed an Emergency Citizens Committee to Save School Decentralization and Community Control. This organization includes Dr. Kenneth Neigh, executive of the United Presbyterian Church's Board of National Missions.

(Continued on page 11)

New guard duty and new rights.

This is a power struggle with national implications of the most serious nature. The Negro demand for local control is just beginning. It will go on regardless of who is President, and it will undoubtedly spread into most of the urban communities of the nation . . . . *James Reston in the New York Times.*

UFT leader Albert Shanker (center) and civil rights leader, Bayard Rustin (right) at City Hall rally



Community administrator Rhody McCoy

From A Concerned Black Parent:

TALKBACK TO TEACHERS

"It's like I told the lady with the due process sign on her shoulder: 'If you go inside and teach, I'll take a half day off from work and picket in your place.' "

Mrs. Peterson

Speaking to TEMPO is Mrs. Elsie Peterson, mother of four and during the 12 years a member, secretary and chairman of the ALL DAY NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS citywide Citizen's Council, 14 grammar schools in poverty-stricken sections of New York City. Mrs. Peterson is a community worker—liaison between the staff and neighborhood—for the Bronx office of the State Employment Service. Her daughter, Ethne is a freshman at Brooklyn College.

"The next day that teacher did take my advice and went back into PS 63—but like other pro-union members inside, she's accepting no pay. Now how do both kinds of militants explain that? We explain it that she really cares about our children and doesn't want to be partly responsible for producing another crop of dropouts. We're on her side.

"Everybody knows—and refuses to admit—that the real issue is and will remain a proper education. It's not job security or community control. Neither is it a black-white or Jewish-Christian thing. It's just that many teachers, through their union, are afraid to have their brand of education up for review.

"Take community control. It's already existed and worked well in New York City for thirty years. In the All Day Neighborhood Schools — there are now 14 in ghetto areas of all five New York boroughs—the home community and school have a close working relationship—a happy one."

Mrs. Peterson explained that the students have the regular grammar school curriculum from 9 to 3. From 3 to 5 in the afternoon they are taught remedial reading, meet in special interest clubs or take field trips to "museums and other places which bring books to life."

Teachers work in dual, overlapping shifts from 9-3 and 11-5. They are automatically enrolled in a continuing education program. Parents not only have a PTA, but open a Citizen's Committee to anyone in the neighborhood interested in education. After meeting at various social gatherings, criticism seems easier for both sides to take. To further ease frictions, each All Day Neighborhood School employs a psychologist, psychiatrist, social worker and community coordinator—a kind of educational ombudsman.

"Teachers don't have to fear ghetto parents," says Mrs. Peterson. "No one is more aware of the teacher's frustrations. Just last year I, myself, argued before the Board of Education hearing to give our teachers higher salaries, smaller classes, more supplies.

"The work record is all we care about — teaching the child the best you can. And here are some don'ts. We don't want to hear our children say that for the sixth geography lesson in a row the teacher has told them about his trip to Europe—a place where most won't visit except on furlough on the way to some new Vietnam.

"We don't want to hear again about how socially and culturally deprived our children are, and how hard they are to teach, because of the family situation. Many might not know how to read when they get to school, but many feachers assume they don't even know how to count.

"And about this new math. Maybe it's better. If so they ought to teach it in a way that parents at home can understand enough to help the child with the homework. Between books and the child's understanding, the stuff should be clear to parents — many of whom want to learn and are constantly hungry to re-educate themselves. But don't tell them to come to parents classes at night. This might mean some working mother wouldn't have time to clean her child and his clothes. The next day he'd go to school dirty.

"I'm far from being a militant, but I believe right is right.

"If somehow parents and teachers are separated, what little educational process that remains is going to break down completely.

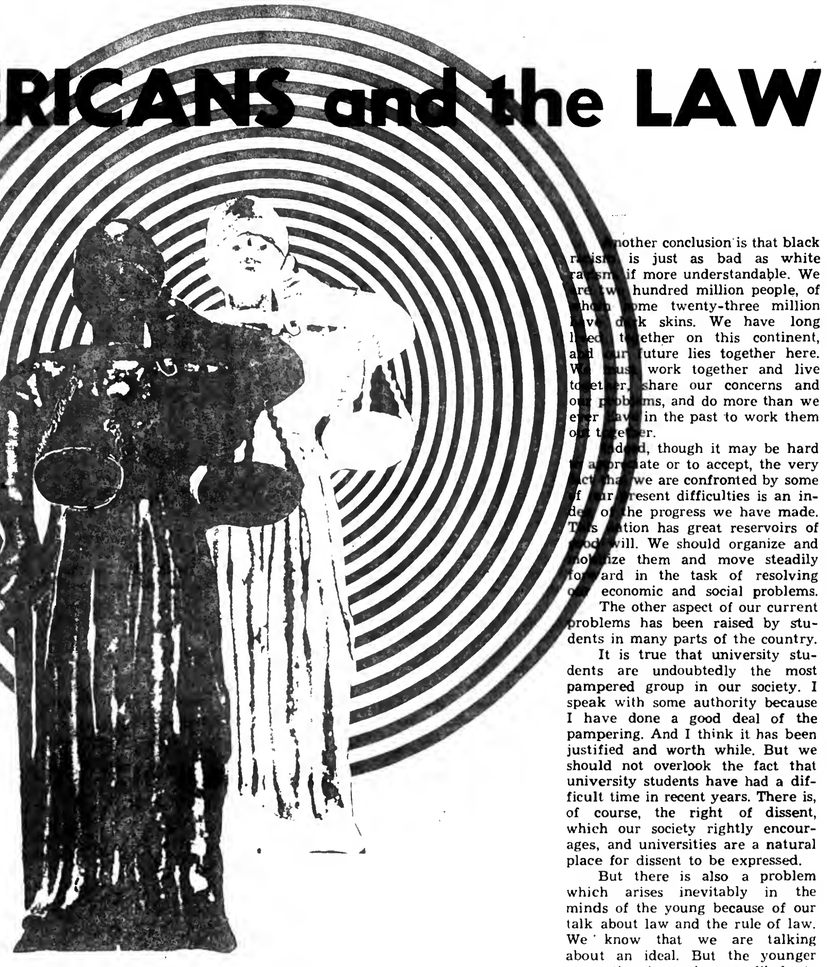
"Parents have been pinned up against the wall. They are fighting for their most precious possession, their chilren. They don't have the choice to be cruel and choose property over life.

"Are we all going to have to learn Swahili and wrap on turbans to be understood and respected even as little as foreigners are?"—*lis*

A Balanced View

AMERICANS and the LAW

by ERWIN N. GRISWOLD



THE problems of social conflicts, which have taken us rather unawares, are large and difficult. A concern about lawlessness is nothing new in this country, but heretofore it has mostly been with respect to what might be called "ordinary" crime, crime on the streets, burglaries in homes, the sort of thing that criminologists have long been concerned about.

There is a new aspect to this, which may be called "organized crime," crime which is not done haphazardly by some individual wrongdoer, but is instead carried out as a part of a substantial "well-organized business operation."

In recent years, however, we have still another problem to contend with—rioting, burning, mass destruction, sometimes on a spur-of-the-moment basis, with little specific cause, and often apparently carried out by juveniles who seem to participate largely because they think it is a lark.

All thoughtful citizens agree that this is a desperately serious matter, and we must find some way to get it under control. Some seek easy ways to do that. We should call out the army and shoot these people, we are told. That is what the Czars did, what the British did in Boston in 1772, and what the South Africans did at Sharpesville in 1960.

That way leads to deep bitterness, to martyrs, valid or otherwise — do you remember Horst Wessel? — and to revolution. We must try to find a better way.

Closely parallel to this, I believe, is massive and egregious misconduct by student groups. Though this has been less destructive of physical property, it has already done vast harm to our self-respect and to our intellectual resources, and is of profound moral concern. The two aspects of the problem, coming together, are something new in our experience.

Why have these things happened? What can we do about them? The earmark of these new developments, I think, is that the actions are generally done by, or with the backing of, large groups or masses of people acting in parallel, with or without agreement; and they are usually accompanied with what might be called an ideological element or motivation.

We do not know very much about group or crowd behavior, but it may well be that the answers to our problems will be found in the area of human motivation and reaction which we call crowd psychology, rather than in the area of criminology.

I do not mean to justify or applaud the conduct which we have witnessed. But we need to understand it if we are to resolve it.

In the first place, we should consider whether we do not all share a great responsibility for the disregard for law which is deep-seated in American thought and mores. I am not talking about some abstract collective guilt, or about the fact that we are all inevitably our brothers' keepers. The virus of disregard for law has been planted deeply in American thought and customs, and we should not be surprised that it breaks out in unexpected ways in unexpected places.

Any country that was founded in revolution has a certain amount of congenital disregard for law in its blood. Then came a century of the frontier, where law did not always receive first priority. In our generation there is, of course, the whole prohibition episode. Why did the Eighteenth Amendment fail, leading ultimately to its repeal? Obviously because large numbers of people would not comply with it. What people? Our leading and most successful citizens, lawyers, judges, academic people, business men, leaders of the community.

To them it mattered not that the law was indisputably valid. They did not like the law, and they chose not to comply with it.

The first two instances in recent times, when it was necessary to call out Federal troops to enforce the law, were in Arkansas and Mississippi. A similar episode was narrowly averted in Alabama. In each case, it was the chief executive officer of the state who was defying the law, supported by large masses of citizens.

When the law is so honored in the breach, often with the full support of local public officials, should we be surprised that pleas for law observance fall on deaf ears?

To too many people, the police, whose task it is to enforce the law, are inevitably the enemy. They are the ones who maintain the status quo, who preserve the privileges of those who have against those who have not.

I am not criticizing the police. They have performed their duties remarkably well in most instances. But their task is an extremely difficult one, and often virtually impossible when they have to deal with masses of people as has been the case in the recent past. It will only be with long-continued effort that we can restore the image of the "friendly cop."

The law is a remarkable structure for social control, and it has served us well. But it is clearly a premise of the law that, once its norms are established, they will be complied with by most people as a matter of course. But when there is mass resistance to the law, we need other tools, other sanctions, a different kind of leadership, which will make us all aware of the fundamental importance of compliance with basic decencies if organized society is to survive. No man can honestly want chaos.

Out of all this, some conclusions can be drawn.

First, we should recognize that an element of lawlessness runs deep in all elements of American society. This is understandable, but it is not good.

Another conclusion is that black racism is just as bad as white racism, if more understandable. We are two hundred million people, of whom some twenty-three million have dark skins. We have long lived together on this continent, and our future lies together here. We must work together and live together, share our concerns and our problems, and do more than we ever have in the past to work them out together.

Indeed, though it may be hard to appreciate or to accept, the very fact that we are confronted by some of our present difficulties is an index of the progress we have made. This nation has great reservoirs of good will. We should organize and mobilize them and move steadily forward in the task of resolving our economic and social problems.

The other aspect of our current problems has been raised by students in many parts of the country.

It is true that university students are undoubtedly the most pampered group in our society. I speak with some authority because I have done a good deal of the pampering. And I think it has been justified and worth while. But we should not overlook the fact that university students have had a difficult time in recent years. There is, of course, the right of dissent, which our society rightly encourages, and universities are a natural place for dissent to be expressed.

But there is also a problem which arises inevitably in the minds of the young because of our talk about law and the rule of law. We know that we are talking about an ideal. But the younger generation is much more likely to see the gap in this area between our practice and our preachment.

A further factor contributing to emotion and to strong reaction arises out of our draft laws. There are clearly inequities here and arbitrariness, or what seems to be arbitrariness, in the administration of the draft laws. The draft has all but made effective academic discipline impossible. Why is this? The students who have misbehaved at Columbia, or California, or Stanford, or wherever, should be expelled, you say. Their conduct surely merits that, as far as the university is concerned.

But what happens if they are expelled, or even suspended for a year? They cease to be students, they are immediately classified 1-A, and are very likely to be drafted. This converts the academic penalty into something potentially far more serious, and many faculty members, who usually participate in disciplinary actions, have not been willing to take such a responsibility.

Here then, we are dealing with masses of people, and the answers cannot be found in the law alone. We must find them in group psychology. We must be patient and as persuasive as we can.

—Dr. Griswold is Solicitor General of the U.S. and a former dean of the Harvard University Law School. (From his article in "Trial" Magazine)

WASHINGTON REPORT

by David Ackerman

Crime: The Rhetoric and The Facts

MOST OF THE RHETORIC ABOUT CRIME during the now-completed campaign of 1968 has served to exploit rather than to inform the fear and anxiety permeating our society. The politics of crime, like the politics of communism, during an earlier era, has been irresponsible and misleading. The crime issue has been used to sow distrust among various groups in the population and to create scapegoats among responsible officials. Few have faced directly the real threats posed by the disorders plaguing our society. Even fewer have evoked the opportunities opened by this trauma of change.

But if public policy is to be formulated intelligently, the problem of crime must be looked at honestly. Crime cannot continue to be a catchword of alarm evoking images of grinning rioters, unwashed youth, and predatory strangers — a catchword, in short, for the entire spectum of social disturbances.

WHAT ARE THE FACTS ON CRIME? Is it a manageable problem? How can we cope with it? These are the questions that must be considered. The following paragraphs attempt to lift the veil of fear and anxiety from the face of crime by examining the facts. The emphasis is on the facts about crimes of violence against the person (murder, forcible rape, aggravated assault, robbery) rather than on organized crime, white collar crime, loansharking, narcotics, etc. For important as these other areas are, it is the crimes of violence against the person that arouse the most fear and anxiety and seem most subject to factual distortion. The facts are taken from the FBI's uniform crime report — L9767 (title underlines) and the 1967 report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration.

IS CRIME INCREASING? The only available statistics say "yes". Over 3.8 million serious crimes were committed in the U.S. in 1967, a 16% increase over 1966. Most of these, however, were crimes against property (burglary, larceny of $50 or more, auto theft), which accounted for 87% of the total. Only 13 per cent were crimes affecting personal safety. Nevertheless, there is cause for concern. Since 1960 the RATE of crime against persons per 100,000 population has increased 57 per cent and the rate of crime against property has increased 73 per cent.

WHERE DOES CRIME OCCUR? According to the Crime Commission, "one of the most fully documented facts about crime is that the common serious crimes that worry people most — murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, and burglary—happen most often in the slums of large cities. The offenses, the victims, and the offenders are found most frequently in the poorest and most deteriorated and socially disorganized areas of cities."

WHO COMMITS CRIME? Most people at one time or another — often in their youth — have committed offenses for which they might have been sentenced if they had been apprehended and tried. Most, however, do not persist in such offenses. Studies show that of those who are apprehended as adults, many have a history of delinquency as youths. Further, repeated offenders constitute the hard core of the crime problem. Finally, the offender who ends up in prison is, according to the Crime Commission, "likely to be a member of the lowest social and economic groups in the country, poorly educated and perhaps unemployed, unmarried, reared in a broken home, and to have a prior criminal record." In short, those who commit crime are likely to have been juvenile delinquents, to have committed offenses before, and to have the least reason for being responsible to and for society.

WHAT IS THE VICTIMIZATION RATE? For example, how likely is an individual to be the victim of a major crime **against his person?** The average likelihood of a serious personal attack on any individual American in a given year is, according to the Crime Commission, about one in 550. However, the risks of personal harm are spread very unevenly: the actual risk for slum dwellers is much higher, for most people much lower.

HOW MUCH DANGER IS THERE FROM THE "STRANGER IN THE STREET?" There is more danger from people one knows than from strangers. About 70 percent of all willful homicides and nearly two-thirds of all aggravated assaults and forcible rapes are committed by persons related to or known to the victim. Only robbery, of the four major crimes against the person, is more likely to be committed by a stranger.

WHAT CAN BE DONE? No panacea for crime is possible. But there is much that can be done. The slums and ghettoes that are the breeding grounds of crime can be reshaped by building decent homes, improving education, providing jobs and recreational opportunities, etc. The ability of the police to detect and apprehend offenders can be improved by upgrading the quantity and quality of police personnel and conducting research into new methods of crime control. The speed and fairness of the judicial system can be increased by revising court procedures; upgrading the quality and quantity of judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys; eliminating inequities in the handling of rich and poor offenders; expanding the use of release without bail pending trial, etc. The capacity of the correctional system to rehabilitate rather than just control offenders can be greatly aided by better personnel and more diversified forms of treatment.

All of these steps will take time, imagination, people, and money. The Congress this year authorized and began to fund programs to help states and localities improve their police and their means of treating young offenders. But in the process it showed the danger of political irresponsibility on this issue by treading heavily on civil liberties and on the supreme court.

IN SUM, CRIME IS A HUMAN AND SOCIAL PROBLEM. It can be handled with compassion and understanding, or with the club. Our newly elected officials, at all levels of government, now must make this decision — on the basis of the facts, and not rhetoric.

WASHINGTON COMMENT

by John Turnbull

A Time for Waiting

WASHINGTON is an oddly quiet place during a presidential campaign. Normally the principal locale of national political battle, it is at election time a dead center in the midst of political storm. Congress has adjourned, and members and their staffs have mostly gone home to campaign and mend fences. None of the major candidates has appeared here (it must be the only major city in the country of which this is true) and come election day itself they all retake themselves to their home territories and view only from afar the city that holds their prize.

Only here and there are there signs of the political times: The old Willard Hotel decked out with bunting and enormous pictures of Nixon and Agnew. A frenzied floor in another building where citizens for Humphrey-Muskie holds forth with its uncounted sub-cultures (nurses, youth, professors, sportsmen, even — would you believe? — rural electric consumers for Humphrey-Muskie), Bumper stickers from all over promoting the causes of local candidates. North Carolina, for example, urging the re-election of Senator Sam Ervin (my goodness, can there be any doubt?).

John Turnbull

The general silence is, of course, intensified by the brooding omnipresence of Lyndon Johnson. Not within memory has an incumbent president seemed so remote from the fray over his succession. It is a bitter irony that Mr. Johnson, four years ago in everyone's mind the master political operator of our time and clearly one of the great vote-getters of all time, should have seen his credit so quickly run out to the point where his efforts on behalf of his heir-apparent must be carefully calculated lest they harm him more than they help.

So Washington waits — and by the time these lines are read it will (barring an electoral-vote stalemate) know for whom it is waiting. In front of the capitol, construction is well underway on the special stands for the inauguration. The present tenants of the White House are readying themselves to vacate, apparently even more eager to get out of it than they ever were to get in. Even the third branch of government, and the one supposedly least subject to the vicissitudes of politics, is in and odd sort of doldrums, presided over by a lame-duck Chief Justice in the battle over whose succession there is a temporary cease-fire.

In January, or perhaps before, it will all begin again, and decisions of unprecedented importance will be required of the new President and the new Congress. For now, however, in the wake of a political year of almost unimaginable surprises, tragedies, and curiosities, it is possible to enjoy the crisp fall air, the abundant chrysanthemums, the relative calm, and a sense that our political institutions are remarkably durable despite the terriffic punishment we regularly require them to take.

it says here . . .

BLACK CLERGY CHARGE DENOMINATIONAL RACISM

ST. LOUIS—(RNS)—Mainline predominantly white American Churches have been lax in ministering to Negroes and other minority groups, and have fostered discrimination by their practices, Black Caucus groups of three denominations charged here.

The Churches must purge themselves of white racism, end all forms of discrimination, correct inequities and give financial assistance to minority groups seeking justice and a greater voice in church affairs, the black churchmen said.

Meeting here in connection with the annual convocation of the National Committee of Negro Churchmen were the Association of Black Lutheran Churchmen, Black Methodists for Church Renewal and Black Presbyterians United.

The Lutheran group, representing clergymen of the American Lutheran Church, the Lutheran Church in America and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, charged their denominations with a racism which has "created a caste system in the Christian church which is dehumanizing and manifests itself by the oppression of black Lutherans by white Lutherans."

The Black Presbyterians United, who have changed their name from "concerned Presbyterians," charged the United Presbyterian Church of which they are a part, with "reaching and abetting the American middleclass at the expense of its ministry to the poor, alienated and oppressed. This is reflected in theological education, Christian education and worship forms which are promoted, the group said.

The United Methodist Church must lift the burden from its black members by developing new strategies in many areas of its life, the executive board of Black Methodists for Church Renewal said.

All three groups took their complaints to their respective denominational leaderships.

More than 700 ministers and laymen attended the 2nd annual convocation of the National Committee for Negro Churchmen, since renamed the National Committee of Black Churchmen. (TEMPO *will carry a comprehensive report, with evaluations, of the convocation in the next issue.*—EDITOR.)

* * *

CHURCH WOMEN LAUNCH NEW PROGRAM

BAGDAD, Kentucky — New programs aimed at involving women in today's crisis problems were voted in at the annual Board of Managers meeting of Church Women United, held here October 21 through 24.

In wide-ranging actions touching both national and international issues, the Board set up appropriate structures for women in over 2,400 units in the nation who are interested in action, reflection, or a little of both.

One program is a nation-wide effort to monitor the mass media, with the aim of lobbying against violence or situations which promote it.

CWU's existing program of seminars at the Church Center for the United Nations will be expanded by additional staff; and four national seminars on the topic "International Development" will be held there over the next year.

Two British women of international note will assist CWU's efforts in this field. Barbara Ward (Lady Jackson), economist and author of *The Lopsided World* will serve as resource leader at a November 20-22 consultation on international development. Dr. Janet Lacey, a World Council of Churches leader and retired director of the British Council of Churches' Inter-Church Aid and Refugee Service, will be a consultant in a series of discussion across the country on world economics.

Five other projects are: a nutrition education program in India, an early school "leavers" project in Guyana, a family guidance service project in Sao Paulo, Brazil, a project to assist the development of women leaders in Botswana and a community development project in the Mississippi Delta.

The board also invited women to share a new method of financing whereby local calls will be made, asking women to take out investment shares in Church Women United.

Four resolutions were passed: on human rights, on police practices, on support of the boycott of California table grapes until economic justice for agricultural workers is achieved, and on peace-building and peace-keeping.

* * *

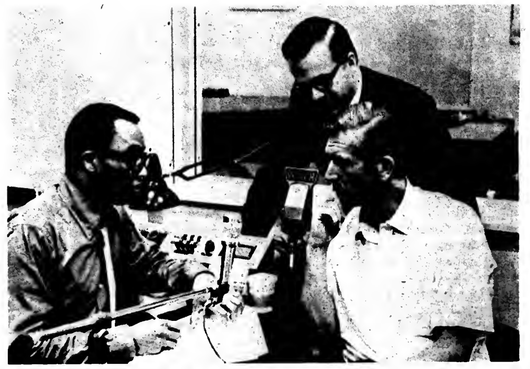
POLICE-CITY HALL TENSIONS IN CLEVELAND

CLEVELAND—The battle between City Hall and the police is "hotter" here than in other cities, says Mayor Carl B. Stokes, but it is not essentially very different.

The first Negro to become mayor of a major U.S. city, he said that the tension "is poisoning the entire community."

Stating that he felt that most of the city's police force are "good men trying to do a very difficult job," Mayor Stokes reported that he was trying to get them new equipment, an education, better insights, and the support of the people.

Meanwhile, the Council of Churches of Christ of Greater Cleveland has named a Negro clergyman as its new general director—the Rev. Dr. Donald G. Jacobs, AME. He succeeds the Rev. B. Bruce Whittemore who now heads the St. Louis Council.



New York's Mayor John V. Lindsay has joined a growing list of top newsmakers on the national church-sponsored radio program Night Call, hosted by Del Shields (left) and produced by Ben T. Logan (standing). In answer to listeners' questions, Mr. Lindsay called the Vietnamese war "unproductive, unwanted, endless, bottomless, sideless." Night Call is produced by the United Methodist Church's TRAFCO in cooperation with the National Council of Churches' Broadcasting and Film Commission and the National Catholic Office for Radio and Television. It has featured such controversial figures as Stokely Carmichael, community organizer Saul Alinsky, and other public figures with competence in current issues facing the nation. Carried by 70 stations across the country, Night Call originates at New York's WRVR.

* * *

CHURCHMEN COMMENT ON DRAFT RECORDS DESTRUCTION

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The action of 14 war protesters who recently entered the Milwaukee draft board offices and destroyed some records is the subject of a two-page statement issued by the Board of Directors of the Greater Milwaukee Council of Churches. "Their action, like that of the Rev. William Sloane Coffin of the Boston Four and Father Phillip Berrigan of the Catonsville Nine, demands a responsible appraisal of our attitude toward the war in Vietnam and civil disobedience," the Board said. (Convictions of the last two groups are now being appealed.)

"We realize, too, that acts of civil disobedience are not technically subverting the legal order if those who, in conscience, break the law are prepared to accept legal punishment." "But," the statement continued, "we cannot in good conscience condone the methods of those who broke into the Milwaukee draft board offices."

In their opinion, said the churchmen, the channels of legitimate dissent are not completely closed. They emphasized their concern that "the forces of moderation in our nation are melting under attacks from left and right" and warned: "Although civil disobedience, if the penalties are accepted, should not subvert the public order, in the present confused state of our nation, it may in fact be doing just that."

* * *

COUNCIL SUPPORTS POLICE RECOGNITION

BETHLEHEM, PA.—The Greater Bethlehem Area Council of Churches is supporting a project of the Downtown Bethlehem Association called "Ambassador in Blue." Designed to give public recognition to members of the police force who perform their duties "diligently but with the utmost courtesy to the public," winners, nominated by a seven-member committee, receive a $25 U.S. savings bond. The "Ambassador of the Year" receives a plaque and $100.

* * *

PLANT NOT A TREE

CHICAGO—(LNS)—Members of one of the city's youth groups recently attempted to plant a "peace and freedom" tree in a small public park in response to Mayor Daley's TV film, "What Trees Do They Plant?"

Eight police cars and a paddy wagon soon surrounded the group of about 50 and at least one man was arrested. He was charged with "planting a tree without a permit." The action occurred in the Joyce Kilmer Triangle.

* * *

LETTERS

ETHNIC SCHOOLS

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville school conflict has yet to be understood in terms which lend themselves to a solution.

It should be clear that any out-group trying to elbow its way into the mainstream of American life has a serious tactical problem; how to keep its children from becoming the hostages of its adversaries. The Irish, the Italians, the Polish and many other out-groups on the way in solved this problem beautifully by the ethnic parochial school. These same schools are clearly counterproductive today as the need for a more specific culture identity than American diminishes. But they were extraordinarily useful in their time.

The tragic truth of the matter is probably best seen in the history of Boston, where Wasp teachers were clearly convinced, during the days when the Irish were engaged in their (justifiably hostile and masterful takeover of Boston politics, that Irish children were unteachable savages, creating precisely the kind of student which their expectations called forth. But the Irish were able to protect a large proportion of their children from the phobias and hostilities of Yankee teachers by putting them in parochial schools where they were taught by their own.

This is the basic educational problem of the black community and in some neighborhoods black Americans are actually setting up their own private schools and these schools so far have proved the black contention that school becomes a whole new ballgame for a black child when the school's total psychological and academic climate says "black is beautiful."

The problem becomes procedurally sticky handled through a large public school system because the transfer of black-phobic teachers is taken as a punitive act on the part of the black administrator by the transferred teachers and they demand a trial.

That black children are made to feel invisible is not understood. It is truly not fair just to punish such teachers for their unconscious prejudices, but administrators like Dr. McCoy should have at their disposal well staffed sensitivity training courses in race relations that they can ask a teacher to take or else to accept a transfer.

Rev. John H. Snow
Episcopal Chaplain
Princeton University

TEMPO'S FIRST ISSUE

Congratulations on the birth of TEMPO. It's like a breath of fresh air—bright, new refreshing.

Ann Davis
Yonkers, N.Y.

Congratulations, cheers and prayers!

John Wood
West Islip, N.Y.

TEMPO is good . . . combines excellent layout with extremely competent writing. It should go a long way toward bridging the communications gap between church leadership and the man in the pew. (Deserves) a wide reading audience.

William B. Cate, Exec. Secy.
Greater Portland (Ore.)
Council of Churches

The first issue augurs well. . . . You do a service to the church, as you help focus attention on the facts and their meaning for Christianity.

Kenneth G. Neigh, Gen. Secy.
Presbyterian Board of Nat'l.
Missions
New York, N.Y.

Hooray for TEMPO!
Richard Sutcliffe
Lutheran Church in America
New York, N.Y.

The cover is excellent . . . contents disappointing. I found lengthy articles dripping with history, interpretation, official pronouncements and very little news.

Rev. David McAlpin, Jr.
Covenant Presbyterian Church
East Detroit, Mich.

I hasten to send you my appreciation for the contents, so much of which will be immediately useful. . . . . Have sent my subscription and look forward to future issues.

Rev. John P. Adams
Board of Christian Soc'l.
Concerns
United Methodist Church
Washington, D.C.

I am very pleased . . . an excellent job. It is exactly this kind of issues interpretation that will strengthen people in the field wishing to interpret the scope of (the churches') social justice efforts. . . . A fine newspaper. I wish it all the very best.

Rev. Eugene L. Boutilier, Dir.
Nat'l. Campaign for
Agricultural Democracy
Washington, D.C.

Schools

(Continued from page 7)

The Protestant Council of the City of New York has long supported school decentralization and its president, Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, strongly supported the Ocean Hill-Brownsville experiment.

An impressive number of teachers, too, have disagreed with union leadership and braved the harrassment of fellow teachers on the picket lines to enter some 400 schools that have been opened in the course of the strike. The fact that only 6,000 teachers voted for the third strike has raised hopes that the teachers may let repudiate union leadership.

Union solidarity, the massive rallies it has organized, and the money it is pouring into its mass media campaign, however, means that "teacher power" may triumph over "community-power" in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Will it mean the defeat of school decentalization in the rest of New York City? That is a critical question not only for New York but also for the nation. ■

They're Saying...

In the last five years, the image of black men as victims of repression has been replaced in the public mind by black men as assailants and aggressors — the black Viet Cong in the nation's midst. Police agencies around the country are stockpiling tear gas, grenades, shotguns and other diverse types of anti-riot, anti-rebellion and anti-crime equipment. In other words, the nation is steadily moving toward a military solution of a social disorganization, just as the United States in Vietnam stumbled into an all-out war.

The great fallacy of politics and political opinion in 1968 is that police action can prevent or can control disorder in the cities. But America has no more the ability to conduct a successful pacification program in the ghettos of its cities than in Vietnamese hamlets. Either the separate black and white communities become one or our cities will become shambles, the black and white ghettos armed camps, and the business districts a no man's land.

—Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, speaking at De Pauw University, Oct. 11, 1968.

What does it really mean, this law-and-order thing? I can't recall when a single issue has been so dominating—and so free of definition. The violence looming over our lives today is intolerable; that much should be clear even to the most doltish. In the press of any big city you will find the calendar of rapes and robberies, stabbings and shootings and beatings-up a thing of nausea. Add the demonstrations, mass riots, police confrontations and pile assassinations on top of them all and you have the picture. But the picture is the problem, not the analysis or the solution. To say that the solution is law-and-order is not to answer the problem but to pose it: How do you turn unlaw into law, disorder into order? Any so-called leader who tells you that law-and-order is an answer, not a question, has more of the charlatan in him than I care for.

—Columnist Max Lerner in the *New York Post*.

Law is a transparent term. Germany, in the Hitler years, had laws concerning the Jews. Russia has laws concerning the practice of worship and religion. China has laws concerning family life as well as religion. For many years, under Franco, Spain has had laws concerning churches and religious groups other than the established Catholic faith. These systems of law produce quite a bit of order. But how many American Christians would advocate obedience to these obviously unjust laws for the sake of order? Even the same people who are talking so much about law and order in this country and who are so hard on civil disobedience would counsel the citizens of these countries to obey the laws of God and shake off the "chains that bind them."

—Talmadge B. Skinner Jr., in the South Carolina Methodist Advocate

To today's young people the conventional forms of authority are shams. Adults, to whose wisdom youth is expected to defer, seem to have produced a dangerous and hate-filled world obsessed with goals and values youth finds repugnant. They reject the "rat race." They are repelled by an adult world that reveres material possessions, that is motivated by the search for status and the unrelenting compulsion to succeed. They resent the hypocrisy of an older generation that presents idealistic guideposts for the young at the same time it rejects them for itself, that self-righteously denies prejudice at the same time it votes down open-housing laws.

Many young people reject the traditional authority of religious faith. To them a personal relationship with God has been suffocated by the "institutionalized church." Youth's alienation and rejection of traditional forms of authority have been magnified by the Vietnam war. Interpreted by an older generation as lacking in patriotism, these young men who question our commitment in the war are often motivated by the highest form of love for their country and the principles upon which it was founded.

—Sen. Mark O. Hatfield in his forthcoming book, *Not Quite So Simple*.

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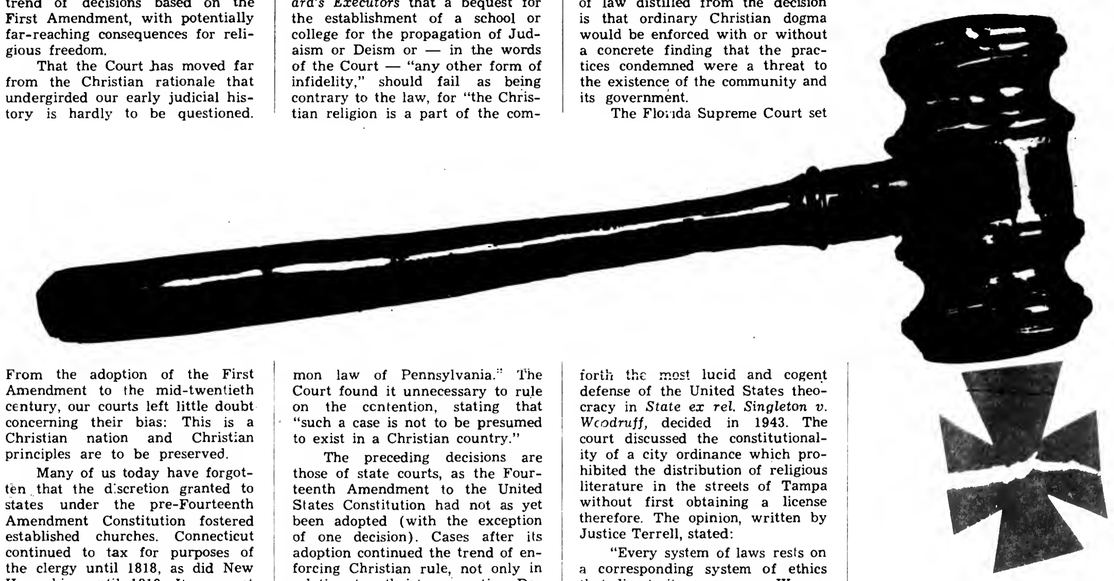
HAVE U.S. COURTS GONE ANTI-CHRISTIAN

by JOHN G. FLETCHER



RIDING down numerous arterial highways in the United States one sees signs reading "Impeach Earl Warren" — an obvious indication that not all Americans look with favor on recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court. Further indication of this discontent is that thirty-two states of the thirty-four required have passed resolutions calling for a Constitutional Convention.

Though much of the discontent can be traced to the Court's decisions on desegregation and reapportionment, a substantial percentage stems from the belief that the Court, in its pursuit of church-state separation, has given aid and comfort to the godless of both domestic and imported varieties. The Bible-reading and prayer-reciting decisions have often been cited as examples of the Court's secularistic bent.

Other citizens—including many prominent constitutional lawyers and leaders of major Christian denominations—believe this Court to be the finest in our history, on the basis of these same decisions. Interests of both church and state, they feel, have been materially advanced by the Court.

Whatever the case, a Constitutional Convention would almost surely challenge the recent trend of decisions based on the First Amendment, with potentially far-reaching consequences for religious freedom.

That the Court has moved far from the Christian rationale that undergirded our early judicial history is hardly to be questioned. From the adoption of the First Amendment to the mid-twentieth century, our courts left little doubt concerning their bias: This is a Christian nation and Christian principles are to be preserved.

Many of us today have forgotten that the discretion granted to states under the pre-Fourteenth Amendment Constitution fostered established churches. Connecticut continued to tax for purposes of the clergy until 1818, as did New Hampshire until 1819. It was not until 1833 that Massachusetts, under pressure from various sects, ceased to collect taxes for the support of the Congregational Church. Thus it was more than forty years after the adoption of the United States Constitution that states ceased to support the establishment of a state religion by direct taxation. All states eventually adopted protective provisions in their constitutions in regard to freedom of religion.

The statement that the United States is not formally a Christian country has been attributed to George Washington. What he intended by this statement, if indeed he said it, is subject to lengthy debate. However, the courts of the Federal and State governments subsequently rendered Washington's statement a nullity.

Toleration of one religion for another grew from a small seed in early colonial times to a strong sapling in the Constitutional Convention days. Subsequent case law, however, leads to the inescapable conclusion that this toleration was extended by Christian to Christian, leaving much to be desired in the way of toleration by Christian for non-Christian, whether atheist, agnostic, Deist, or a follower of Mohammed. Indeed, case law reveals even the intolerance of Christians of "orthodox" belief toward Christians of "unorthodox" belief and practice.

One example is the early nineteenth-century decision of *People v. Ruggles,* a case in which the defendant was accused by the State of New York of the crime of blasphemy. The decision was not unusual for its time, the language employed by the court leaving no doubt that the Christian religion was to be enforced by the state, whereas other religions were not to be.

The language used put the people on notice that the Christian religion was to be defended by the state as it was the belief of the majority and the sole true religion. Other religions, being mere superstitions in the judge's mind, would not receive the state's protection from blasphemy.

In 1844 in Pennsylvania it was seriously contended in *Vidal v. Girard's Executors* that a bequest for the establishment of a school or college for the propagation of Judaism or Deism or — in the words of the Court — "any other form of infidelity," should fail as being contrary to the law, for "the Christian religion is a part of the common law of Pennsylvania." The Court found it unnecessary to rule on the contention, stating that "such a case is not to be presumed to exist in a Christian country."

The preceding decisions are those of state courts, as the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution had not as yet been adopted (with the exception of one decision). Cases after its adoption continued the trend of enforcing Christian rule, not only in relation to atheists, agnostics, Deists, and holders of other non-Christian beliefs but also in relation to "unorthodox" Christians.

In the territories of the continental United States, the enforcement of Christian dogma was fostered. The United States Supreme Court in 1889 had occasion to decide the case of *The Late Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints v. United State (Mormon Church v. United States).* The Mormon Church had been incorporated in February, 1851, by an act of the State of Deseret, the official Mormon name for the Territory of Utah. The territorial legislature of Utah later confirmed the act of incorporation.

The United States Congress, apparently appalled at the teaching and practice of polygamy, which was promoted through official Mormon Church doctrine, enacted legislation repealing the corporate charter of this church, directing seizure of its assets, and directing conclusion of its affairs. Dissolution of the Mormon Church, as it was then constituted, was based on the "barbarous practice" of polygamy, "a crime against the laws, and abhorrent to the sentiments and feelings of the civilized world."

The Court's definition of "civilized world" appears to have intended the Christian world, for Mr. Justice Bradley stated that polygamy was "contrary to the spirit of Christianity and of the civilization which Christianity has produced in the Western world." The decision accepted without question that the United States was a Christian country dedicated to the enforcement of Christian laws and that none could dissent from the enforcement of Christian standards on others.

The holding that polygamy tended to degrade woman and to debase man was unquestionably a moral judgment. Thus it can readily be observed that the Court's opinion was not based on any tangible evidence tending to show that the multi-spouse practices were a danger to the community. On the contrary, the decision was based on the condemnation of practices lying outside orthodox Christian doctrines. Consequently, the principle of law distilled from the decision is that ordinary Christian dogma would be enforced with or without a concrete finding that the practices condemned were a threat to the existence of the community and its government.

The Florida Supreme Court set forth the most lucid and cogent defense of the United States theocracy in *State ex rel. Singleton v. Woodruff,* decided in 1943. The court discussed the constitutionality of a city ordinance which prohibited the distribution of religious literature in the streets of Tampa without first obtaining a license therefore. The opinion, written by Justice Terrell, stated:

"Every system of laws rests on a corresponding system of ethics that directs its course. . . . We are committed to a free exercise of religious opinion but since our system of law rests on Christian ethics one would not be permitted to set up a harem and practice polygamy in Florida under the guise of religious freedom because polygamy is contrary to approved moral standards. . . ."

The foregoing examples of the application of orthodox Christianity as law are but a random sampling of cases throughout the decades. There are numerous cases which support in principle the free exercise and non-establishment of religion. Often enough, however, these cases seemed to extend mere lip service to this principle, while enforcing orthodox Christian standards or allowing only those practices which do not offend such orthodox standards.

The "Christian" period of our courts, the time during which decisions were based on Christian premises, extended up to the mid-twentieth century. In the 1960's came the series of Supreme Court decisions which marked the decline of general court support for orthodox Christianity. With them came also the hardening attitude those Christian bodies assumed, which felt their security, and the security of the nation, to be threatened by the "anti-Christian" trend of the Court.

It may be left to a Constitutional Convention to determine after all whether the gravest threat to the nation and religious freedom lies with the Supeme Court, or with those who yearn for the "good old days" of the Christian-oriented judiciary.

—Mr. Fletcher is first assistant attorney of Pinellas County, Clearwater, Fla. from his article in Liberty *magazine.*

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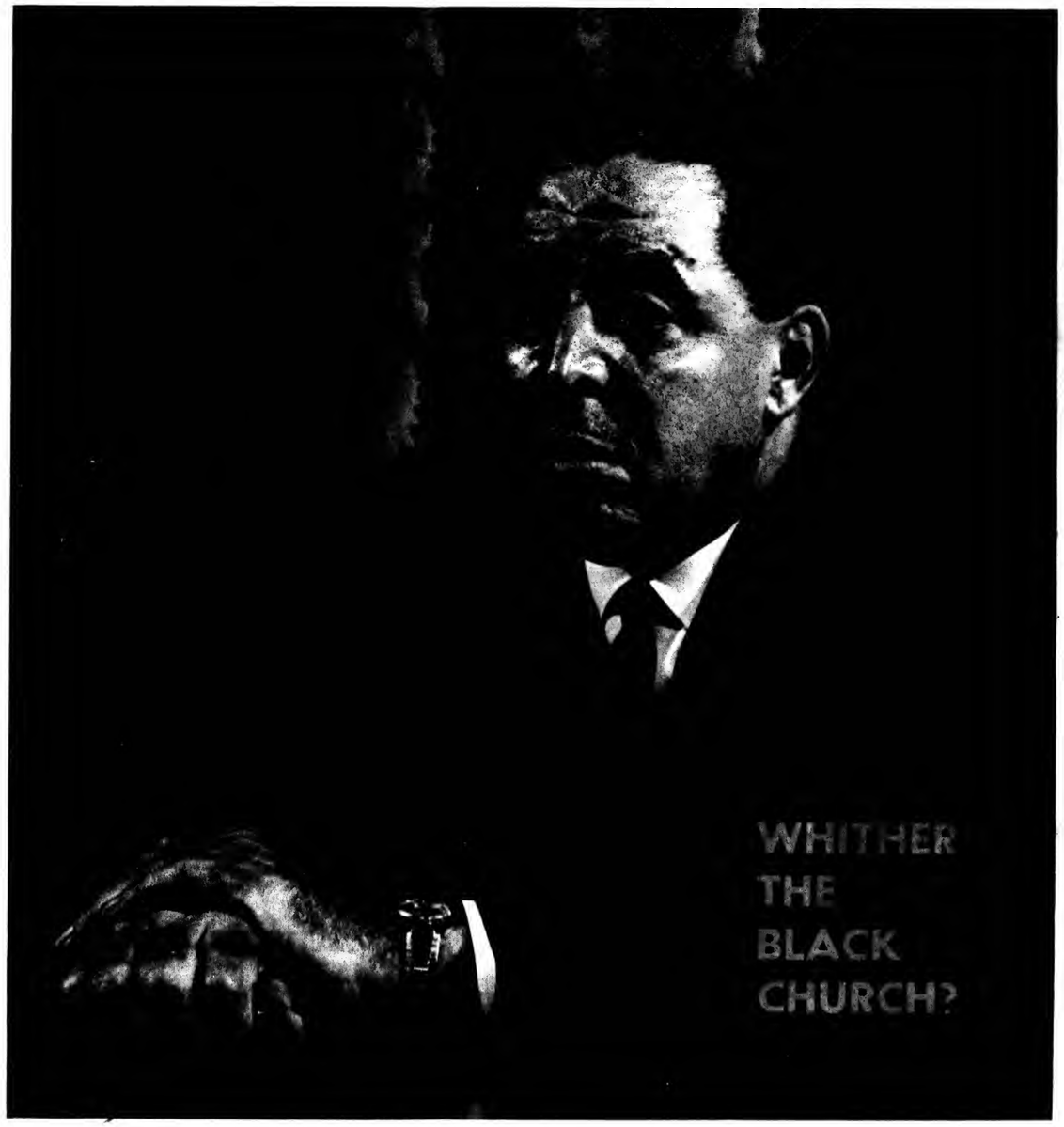

TEMPOsitions . . .

HAPPENING AT ST. LOUIS

When TEMPO decided to carry an editorial assessment of the meaning of the Convocation of the National Committee of Black Churchmen, reported on elsewhere in this issue, it asked the Rev. Leon W. Watts II to write it, because he was there and because he saw and heard it all. His lucid and hard hitting comments appear below.

The Second Annual Convocation of the National Committee of Black Churchmen was indeed an experience, a happening. The N.C.B.C. is not an organization in the ordinary sense; it is a movement by black churchmen to make the church come alive to, and in, the twentieth century. This movement is borne out in any accurate reading of the signs of our times. Superficially, it would appear that it is counter to the unity we claim in Jesus Christ; that it is a separatist movement; that it is a denial of the hope for an integrated society; or that it serves only extra-church functions. Obviously, I don't believe that any of the aforementioned are true. It is, however, a movement which recognizes the apparent lifelessness of existing church institutional structures and the inability of these structures to come to terms with the black revolution and the twentieth century man. It also recognizes and deals honestly with the problems of black-white relationships within and outside the church institutional structures.

It was quite evident in St. Louis that black churchmen of all denominations are beginning to come to grips with the black revolution and the impotence of present structures to deal effectively with it. For at St. Louis every major, predominantly white denomination including Roman Catholics was represented by a black caucus. These caucuses have developed as a result of the recognition, by blacks in predominantly white structures, of a sense of powerlessness, a sense of controllessness, a sense of beinglessness, and a sense of unresponsiveness to the mood ebony. These men for the most part have been radicalized by the consistent move in this country by institutions — and that includes churches — to deprive them of being, power and meaning.

This radicalization makes it impossible for us to remain exclusively tied to decadent, decaying structures. It forces us to face up to our responsibilities in the black community for black men. It explodes the myth of our acceptance without reservation. In short, it causes us to come alive.

The significance of St. Louis could not be captured in these few words, nor can it be known entirely at this moment. It does, however, suggest that there is a new identity and more meaningful authenticity among black churchmen, who no longer feel the need to reject blackness but rather to celebrate it. We may soon forget the rhetoric of St. Louis, and there was much of that. We forget the theologizing; we may not even achieve goals articulated there. But, we can never forget what we did there.

The movement has captured our beings. It was quite clear at St. Louis that we belong to it. We were thrilled, enthralled and committed to and by the "black thing."

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Guest Editorial

Severe Time of Testing Ahead!

by ROGER L. SHINN

THE electoral campaign has bared a deep division within the American society. The dominant mood of the people shows a tensing up and an increased rigidity. This mood is nonpartisan. It was, of course, most evident in the Wallace-LeMay campaign. But it was as obvious, also, in Democratic Mayor Daly as in Republican Spiro Agnew. The general public approval of the Chicago police actions during the Democratic Convention, disclosed by several polls, indicates how widely this mood has spread through American society. It is not a clearly conceived ideology, but a general spirit of frustration and insecurity. It has little relation to traditional conservatism; as a matter of fact it is more obvious among laborers, taxi-drivers, and policemen than among industrialists and prosperous people.

Against this dominant mood there has arisen a highly articulate dissent. The dissenters have little ideological unity, but great earnestness and idealism along with considerable intelligence. Walter Lippmann has identified the active dissenters as "the young, the intellectuals, the clergymen, the blacks." Again he has referred to "the intellectual and moral leaders of the country" as "alienated teachers and students and artists and clergymen." These dissenters criticized the stands of all the major candidates; some of them — foolishly, I think — refused to support any candidate.

The same division is an prominent in the church as in the society. There is considerable evidence that churchmen at large share in the tense, frustrated, rigid mood of the majority, while church leaders are likely to be among the dissenters. In the resulting communications gap, the leaders of the major denominations and of the National Council of Churches may find that they are no more persuasive to their constituencies on issues of poverty, race, civil rights, and international peace than is the Pope to his constituency on the issue of birth control.

The answer is not for such leaders to swallow their convictions for the sake of popularity. They serve the church best when they seek to maintain fidelity to biblical faith in its meaning for our world. But they may ask whether the churches can do more to institutionalize the "participatory democracy" that university students are demanding these days. People who ignore or resist the pronouncements of ecclesiastical bodies may take more seriously moral judgments which they share in framing. And their participation in making policy may educate them to greater recognition of the claims of Christ on their social judgments and deeds.

I see ahead a severe time of testing. Insistent voices will demand redistribution of wealth and power, along with radically revised international policies. There will be demands for repression of all such protest. The church will be hard put to maintain both a prophetic and a pastoral ministry, both to speak for justice and to lead.

Roger L. Shinn is Dean of Graduate Studies, Union Theological Seminary.

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THE COVER: The Rev. Albert B. Cleague, Jr. Minister of The Shrine of The Black Madonna, Detroit, caught in a moment of repose during the NCBC convocation at St. Louis. Photo by Phillda Ragland (UPCUSA-COMAR).

PHOTO CREDITS: Phillda Ragland (UPCUSA-COMAR) Cover and pp. 3-4; Douglas Gilbert, p. 5; Religious News Service, p. 10; Sketches by Heff, pp. 6-7-8.

Two major developments are accented in this issue of TEMPO: (1) the movement toward a new black church and a new black theology, as evidenced by two important black churchmen's meetings last month, and (2) emergence of new ideas for a church-wide social strategy as a consequence of the national election. The features:

Protesting "demeaning attitudes," NCBC delegates moved en masse convocation headquarters at Gateway Hotel in middle of night. Exodus led St. Louis Mayor Cervantes to set up community relations workshops for local services personnel.

Four participants: Dr. Charles S. Spivey, Jr. (NCC), Dr. Negail R. Riley (United Methodist Church), Miss Minnie Stein (UCM), and the Rev. Leon Watts II (UPCUSA).

Toward a New Black Church

by KAY LONGCOPE

THE current trend of black members of society to separate themselves from the white majority which for centuries has imposed separatism upon them is now being reflected in American churches.

That point was underscored at the Second Annual Convocation of the National Committee of Black (formerly Negro) Churchmen, held in St. Louis October 29-November 1. In meetings of various denominational caucuses and in speeches presented to the 300 convocation participants, it became more and more apparent that black churchmen are rethinking their roles and traditional relationships in light of the separatist movement in the larger black community.

Keynote speaker Dr. Vincent Harding of Atlanta's Spellman College raised some hard-hitting questions for their consideration. Among them were:

"How are we dealing with the presence of blacks in white-controlled denominations? Is this the most efficient way to minister to the black community? Is it worth all the energy of 'dealing with the (white) folks,' saying it's good for blacks in the long run? What is the justification for our existence?

"Is the new birth into blackness an end in itself? Is it enough to wear dashikis (African shirts) when the bishop isn't around? Or does it mean that surface symbols aren't enough and that we must deal with our new blackness by studying African philosophy and religion?

"Are our congregations dealing with the world and themselves in any new ways? Are we training people to live and stay and struggle right where they were born? Why are we recruiting black youth for the ministry? Is there nothing better for them — or us — to do?"

St. Louis Alderman Joseph W. B. Clark urged the churchmen to revise the traditional role of whites ministering to blacks as one way of eliminating white racism.

Black Mission to Whites

"Throughout history the white missionary has gone to black and other peoples with programs and messages," he said. "We must now reverse this machinery and become black missionaries to the white community because the Negro problem is not the problem; the problem is the white community."

Alderman Clark added that both church and government have provided the black community with "basic tools — legislation, Supreme Court decisions, religious pronouncements and other gimmicks.

"We must now develop our skills and strategies to best utilize these tools because we can no longer depend on white churchmen's supplementary help for the momentous undertaking" of political, economic and cultural development, he said.

Maulana Ron Karenga of Los Angeles delivered a speech frequently interrupted by applause and cries of "you tell us, brother!" He castigated black churchmen for their "dependency mentality" toward whites, ecclesiastical duplications, and lack of political sophistication, leadership and understanding.

The Afro-American leader — founder and director of "US" — also accused the clergymen of being a "liability" in the black community, more concerned with ruling than revolution, and preaching comfort instead of change.

He charged that black ministers have failed black people because they have tried to maintain their congregations through "spookism" instead of spiritual leadership.

"Spookism," he explained, in frequently funny remarks, "means keeping the minds of people so mixed up that they are Christian because they are afraid not to be. *(See page 4 for fuller treatment of Mr. Karenga's remarks.)*

All business and workshop sessions were closed to the press, but in statements issued at press conferences and in interviews with various persons a single thread emerged — that of black churchmen in search of a ministry that's relevant to their community.

Whether that ministry will continue to be exercised within traditional church structures — white, black, either or both — is a key question. As a black seminarian at Nashville's Vanderbilt Seminary put it: "Most churchmen have assumed that we are anxious to take on the religious and cultural color of white Protestantism. . . . Many Negroes have done this but blacks of all ages are now going back, looking for their own roots."

White Faithlessness

That search for identity already has led to the establishment of black caucuses in predominantly white churches. Their main intent is to find out whether present church structures can be made to bend a little, in order to give black churchmen more of a voice in church policies and practices.

Hayward Henry of Boston, militant leader of the Black Affairs Council of the Unitarian Universalist Association, put the issue bluntly: "There is no justification for black churchmen to participate in predominantly white denominations if we can't address ourselves to basic conditions of black Americans. The question of whether we withdraw or not is still open, but we are faced with a historical decision."

And the Rev. Dr. Gayraud S. Wilmore Jr., chairman of the United Presbyterian Division of Church and Race, said: "Black churchmen are going in a separate direction, but we see this as absolutely indispensable for the continuation of the black church in America.

"We also see this as the single most significant thing that can be done to instruct the white church as to the nature of its faithlessness and the requirements that must be met toward its renewal," said Dr. Wilmore, who was one of the founders of the National Committee of Black Churchmen.

The nature of the predominantly white churches' "faithlessness" was described this way by Dr. Wilmore:

"Church integration has always been a one-way street. Everything black was subordinate and inferior and would have to be given up for everything white. The white church, in its accommodation to white middle-class society, attempted to make over the black man and his church in its own image and to force the black community into the mold of the white society to which the white church had always been in bondage and which it conceived to be the nearest thing on earth to the Kingdom of God in Heaven."

Those remarks were contained in an article published in October in Church in Metropolis, a quarterly published by the Joint Strategy and Action Committee of six denominations. In "The Case for a New Black Church Style," Dr. Wilmore added:

"The time has come when we, who have accepted from their hands a religion devoid of an ethnic relevant to our real situation and a culture in which we were never permitted to participate on equal terms, must stand back from them to reassess our relationship to our own people and to the hostile society to which the white church continues in servile accommodation and for whose sake white Christians have betrayed us — their black brothers in Jesus Christ.

"We must stand back . . . until we have recovered our own sense of identity, our true relationship to the people we serve, and until the white church is ready to enter into that partnership in life and mission which is able to renew the whole church of Christ." ■

The Word According to MAULANA KARENGA

Most persons at the black churchmen's convocation at St. Louis agreed that militant Maulana Ron Karenga's address was the most stirring and won the heartiest response. At age 27, Maulana (Swahill for 'master teacher') Karenga has founded and directs a Los Angeles-based organization that promotes Afro-American culture. He practices a religion, Kawaida, based on African ideas of community and love. A cum laude graduate of the University of California, he is proficient in five foreign languages, including Swahili and Zulu. His shaven head is an African symbol of mourning: "We blacks are dead to ourselves until blacks can come back to themselves."

His address is excerpted below.

"Let's get back to Black"

I'D like to start out by saying what we always say "all praise be to the black man." Unless you understand that, nothing I say will have any meaning.

I'm here to deal with four contradictions in the black church because they will bring us to the conclusion that we should have operational unity.

The first contradiction is the self-concept that the church has. You say you're eternal but, what do you mean? The church only lasts as long as people let it last. And people will let it last as long as it provides the goods and services that they need, in the manner they need. Yet we say the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Well they do prevail against it. In the air are black peoples' castles that make people disappear from view and call you an illegitimate operation, a backward operation, an operation that no longer meets the function it has, that it once met.

Life is our eternity — because there was no beginning to us. Only people endure. Programs, churches, plans, institutions all pass away in the heat and fire of change. It is people that remain behind to reach and struggle out of these structures.

Another part on the self-concept of black churchmen is that they are the spiritual center and should therefore be in control. But spirit doesn't control, the spirit frees. Times are going to change the present situation. When we get our friends together, we can change people. That's why we don't fight systems, we fight people. Cause if you destroy the system and the people exist, check it out, they make it again.

The last-main-part on the self-concept of black churchmen's considering itself the strongest group in its community. But strength has to be measured in terms of power. Power is two things: actual and potential. Actually you're weak. Potentially you're omnipotent.

The ultimate power to develop this potential develops from community organization. You can have power in a vacuum, and not have real power. That's why the old time preacher could control his parish, but when he walked down outside any white man could slap him in the face. The lowest life white person, with the red neck and the dirt and a straw in his mouth and holes in his overalls, could slap the richest preacher and he couldn't do anything.

Save All or None

But if we start to develop a community, we start to defend it. If we develop it and can't defend it, then we destroy it. So power was created in a vacuum — with no concept of unity. The church then became the epitome of the most destructive philosophy in our community, that is of individual salvation. There is no individual salvation. Either we are all saved or nobody is saved. There's nothing we can't do together and nothing we can do alone.

The second contradiction that churches have is their concept of black. You believe that blacks are unchangeable. You believe they'll always be basically Christian. That's a black phrase. Whenever I talk to a Christian minister, they always use that phrase. "They'll always be Christian."

Basically it means you believe that they would rather have comfort than change. Therefore you take a conservative view of protection rather than progress. Protection, no injury. All the inconveniences that you endure right now, you prefer to the uncertainties of the future.

Next thing, is that you don't really believe black people will always be Christians as much as you believe they'll always be spookists. You rule by spookism not politicalism. Spookism is simply the appreciation for things you cannot see — negligent to human life and development — and then the flying away to heaven without using necessary transportation.

If you count on black people being spookists, keeping their minds messed up, they become Christians not because they want to be, but because they're afraid not to be. But fear of hellish reprisals ultimately leads to rebellion — the turning around of all the wrath that was beat down into them by the spook you gave them. That you gathered up out of the sky and shot at them on Sunday. The rebel eventually turns to you, cause you're the only representative. You're concrete. You can't grab a spook by the neck, but you can a blood. The fear you have institutionalized will ultimately turn against you unless you can change quickly. . . .

Third Contradiction

Denominationism, the third contradiction, is an attack on each other's programs. You get off into discussing whether holy water can really be holy — if people get their hands in it too many times. Whether or not the verse of the Bible that says His hair was like lamb's wool really meant that he was a blood.

Another example is caucusism. Everytime you turn around somebody has a caucus. Caucus is it. In one national council, blood went there and told white people they wasn't doing it right. So the blood caucused. If they wasn't doin' it right, why didn't you just get out and get your own thing going. It's our dependency mentality. You don't really believe you can make it. And yet that's *all* you've been doing. Even your survival represents some ingenuity. This is not a racist point, this is a realistic point. Realism is based on reality not racism!

Historically, back when King was on the scene, he gave new dignity to the black church. Put you in a position where you can really do something. But some people lagged in the back. They thought they ought to do their thing. King wasn't like that. He saw a greater vision of unity. Black people getting together, doing their thing. Then the white clergy came in and stole the initiative from you and got beautiful obituaries waiting for them for just *dying*. Just dying. How many black people died that we haven't even flowers for them, or even one obituary? What makes a white person dying any more glorious than a black child. They stole the initiative from you and made you simply followers.

Political Understanding

The last contradiction is the lack of black political understanding. This is what it means: you don't know how to move politically. That is because you do not realize the same thing that the Catholic church realized when it first got its thing together. It knew the church is not a spiritual institution exclusively, it is basically a political one.

All political institutions seek to perpetuate themselves. In order to perpetuate themselves they must have power, the power to realize their will. The Catholic church willed to exist. That's why it took on the face of every political power that it met. That's why you have the church backing Nazism. You have the church important in Franco-Spain. You have the church signing the Papal Bull to enslave you and me. You have the church supporting segregation in the South and the North. Why? Because it takes on the color, the context, in which it finds itself. Why, because it wants to exist. It wants to perpetuate itself. It is flexible.

Now, let the church see that the black power movement is assuming power and consolidating power, then the white church seeks to co-opt it by funding its community organization programs and then co-opting its leaders. The whites are always in control. They dictate what must be done.

Anything you say the man goes along with — until it comes right down to the administration of it. You say "black is beautiful." He'll say "that's right." You say "black people need jobs and self-determination." He'll say "Right." You say "black people need some money." . . . "That's right." Then you go home, you won. Meanwhile, he got his thing together and he brings his program in. You just haven't said what you want screaming enough. We blacks must remember that whites train us, but we educate ourselves. . . .

We are black, we are black, we are black — let's get back to black. ■

"The Resurrection that we celebrate is the resurrection of the Black Nation."

"THE MESSIAH IS BLACK"

by EDWARD B. FISKE

IN the face of the current mood of racial separatism in the country, liberal white churchmen have tended to take comfort in the fact that the Christian church is one place where blacks and whites can live together under a single ideological roof.

To Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr., however, a powerful and militant leader of the black community in Detroit, this assumption is passe.

As pastor of the 1,000-member Central United Church of Christ — now renamed the Shrine of the Black Madonna — Dr. Cleage has set out to restore Christianity to what he considers to be its "original" identity: a black men's religion.

In "The Black Messiah," a series of sermons to be published this week by Sheed and Ward, the 56-year-old preacher spells out the first thoroughgoing "theology of black power."

For Dr. Cleage, the Negro's religious problem began with the end of slavery. The Christianity that the white man taught him had been useful because it provided emotional escape and the knowledge that the oppressors of this world would meet their due judgment in the next.

For the emerging blacks of today, however, escapism will no longer do. Black religion, Dr. Cleage says, must "reinterpret its message in terms of the needs of the Black Revolution."

The rebuilding process begins with the observation that none of the great figures of the Judeo-Christian tradition — Abraham, Moses, Jesus — had the Caucasian physical features that are seen in most Sunday school literature.

For Dr. Cleage non-white is virtually synonymous with "black." Thus Jesus, a member of the "non-white" tribe of Judah, was "a Blaek Messiah born to a black woman." He came to a "Black Nation, Israel" at a time when it was struggling for independence from a white empire centered in Rome.

Christianity, he adds, has always described God in human terms as a personality capable of love and concern. Thus "God must be a combination of black, yellow and red with just a little touch of white, and we must think of God as a black God," he says.

The black identity was lost, however, at the first-century Council of Jerusalem, where Paul convinced local church leaders that the Gospel should be carried to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews.

To most scholars, the significance of this council was that the religion of Jesus came to be formulated not in the poetic and concrete language of the Sermon on the Mount but in the lofty metaphysical categories of Greek philosophy. Thus were born doctrines such as the Trinity.

To restore the purity of original Christianity, "black theology" wants to roll back many of the major characteristics of Christianity. First on the list is its "other-worldliness." Next is its emphasis on individualism.

According to Dr. Cleage, the concern with personal morality was a way of directing attention away from social injustice. The Negro was kept in his place, and the slave owner did not have to feel guilty about his sins so long as he didn't drink or smoke.

Likewise, in the theology of black Christianity, Jesus died not for the eternal salvation of the individual but for the rebirth of the lost Black Nation.

"The resurrection that we celebrate is not the resurrection of the physical body of Jesus, but the resurrection of the Black Nation which he started, the resurrection of his ideas and his teachings," says Dr. Cleage.

Jesus was thus not the traditional "lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world." He was a "revolutionary black leader, a zealot, seeking to lead a Black Nation to freedom."

The Rev. Albert C. Cleage, Jr.
Shrine of The Black Madonna, Detroit.

The implications of this are practical as well as theological. Negro artists have often portrayed Jesus as black, just as medieval artists depicted Mary and Joseph in the costumes of the courts of their day. Now, however, blackness is being tied to a whole new black theology.

Every Sunday Dr. Cleage, preaching in front of a huge painting of a Black Madonna holding a black baby, has an old-fashioned "altar-call" and asks members of his congregation to accept the Black Messiah and join a new Black Nation.

Although theologians would certainly have serious questions about many of Dr. Cleage's ideas, including the classification of Semites as Blacks, the movement represents a significant expression of the Black Power phenomenon within organized religion.

Two other churches, one in Cleveland and another in suburban Detroit, have formally joined what he calls the Black Christian Nationalist Movement. He now spends much of his time talking to black seminarians throughout the country, urging them to "rethink black theology."

Another project in the works is a revolution in liturgy. Dr. Cleage believes that most of the Jewish festivals are "as significant to black people as for Jews" and he is planning to incorporate them into worship in his church. The festival of Passover, for instance, will be a celebration of black release from bondage.

Other possibilities include the rewriting of traditional hymns. Most Protestants, for instance, are familiar with "Fairest Lord Jesus." Dr. Cleage has suggested a new version: "Darkest Lord Jesus." ■

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CLEAGE ON THE BIBLE AND THE JEWS

"There are two religions in the Bible, the religion of Jesus and the religion of the Apostle Paul. When blacks were brought to this country, they were given the religion of Paul. The basic mission of the black church is to rediscover the religion of Jesus."

"Jesus was concerned primarily with the salvation of a nation, which is much different from salvation by the blood of the lamb. This individual salvation (idea) stems from Paul, who tried to make a religion acceptable to white gentiles."

"The Old Testament is the best black power document. Stokeley, Rap Brown, none come close to it." In the Old Testament is a group of people. They can engage in battle and believe God holds the sun still for them. If black nationalists say the same thing, they get locked up. In the Bible they (the men of God) hold up their arms and the slaughter continues. The Old Testament is profoundly significant (for us blacks) — it is a religious document without parallel."

"It is a purely obvious fact that . . . the Bible is color-blind. And references to color as, for example, in Amos 9:7 'are ye not as children of the Ethiopians unto me' are made to show universality. In other references to blackness, color is mentioned as a matter of singular observation of one or several individuals, and not necessarily a blanket, encompassing fact."

"Up to this point I have not changed the ritual in my church, but this year I expect to experiment with some Jewish forms. . . . Many Jewish holidays should also be observed by black people. For example, the Passover from out of bondage would be a meaningful observance."

From an Interview with Hiley Ward, Religion Editor, Detroit Free Press

Sources of Comfort

On January 20 we shall have a new President of the United States. I did not vote for him. I do not particularly like him or trust him. But he will be my President. I owe him the support and expectancy — and the criticism — which the office deserves.

For those of us who had hoped for a better decision on the part of the American electorate there are three sources of comfort. First, there is the hope that the somewhat jejune approach to public issues evident in Mr. Nixon's campaign utterances will mature under the responsibilities of the office. Second, with a strong Democratic majority in the Congress, it is evident that the wrecking of socially responsible legislative and judicial processes which some of the campaign statements seemed to presage will not be possible. For example, we may be confident that the Congress will not approve reactionary appointments to the Supreme Court. Third, with Mr. Nixon's vigorous espousal of "law and order" there is a commitment to enforce, however distasteful it may be to him, the socially forward-looking and non-discriminatory legislation that is a part of the law of the land. In short, I do not think a new administration, however reactionary at the top, can achieve a major reversal of domestic policy.

Mr. Douglass

The great question lies in the area of foreign policy and action, where Mr. Nixon's campaign position was singularly silent, non-commital and ambiguous. With the powers lodged with the president as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, with Mr. Nixon's disposition to take the advice of the military rather than the civilian authorities, and with his budget-tightening promises that bode ill for foreign aid, there is the chance that enlightened positions that are retained on the domestic scene may be lost through reckless and merciless action in foreign affairs. The hope is that the American people of all parties will be sufficiently outspoken and insistent in their demand for a termination of the Vietnam madness and in their resolution to avoid future Vietnams so that even a relatively insensitive president cannot mistake their purpose. Along with this there must be evidence of a meticulous defense of the civil liberties which Mr. Nixon has tended to denigrate.

The Republic of the United States of America has survived some excessively dull and fatuous administrations, including those of Millard K. Fillmore and Calvin Coolidge. I think it will outlive Mr. Nixon.

Truman B. Douglass
Executive Vice-President
United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
United Church of Christ

A Better Chance

"If at first you don't succeed . . ." Richard Milhous Nixon has finally made it — aided and abetted by a divided Democratic Party, a conservative national mood, and a substantial vote for George Wallace.

I believe that Mr. Nixon has a real chance to unite our nation and to provide dynamic leadership. He has a better chance than Mr. Humphrey would have, had he been elected. Standing, as he does, as a . . . middle-of-the-road Republican, he can direct the nation into progressive and constructive channels without the immediate threat of a reactionary backlash. But he can do this only if he permits the instincts of compassion to take over, and if he is able to recognize the nature of the revolution which is sweeping the nation and the world. If, however, he seeks only to hold the line, to deal with present realities in 1950 terms. then he will preside over greater turmoil than we now have. Perhaps this is asking too much from a man whose reputation has been built on hard-line anti-communism, who has big business instincts, and who played it cozy with Strom Thurmond. I hope not.

The Rev. Raymond J. Pontier
Chairman, The Christian Action Commission
Reformed Church in America

Heal the Wounds

The closeness of the presidential election reflects the lack of unanimity in the public sector. President Nixon has an awesome task in striving to heal the wounds and close the cleavages in the body politic. This simply cannot be done on some superficial, slogan-singing basis. As columnist Ralph McGill commented:

"There can be no unity, there can be no meeting of American minds, if the massive fact of the inequality of life and opportunity of millions of Americans is not clear. There are white and black who cannot share, and have not shared, in the nation's advantages of education and the various opportunities of the economy. About a fifth of the country lives on incomes below the poverty line of $3,300 for an urban family of four. Indeed, about a third of the country is living at or below a bare subsistence level.

"There is desperate need for unity — but the mosaic of such a unity must be comprehended to achieve it."

We must perceive the moral dimensions in the social upheaval through which we are passing and label the present ultraconservative reaction of many white middle class Americans as the fear-induced, self-survival oriented behavior that it is. The church is still failing in what it set out to do two thousands years ago: take the life of the church out into the world and keep the "world" out of the church.

How to assist the Presbyterian Church, U.S., in understanding "where it finds itself" is still one of our major problems. My considered reaction to the repudiation of so many candidates who favor programs of mutual social concern is that it is even more imperative that the Christian church continue rendering its unique contribution, proclamation and demonstration of the Gospel of Christ with all of its supernatural power to reconcile a person to his God and hence to his neighbor.

John F. Anderson, Jr., Executive Secretary
Board of National Ministries,
Presbyterian Church, U.S.
Atlanta, Ga.

Strategy Under Nixon

The all-pervading issue which President-elect Nixon faces is the Vietnam war. It has undermined our moral standards at home, given a measure of acceptability to violence and disorder, absorbed money needed for urban and rural poverty battles, and contributed significantly to inflation.

Mr. Nixon's past predilections favor military pressure and action. This was President Johnson's course. The great advantage in the Nixon election is that he is not bound to follow that course. He is not compelled to support prior decisions. He can impliedly admit the error of the war and pull out — without even being called "soft on communism."

The churches' opportunity is to give him accurate information about the realities and the people of Vietnam, which I suspect our government refuses to see, and to persuade him that the path to peace by peaceful means is also the path for his own greatness and his possible re-election. I believe President Eisenhower genuinely wanted peace. Mr. Nixon professes to admire him. Perhaps we can persuade the new President that this must be part of his new image and that in no event should he let the frustrations of difficult negotiations turn him toward a larger war.

On the domestic scene, the churches have an opportunity to put moral fiber into many of the programs already adopted by Congress. Some of the legislation against poverty, for civil rights, aid to education, medicare, etc., came so fast that our basic population did not digest it and incorporate it into the fabric of our society. There was such an outpouring of money that we tended to rush by the development of attitudes and to overlook the importance of people and of spiritual growth. We measured progress by dollars and buildings rather than by "contributed cooperation."

Too many people — administrators, entrepreneurs and beneficiaries — have asked simply: "What's in it for me, financially?" The doctors and drug companies, for example, have tended to look upon medicare as a get-rich-quick scheme for themselves. The Wallace supporters were generally well fixed, or at least comfortably fixed, economically. Yet they were unhappy and insecure. Their deficiences were of the spirit.

President Nixon will not be able to roll back the welfare programs but he may be able to starve them. Our responsibility is to see that they become accepted as social tools and improved through use. Then we must re-develop the individual's desire to see what he can do to help our country, rather than what he can get out of it.

Tilford E. Dudley
Director, Speakers Bureau, AFL-CIO

A Prudent Man

The new President and his legislature will be afflicted with massive problems and limited means to deal with them.

They will have no certain mandate from a divided electorate. The aspirations of the poor, the middle class, and the affluent — nourished by vague campaign oratory — will be disappointed at best, inflamed at worst. Many of these aspirations will be mutually exclusive.

The Churches' efforts to achieve social justice are similarly afflicted. At a time when unity within diversity, commitment to ideals within a full realization of the parameters (one of the "in" words) of reality are most needed, they seem most scarce.

One is reminded of Jesus' warning to those who were tempted to take discipleship casually (Luke 14:28-33). It came through as a counsel of prudence: Don't set out to build a tower without first counting the cost. Don't engage an enemy without first counting his troops and yours.

The church in its institutional forms may well have been too cavalier toward its "discipleship" in the area of social witness. So also, perhaps, was the U.S. Government in previous administrations. So certainly were the spokesmen of the new administration.

President-elect Nixon is nothing if not a prudent man. So will be his appointive administration. The Congress, responsive as it is to the electorate (which, on balance, must be assumed to have spoken, however dividedly, against enlarging Federal programs of social betterment) will be more conservative.

One must expect then, both in the government and in the institutional church, a time of "counting the cost" before making the commitment. For good or ill, that seems to be the voice of reality.

Meanwhile, whether or not the country and the church can "keep moving" without tearing apart remains to be seen. We may well be in a stage when aspirin must be administered to get our fever down so that we can thereby purchase time to treat more basically the illnesses of poverty, war, and systemic injustice in the body politic and in the Body of Christ.

Prediction: we will move, but slowly and down the middle, toward social justice.

Warning: if we do not move at all, or if large efforts are made to speed up the pace, we will go backward and to the right.

H. B. Sissel, Secretary for Economic Affairs
Office of Church and Society
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Some Urgent Imperatives

The election of Republican Richard Nixon for President, and a slightly more conservative Democratic Senate and House of Representatives, calls for intensified efforts on the part of the churches to further the goals of peace, justice and freedom.

With no easy, simple or satisfactory solution of the disastrous Vietnam War in sight, there needs to be continued pressure for a cease fire, a political settlement, withdrawal of troops, the resettlement of refugees, the reconstruction of a devastated country, and a diversion of attention and money to other pressing problems.

A second imperative is to undertake drastic steps towards general disarmament. Beginning with the ratification of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and a reversal by Congress of the anti-ballistic missile program estimated to cost from $50-$100 billion, serious high level talks with the Russians to be undertaken to halt the missile and bomber races and by initiating far-reaching curtailments of arms expenditures.

In calendar year 1967 Congress appropriated more than $87 billion for military purposes, or more than three times the total income of the entire continent of Africa. During his whole political career Nixon has never stressed disarmament, and during the campaign he called for "superiority" and higher armament expenditures. Politically there is no likelihood of a balanced budget, and no financial chance for an adequate program to meet the crisis in the cities with our current military expenditures.

If there is to be an end to military conscription, which Nixon has advocated, in my judgment there must be a deep cutback in the present size of our military forces of 3.5 million, reduction of our military commitments around the world, and great retrenchment in the present deployment of more than a million men outside of continental United States.

As for the crisis in the cities, the recommendations of the Kerner Commission on housing, education, job training and employment, better police methods and transportation, should be implemented. Some have estimated the cost at $30 billion a year. The Nixon proposal of "black capitalism" and the achievement of American business in employing 100,000 hard core unemployed, important as they are, are only a start in bringing justice, that should be a foundation of law and order, to our cities.

None of these goals of the churches can be attained easily, quickly or automatically. The churches, even with their recently expanded programs are still not exerting ten percent of the influence they could and should on such issues. On some, the churches could play a decisive role as they did in the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. The times call for increased dedication and sustained educational and political effort toward a better world tomorrow.

E. Raymond Wilson
Executive Secretary Emeritus
Friends Committee on National Legislation
Washington, D.C.

Redoubled Efforts

Since the promise to re-establish law and order throughout the country counted heavily in the recent Republican victory, it remains to be seen if in the actual delivery of campaign promises, justice and peace, both internal and external, will merit equal emphasis.

Thus the churches may have to redouble their efforts in speaking to the heart, mind, and conscience of the American people, their leaders, as well as to embattled minorities, that violence, whether resorted to by the oppressed or oppressor, results in greater violence, and that an ounce of justice is worth more than a pound of suppression, and is no longer lasting.

The Rev. Arnak Kasparian
St. Thomas Armenian Church
Tenafly, N.J.

Result of Frustration

The progress of the 1960's and the successful involvement of the churches in the quest for rights for black Americans was in large measure dependent on the sophisticated, dedicated leadership in church, world and government. That leadership is no longer with us. A series of assassinations has left us floundering in a fearful muddle, with neither political, moral, nor ecclesiastical vision to confront the ever worsening plight of the "least of these," our brethren.

John F. Kennedy, Robert Spike, Martin L. King, and Robert F. Kennedy represented quite a cadre of leadership. The election of Richard Nixon, in many respects, is the result of the frustration of the American people in the face of a vacuum of real leadership. His election is an attempt of the American public — at least half of it — to "Hold on to what we've got." But "what we've got" is not enough for the poor, the black, and the young.

Mr. Young

And so those who sought "peace when there was no peace" will end up with a bitter pill to swallow. At best, we can expect the status quo. At the other extreme of reaction to the world as it is, we might anticipate a combination of the repression of the Joe McCarthy era, the hunger of the Hoover era, and the attempt to reverse the clock of history which characterized the presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes in 1878 when federal protection of freed men and the strength of the courts were compromised in order to create a false peace instead of the creative tension of reconstruction.

And where will the churches be amid the trial and tribulation of the coming years? Unfortunately, protestantism in America will respond very similarly to German Lutherans under Hitler. The prophetic vision of Jesus Christ's church will be sacrificed to the expediency of the moment. The church will be conformed to the state. Grace, mercy and forgiveness will give way to the cry of "Law and Order" in whose name will all manner of oppression be perpetuated.

The American church is incapable of facing the cross; therefore, the strategy of the coming years will be a strategy of caution, compromise, and expediency. If we survive, a new life in Christ may emerge from the chaos but that is the question: Can we survive Nixon's foreign and domestic policies? If we do, the '70s will truly be a "kairotic moment," for history sweeps rapidly on and only in the presence of God do we keep pace with his divine hand in history. Nixon has no sense of the activity of God and neither does the church at present. Meanwhile, "God looks for a man to build the wall and stand in the gap — but there is none."

Andrew J. Young
Executive Vice President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Church Must Change

I cannot see how the strategy of the churches will be greatly changed by the Presidential election. As I see it, the church strategy is moving very strongly in support of community action programs led by the people who are the most directly involved in the possible results of success.

It is very likely that the churches have not engaged in sufficient analysis of what justice requires and most of the action programs are showing signs of weakness in this respect, but this would have been the case no matter who was elected.

Mr. Nixon will have to move to his left to have any degree of success — and he knows it. Mr. Humphrey would have had to move to his right. On the whole the churches are still more conservative in social matters than the Republican party and Mr. Nixon. Therefore, what we have to do in the churches isn't radically changed by the fact that Mr. Nixon won. The Christian institutions are still a long sea mile from grasping the implications of justice in a society of power.

The Rev. J. Edward Carothers
Associate General Secretary for the National Division of the United Methodist Board of Missions

"White Racism" Evident

Having reached the conclusion that "our nation is moving towards two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal — the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders warned that "blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness is not the answer, but that the solution is to be found in the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society." This warning seems to have had little effect on some candidates. A desperate attempt was made to set the nation upon a course of repression of dissent and the use of brutal force as a means of dealing with the current struggle for social justice and for human dignity. One could discern in the background of the entire political campaign what has been termed "white racism."

Mr. Smith

The outcome of the election, in my opinion, presents the churches with another exciting challenge to work for a decent society in America. National, state, and city officials who are responsive to domestic human needs and are sensitive toward problems should and must have counsel, active help and strong support of the religious forces of the nation in order to prevent the formation and crystalization of a new dominant coalition in American politics which will be committed to the reversal of gains already attained and an increase of repression of the disadvantaged and disinherited people of this nation.

The election may help churches to see their own involvement in the development and perpetuation of white racism, which, the Commission on Civil Disorders said, "is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture that has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II." The strategy of the churches should give highest priority to the most effective means of eradicating racism from the total life of the churches. This act will enable the churches to say a convincing word to government, business, industry and other agencies about their racial attitudes and behavior. The impact of the cleansing of the churches of racism would have a tremendous effect upon the thinking of not only church members but also upon non-church people. The time has come for immediate and decisive action on the part of the churches. The question is — will they act before it is too late?

Bishop B. Julian Smith, Chairman
Board of Christian Education
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

NOTE TO READERS: Due to space restrictions, it was impossible to include in this issue all contributions to this symposium on the churches and the election. The next issue will include other regrettably omitted this time. TEMPO's thanks to all who participated.

CONFORMITY AND DISSENT— USSR STYLE

by PAUL B. ANDERSON

"They (the Soviets) think we are mad to trust the people and tolerate all the strikes and demonstrations in America . . . we think they are crazy and even wicked to suppress dissent in the Soviet Union."

James Reston,
in the New York Times.

BEING in London last summer, my wife and I lived on Great Smith Street, near the Abbey. We went there frequently, passing the tall column commemorating the Crimean War. In St. Paul's Cathedral we found several other reminders of this attempt to stop Russia's advance to the Mediterranean. Then, on September 19, I was in Istanbul, attending the Centenary of the Crimean War Memorial Church, located on a dismal dead-end street which a hundred years ago had been a highway to the Golden Horn. What I want to say is that these are not mere memorials of the past; they now take on living meaning as you see great Soviet warships passing silently down the Bosporus to take up stations at Alexandria, Suez and Tripoli, playing chess with the U.S. Sixth Fleet. What the charge of the Light Brigade held in check, the six-day war has released. And now — Czechoslovakia.

My last visit to the USSR and Czechoslovakia took place in 1967. Observations and impressions of a year ago became past history on August 21, 1968, when Soviet tanks and jet bombers suddenly appeared on Czechoslovak soil. But was it really so unexpected? Had there not been previous signs of resumption of Soviet expansionism or, as the Izvestia calls it, "protection of the socialist community"? This phrase provides a clue. The Communist Party of the USSR feels that it has an obligation, for the good of mankind, to serve as the stimulant and protector of peace in Europe, through the medium prescribed by Lenin in 1915, when he wrote that there could be a "United States of Europe" when all these states become socialist. Since that time the people of Europe have been living, as the Communist Manifesto of 1948 puts it, "under the spectre of communism."

It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that for millions in the USSR and Eastern Europe it is not a spectre but a reality. The intellectuals of Czechoslovakia as well as of the Soviet Union are experiencing in their personal lives the conflict between the spectre and the reality — between the idealistic form and the realistic content — constitution, law and public institutions on the one hand, and the ubiquitious invasion of personal and public life by the Ideological Commission through its eye and hand, the Security Police. The latter exists to protect the development of what the party considers the good of mankind, beginning in the USSR, then in the "socialist community," and finally in the world.

Sincere Conformists

I have found many in Russia and elsewhere who are fully convinced of the rightness of this effort. I certainly do not desire to doubt their sincerity; but neither can I doubt the sincerity of writers like Pasternak or Solzhenitzyn or of their heroic supporters among writers, young people and in academic institutions. Many of them insist that they too are Marx-Leninists, as the Ideological Commission insists they be, and on this basis desire participation in the dynamic dialogue taking place all over the world.

The idea of participation has caught hold of young people everywhere. They want a share in the shaping of the future. This is not new. In modern times, however, the significant thing has been the organizing capacity of youth and its courage to proceed with physical pressures where words have failed to achieve their ends. At this writing it seems possible to note the difference between the experiences of young people in Western democracies and those in countries which are in process of establishing a community society. To the former belong the participants in the "May events" in Paris, the SDS at Columbia, and youth in numerous similar happenings. To a considerable extent, both the French parliament and Columbia's trustees have made the changes requested, in a way providing pragmatic justification of their violent methods.

What about youth in the USSR? Its demand for participation is relatively new. The situation is quite complex and requires analysis. Take some statistics, for example. In the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, only five per cent are under 25, and 25 per cent are over 50. If you take the Central Committee, one-third is over sixty, and it is the establishment. Of the party as a whole, 75 per cent are Post World War II members. But the leadership is mainly in the older bracket, those who served under Stalin. As background for all of these oldsters you have sixteen million young Oktobrists, 23 million Pioneers, and 25 million Comsomolists. I am of the opinion that one must not say that there is a divergence between the powerful old-age group and the sixty million young people on grounds of age. Generally, they merge, thanks to communist education and the skillful exercise of power by the few who hold it.

Dynamic Divergence

The divergence is not so much between fathers and sons as between those who hold the ideologically restricted view of the society of today and tomorrow, of the USSR and the world, on the one hand, and those who insist that the human mind is made to be not static but dynamic, creative, comprehensive. The latter group embraces both old and young, the Academician Zacharoff as well as the youthful Pavel Litvinoff.

In this connection the Czechoslovak crisis begins to play a part in Soviet life. Young Russians are demonstrating and mature writers and intellectuals are submitting protests. Also many of the half-million invaders of Czechoslovakia have returned soured on the project.

What then are the factors in the situation faced by dissenters in the USSR? I would mention these: the levels of authority in government, the economic trend, the purpose, objective and range of education, the stimulations and motivations of Soviet culture, the use of power, the question of form and content in the Soviet concept and practice of government.

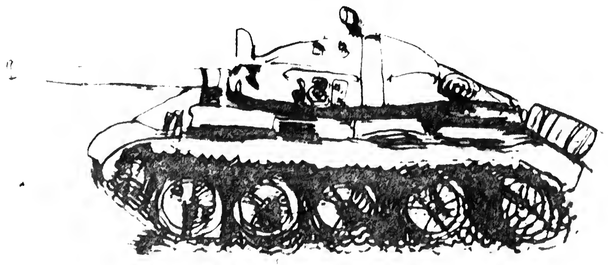
To my mind, the last item is the decisive one. Constitution, law, structure of industrial plans and collective farms provide the form and framework of Soviet society; the Ideological Commission of the Central Committee provides the content, viz., the distinctive theory of society. When in western countries some young people rebel against the "establishment," it is basically a revolt against what some term capitalism and others free enterprise. In the Soviet Union the revolt against the social and economic basis of socialism or communism lies far undergrcund, or finds expression in resistance to state interference in industry and in church life. Public revolt is against the contradiction between content as desired by living, creative minds, and the content defined by ideologists and imposed by political bodies, administrative officers, the courts and finally by the Security Police.

Nothing False

The constant interplay between Soviet form and strict Marx-Leninist content often leads to confusion. This has been the cause of the troubles faced by the intellectuals, especially writers, and now by the young people for whom they were the heroes. The writers are punished by denial of publication. This is severe punishment as a writer lives not only to write but to publish — and to feel the reverberations of critical comments. Denied publication, his creative talent weakens, in the end it atrophies. How many Soviet authors, painters, poets suffer such frustration, even die in dispair? For some an alternative appears in the form of publication abroad. The trial and sentencing of Sinyavsky and Daniel grew out of publishing abroad. One may ask, why not abroad? European and American authcrs do so, even in the Soviet Union. The answer probably lies in the sensitivity of the ideologists to any word actually or by implication derogating either form or content of the Soviet system and, since this system is considered embryonic for all nations, its spread ought not be jeopardized. But, by the same token, the protesters and demonstrators in the Soviet Union are taken to represent, and even to be allied with the other "system," even though their protests clearly show that all they ask is the freedom of expression which is specifically guaranteed by Soviet constitution and law.

When young Pavel Litinoff and Larissa Daniel stood quietly in the Red Square in demonstration against the invasion, they were arrested and given prison sentences. We have no way of knowing the majority mind of the Soviet people on this. The leaders of the churches — Orthodox, Baptist and Lutheran — have written expressing approval of it. But I have the feeling that of the great body of intellectuals and youth, the majority would in their hearts say, as Larissa Daniel said at her trial: "I am accused because I carried a placard and I speak of the text on this placard. I repeat the phrase: 'Down with the occupation.' It contains nothing false, nothing deliberately false; it is not a falsehood." ■

Dr. Anderson has been for many years an on-the-spot observer and student of Eastern Europe.



WASHINGTON COMMENT

THE ELECTION

by JOHN TURNBULL

EVERYTHING CAME UP for grabs and nobody grabbed: Thus did Joseph Kraft, columnist for the Washington Post, characterize the election of 1968.

Considering how extraordinarily volatile the political situation had been this year, the outcome certainly was extraordinarily undramatic. Half a dozen circumstances, any one of which would seem sufficient to cause a major political realignment, failed even in combination to do more than shift the spectrum a bit. Thus the hopes or fears of the more radical elements on both left and right went unfulfilled, and — apparently, at least — the broad mandate of the center was renewed.

The pleas for unity which are a standard feature of the postelection speeches of both victor and vanquished always strike a responsive chord; in the aftermath of a long and abrasive campaign everyone is ready for a little unity, and even the most alienated are likely to feel temporarily drawn back into the fold. This effect was reinforced this year by the fact that the return to the two-party fold had already been going on apace during the closing days of the campaign: on the one hand, Wallaceites deserted their man in droves and ended up pulling one or the other of the major-party levers; and on the other hand, the left wing of the Democratic party finally yielded at least its grudging support to Mr. Humphrey.

John Turnbull

How long all this will last is, of course, another question. Mr. Wallace certainly does not intend to retire from politics permanently, and the dissatisfactions and disaffections which moved nearly ten million people to vote for him are undoubtedly shared by many others who did not, and in any case will not soon or easily disappear.

The future of the dissent and drop-out Democrats is likewise unclear. With the Vietnam war likely moving toward some resolution, and with their own party no longer bearing responsibility for either its prosecution or its negotiation, the major policy issue around which the new politics of the left was formed and will probably be gradually de-fused.

The Situation Now

But Vietnam policy was all along only one count, albeit a large one, in the left's indictment of the party establishment, and in their view most of the rest still stand—notably the charge that the party's structures are outmoded, oppressive, and unresponsive to the needs and wishes of the people. Add to that the fact that, especially if they're Democrats, the party out of power is likely to be a field of contention for power; and you can predict that Democratic in-fighting will continue, and perhaps yet result in important realignments.

For better or worse, however, the situation at the moment is pretty much status quo ante. Each party played it safe by nominating a middle-of-the-road candidate, and each candidate played it safe by conducting a very conventional campaign, both in form and substance. (The vice-presidential candidate of each was just a bit off-center, Mr. Agnew to the right and Mr. Muskie to the left.) And, as in the caucus-race, everybody won in some sense, and everybody has his prize and is therefore not likely to want to change the rules. Mr. Nixon, of course, in the obvious sense that he—well, won. Mr. Humphrey in the sense that he did incomparably better than anyone had imagined possible, and that he or someone managed to keep the party's strength almost intact at every level except in the White House. Not bad for a "has-been" Republican in a predominantly Democratic country; not bad, either, for a Democrat in a year that it sometimes appeared the party would hardly survive.

The election will produce a lot of second-guessing on a number of subjects, a couple of which may be worth a first-guess here: The effect of the Wallace vote and the prospects for electoral reform. Next time we will give attention to the more immediate political issue, the character of the mandate given to the new Administration and Congress.

The Wallace Vote

The most noteworthy feature of the Wallace vote was, of course, that it was so much smaller than anyone had expected—only about 13.5%. (Remember when some people thought he would out-poll Humphrey?) Even more noteworthy, perhaps, was its distribution: One-quarter came from the five states that Wallace carried, and nearly 60% from southern and border states. In all the rest of the country he drew only about 7% of the vote.

What happened? Certainly one important factor was that, particularly as it became clear that there was going to be a real contest, people especially in states that Wallace had no chance of carrying became more reluctant to throw their votes away, and switched to one of the major candidates.

But there were signs, too, that Wallace's appeal had begun to wear thin anyway to all but the most dedicated. While his speeches (or more accurately, his one speech, endlessly repeated) touched upon many real and imagined frustrations and fears, it began to be clear that Mr. Wallace only expressed these frustrations and fears, and gave no clues as to how they could be overcome. He turned out to be a politician without policies; and the number of people who would vote for a man simply to express their anger at everyone else seems mercifully to have been smaller than we had thought.

Who was hurt more by votes Wallace did get? It is argued by some that he took critical votes away from Mr. Humphrey in New Jersey most notably, perhaps also in Illinois, possibly in California and/or Ohio, which might have given him the victory otherwise.

But Humphrey would have had to take about 60 percent of the Wallace vote in New Jersey or Ohio to carry either of those states, and about 70 percent in Illinois or California. And while it is undoubtedly true that a large number of the Wallace voters, particularly in the urban areas of these states, are "normally" Democrats, it is by no means clear that they would have preferred Humphrey to Nixon this year.

Moreover, this kind of calculation assumes that all the Humphrey and Nixon voters, in these and other states, would have voted just as they did if Wallace had not been in the race; but that assumption ignores a host of other factors. Pollster Louis Harris, for example, thinks that Wallace's hard line on race and "law-and-order" created its own kind of backlash which helped Humphrey. The fact is that both the candidates and the voters would have looked and felt very different this year if Mr. Wallace had not been lurking in the wings, and it will take a lot more than the hypothetical redistribution of a few votes to judge the totality of his effect.

Electoral Reform

We narrowly missed the disaster of an Electoral College stalemate, or the embarrassment to the winner of having lost on popular vote, or any of the other misfortunes that our Rube Goldberg contraption for electing presidents might have produced for us. (For one of the more bizarre, see the New York Review for November 7 on how Mr. Agnew might have won the presidency.) But we got a pretty severe scare, and the prospects for making some adjustments in the creaking machine are probably better than they have been in some time.

Still, that isn't saying a whole lot. One major difficulty is that there are about as many ideas about what ought to be done as there are mechanics; and they range all the way from just tightening up a bolt here and there to dismantling the thing altogether. Moreover, the "simplest" and most immediately appealing proposal—for direct popular election of the president—turns out on closer examination to be not so simple and perhaps not so appealing to everyone as you might think. As for ideas like abolishing party conventions and creating national presidential primaries, or instituting federal supervision of elections for federal offices —these are probably very far down the road, if they are on it at all, for they involve even knottier constitutional and practical problems.

Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.), and Rep. Emmanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), chairmen respectively of the key Senate and House Committees, have both announced their intention to hold hearings on proposed reforms in the new Congress. ■

it says here . . .

"CATONSVILLE 9" SENTENCED

BALTIMORE — (RNS) — The "Catonsville Nine," a group of Roman Catholic pacifists found guilty of destroying Selective Service files in a protest last May, were sentenced to two, three and three and a half-year prison terms in Federal Court here.

Chief Judge Roszel C. Thomsen told the nine that while their motives in the draft-file burning were "admirable," the defendants' "lack of remorse" and the nature of the offense required imposition of a prison sentence.

The group's attorney had asked the judge to impose suspended sentences because of the "symbolic" nature of the draft protest.

Father Philip Berrigan, a Josephite priest, and Thomas Lewis, an artist, already serving 6-year terms for destroying draft records earlier, were given three and one-half-year sentences, to run concurrently.

Father Daniel Berrigan, a Jesuit and brother of Father Philip Berrigan; Thomas Melville, a former priest and Maryknoll missionary; and George Mische, a peace organizer, received three-year sentences.

Mrs. Marjorie Melville, a former Maryknoll nun and wife of Thomas; David Darst, a Christian Brother, Mary Moylan, a nurse; and John Hogan, former Maryknoll brother and missionary, received two-year sentences.

The nine had faced maximum sentences of 18 years and a $22,000 fine.

(For an on-the-scene report of the trial see Harvey G. Cox's article "Tongues of Flame," in TEMPO, Oct. 31.)

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U.S. AND CANADIAN LAYMEN JOIN NEW LAITY PROJECT

NEW YORK CITY — The announcement of a new Laity Project, under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Cameron P. Hall, was a feature of the recent meeting in Toronto, Canada of the Board of Managers of United Church Men.

Leading laymen and secretaries of Men's Work of 15 U.S. and Canadian churches agreed to sponsor and finance the project. It will bring together laymen, laywomen and youth in small consultations across the U.S. and Canada to discuss their concepts of the lay person's role as a Christian.

Two or three staff persons will attend each session but only as listeners — to learn from the laymen.

Dr. Hall is director emeritus of the NCC Department of the Church and Economic Life.

* * * *

COURT-WATCHERS DISCOUNT RACISM

DETROIT — Trained observers representing an inter-faith agency have found little overt racism or injustice in Detroit's criminal courts over the past few months. The program of court-watching, similar to such plans in other cities, resulted in over 500 reports on court cases involving felonies or misdemeanors.

According to the young law graduate who heads the court-watch project for Detroit's Interfaith Action Council, only about 4 percent of the cases observed gave indications of racist or prejudicial handling in court. However, said Arney Mustonen, most observers thought the administration, they suggested, could lead many to think that their rights were not being fully respected. The court-watching plan will continue in Detroit, it was indicated, and more Afro-American observers will be added to the teams.

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MISSOURI CHURCHES ASK NEW POLICE POLICY

KANSAS CITY — The policy-making assembly of the Missouri Council of Churches called for civilian review boards for police activity in St. Louis and Kansas City. The church council also urged legislation to permit local election of police boards with assurances of representation of the poor. The resolution was passed unanimously by 80 delegates from the 13 Protestant denominations in the Missouri Council of Churches.

The cooperating church bodies number about one million members.

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URGES MORE ARAB REFUGEE AID

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. — (RNS) — The Arab refugee problem requires increased humanitarian, financial and political attention, Secretary General U Thant told the Special Political Committee of the UN General Assembly.

In an unprecedented appeal to the committee, U Thant warned that "it is clearly imperative that UNWRA be in a position to meet adequately the increased demands that have been placed on the agency since June of last year."

The UN Rehabilitation and Works Agency (UNWRA) for the Near East has been caring for more than one million Palestine refugees since 1948, in addition to several hundred thousand displaced Arabs from Syria, Jordan and Egypt following the six-day war with Israel in June, 1967.

(The Arab refugees' plight was reviewed by former UNWRA Commissioner-General John H. Davis in TEMPO, Oct. 31 issue.)

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — Father Robert Ready, a Benedictine priest, offers a Roman Catholic Mass (left) and the Rev. William A. Hayes, United Church of Christ minister, conducts a service (right) at St. Mark's church in Kansas City, Mo. The first ecumenical parish in the U.S. has a Catholic Mass and Protestant service every Sunday.

FORM INTERRELIGIOUS GROUP

WASHINGTON, D.C. — (RNS) — The first meeting of a new interreligious committee composed of the executives of major national religious bodies was held here to continue the search for mutual understanding and common action.

Members of the committee are Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, general secretary of the National Council of Churches; Bishop Joseph L. Bernardin, general secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, and Rabbi Henry Siegman, executive vice-president of the Synagogue Council of America.

Dr. Espy was named chairman of the committee which is to meet regularly "to review existing activities and explore new levels of (interreligious) cooperation." The chairmanship will rotate annually.

* * * *

ABERNATHY WILL COOPERATE—BUT

ATLANTA — (RNS) — The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy pledged his cooperation to President-elect Richard M. Nixon in the task of uniting the nation but issued some warnings covering the next four years.

Said the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference: "I shall do everything in my power to continue this work and to cooperate with the new President as much as possible."

But, he warned, the unity which Mr. Nixon announced as the goal of his administration "cannot be achieved through continued repression of black people and other poor people. Mr. Nixon must come forth with massive programs to end poverty, enlightened policies against racism, and vigorous efforts for world peace."

* * * *

CHURCHES' 'CRISIS CENTER' NOW SERVING BALTIMORE

BALTIMORE — (RNS) — Nine Protestant and two Roman Catholic churches have joined forces to establish a "crisis center" here.

The Rev. Frederick J. Hanna, Episcopal priest who directs the center, said its function would be to provide immediate outlets for problems which have brought a person to the point of desperation.

But he said the center would accomplish its purpose primarily by giving information and making referrals. Most people, said Mr. Hanna, are not aware of the varieties of service available to them.

If the number of persons responding to the new venture is any indication, the center is a success. In September, the first month of operation, the center assisted 700 persons. Among them were the poor, the bewildered, the stranded, drug addicts, homosexuals, aged alcoholics, and pregnant young girls.

Mr. Hanna was given a year's absence, on full pay, from his parish duties at Emmanuel Episcopal Church to direct the center. He has hired two young lay aides. Ten students from St. Mary's Catholic Seminary serve evenings on a volunteer basis.

Five Episcopal churches, two Presbyterian churches, two Catholic parishes, and Methodist and Unitarian congregations are participating.

* * * *

A THREAT TO SANCTITY?

DETROIT — The effort of the churches to become relevant to the present time carries the danger that they may de-Christianize themselves in the process. So says the Rev. Dr. William Lazareth of Lutheran Theological Seminary of Philadelphia. Speaking in connection with the installation of Dr. Robert Kincheloe to head the Detroit Council of Churches, Dr. Lazareth said that Christianity should work on sanctifying the world. The Lutheran theologian claimed that a new Christian humanism, while correctly espousing the problems of race, war and poverty, is causing a backlash among conservative churchmen. He urged progressive churchmen and conservative churchmen to get into dialogue on the problem of a theology of social change.

NEWS IN BRIEF

PRINCETON, N.J. — (RNS) — Radical left student organizations have almost doubled in three years but the percentage of student activists has not increased, according to Educational Testing Service.

Surveyed were 860 colleges and universities. Data came from deans of students.

Two percent of the 6.7 million students in schools of higher education belong to radical groups. Another 8 to 10 percent, the report said, strongly sympathize with the "movement for social change" and are "capable of temporary activation depending on the issues."

HOMEWOOD, Pa. — (RNW) — A black-owned and operated supermarket in this Pittsburgh area community is now a money-making venture. An old market was bought by the Negro congregation of Holy Cross Church with loans from Calvary Episcopal Church and the Mellon Bank. Modernized and expanded, it recently was incorporated as Home Supermarket, Inc. In September it offered 3,500 shares of common voting stock at $10 a share in the community. Since the opening of the first market, two satellite stores, known as Home-Jr. Markets, have been added to the chain.

NEW YORK — (RNS) — A nationwide research project to help combat an anticipated new "upsurge of extremism" is being launched by the Women's Division of the United Methodist Board of Missions.

Funds for the project, and for a national conference on the topic, have been appropriated. The aim is to make resource materials and a bibliography on extremism available to the 1,600,000 Methodist women in 36,500 local groups.

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M. — (RNW) — A resolution supporting legalized abortion under certain circumstances has been approved by the New Mexico Council of Churches of which the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Santa Fe is a member. The Rev. Albert Schneider, a Roman Catholic priests, is the new president of the Council. The Greek Orthodox Church of New Mexico and the Christian Methodist Episcopal Churches of New Mexico have also been admitted to council membership.

WILMINGTON, Del. — A candlelight vigil "against fear and hatred in Wilmington" on the first Sunday of November brought some 250 white people out to march through the streets of Delaware's National Guard-patrolled capital. The march, which began from a Roman Catholic and an Episcopal church, was the first public witness held by the newly-formed White Coalition for Justice without Repression. At the same time, 60 white clergymen issued a statement deploring the fear and hatred here. More meetings, statements and demonstrations are predicted as white church and civic forces in Wilmington try to break through what they see as politically inspired vigilantism affecting the liberty of citizens.

AMSTERDAM, Neth. — Representatives of the Roman Catholic priesthood in Holland have asked their bishops to take steps toward the acceptance of a married clergy in the Catholic Church and have been assured of cooperation toward that end by the bishops. The priests proposed that clergy who have married be allowed to continue or resume active pastoral work, and that arrangements be made to confer priesthood on married people.

WASHINGTON, D.C. — U.S. Solicitor General Irwin N. Griswold appeared before the Supreme Court to attack the practice of local draft boards in reclassifying ministerial students to 1-A if such students become "delinquent." Delinquency usually means sending their exempt-status draft card back to their board in protest against the draft and the war. Griswold attacked the practice and refused to prosecute James Oestereich, a student at Andover Newton Theological School in Boston.

NEW YORK CITY — The Board of Social Ministry of the Lutheran Church in America has made a substantial deposit in Freedom National Bank, the first Negro-operated commercial bank in Harlem. Assets of the bank have grown from $1.5 to nearly $30 million and it is credited with raising Harlem's Negro-owned business from 18 percent to 83 percent.

LETTERS

FAIR SHAKE FOR GRAPEWORKERS

I read with interest your articles on the grape workers. (*Tempo* Oct. 15).

If, as you stated, *legislation* has excluded the farm worker (A TRUTH I AGREE WITH TOTALLY!), why doesn't the NCC bring pressure to bear on Congress to enact legislation that would provide the framework for meaningful collective bargaining?

The boycott of California grapes merely serves to support states whose working conditions and wages are such that they make the "Grapes of Wrath" look like a comic book!

We need *legislation*—now! Can we not bring ourselves together at this point?

Rev. Lloyd Saatjian, Minister
Methodist Church of Palm Springs (Cal.)

(We are together. The NCC, United Methodist Church, United Presbyterian in the U.S.A., other denominations, the majority of state migrant ministries, organized labor and other groups, have formed and actively support the National Campaign for Agricultural Democracy, a Washington-based agency dedicated solely to passage by Congress of bills [Amendments to the N.L.R. Act] that will give farm workers the legal right to organize and bargain collectively. This is the nub of the issue. Passage would doubtless end the table grape boycott. Editor.)

FRESNO COUNCIL STILL EXISTS

In your first issue (Oct. 15) is the statement about "The Fresno Area Council of Churches (whose support of the 'Grape Strike' has forced it to close down.)"

I am the most recent vice-president of the Council, now a member of its Board and Chairman of its Nominating Committee. It has *not* closed down. However, it has dismissed both of its full-time staff and now employs only a part-time office secretary. It was compelled to do this by lack of support, which, however, was due only in part to the farm labor controversy.

Actually, altho its recent Executive Director was widely known as an "activist" whose sympathies were very strongly with the Migrant Ministry's present course of action, and consequently with Cesar Chavez, the Council itself has never taken any position on the issue. It could not do so, since a position favoring the strike would have been an act of irresponsibility toward the churches that compose it.

The Rev. Banes Anderson, Minister
Easterby Presbyterian Church
Fresno, California

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

In TEMPO (Oct. 15), you include a statement on capital punishment, and a list of conferences that have adopted statements in the past on this topic. Although you did list one of the district conference's statements, the General Conference Mennonite Church adopted a like statement at its triennial sessions, July of 1965.

Members of our conference Peace and Social of our committee members are being placed on the Concerns Committee appreciate your journal. All subscription list. Keep up the good work.

Darrell Fast
Peace and Social Concerns
General Conference Mennonite Church
Elkhart, Ind.

COLLEGE LEADER TRAINING

I was much interested to receive your first issue of TEMPO. I wish to comment on the open letter to the churches on the crisis in higher education. I have been a college professor for more than 40 years, and have taught in eight different colleges.

I do not know of any college that attempts seriously to train for leadership; that is, makes an understanding of one's self and the basic issues of our world a major and central concern of its "core curriculum."

Colleges are organized and designed to meet the curricular interests of the faculty. A student asked me once, why he had to take a certain course. The factual reply was, "Some faculty member wants it required and has enough influence to get it through the appropriate committees and win favorable faculty action."

What the colleges are doing is good; often important. But they do not deal, or even attempt to deal, effectively with what is essential for social well being.

Sylvanus Milne Duvall, Ph.D.
Sarasota, Fla.

MORE ON TEMPO

Let me compliment you on TEMPO. You are really putting out a newspaper which presents and tackles the great issues of the day. It's an attractive format and I'm sure that you ought to be getting cover-to-cover readership. Keep up the good work.

Alfred P. Klausler
Executive Secretary
Associated Church Press
Chicago, Illinois

TEMPO can serve a good purpose. The first issue is good. We'll look forward to more.

R. Dean Goodwin
American Baptist Convention
Valley Forge, Penna.

Congratulations upon the launching of "Tempo." The format and style will attract attention, and the articles are certainly geared to the needs and problems of the times.

It is my hope that TEMPO, as time goes on, will deal adequately with *all* the concerns of the National Council and the churches. The "Crisis in the Nation" rightly claims the focus of our attention just now. But in addressing ourselves to it, we must not overlook other vital aspects of the church's total task.

TEMPO's beginning is auspicious. May it arouse us all to more effective involvement in the life of the contemporary world.

G. Merrill Lenox
Executive Director
Ann Arbor-Washtenaw (Mich.) Council of Churches

A very fine and significant publication. After receiving my first copy I did not put it down until I had read every article. I have nothing but the highest praise, and shall look forward to having it to keep abreast of some thoughts from fine minds on important issues of our times.

Mrs. Phil B. Wahl
Duncan, Okla.

Delighted. General layout is good . . . look forward to future issues. (But) while I recognize the legitimacy of TEMPO (Oct. 15 issue) picking up issues dealt with by the Council's general board, it would seem these have perhaps been overemphasized, making TEMPO appear to be a "house organ" after all.

Charles W. Cooper, Jr.
Philadelphia, Pa.

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A special TEMPO Report by

HAROLD SCHACKERN

Religion Editor,

Detroit News

OSTON — The consultation on the black church was conducted here in an atmosphere of discontent and growing estrangement from the white church and its institutions.

The four-day meeting (Nov. 6-9) at the Boston University School of Theology drew approximately 400 black clergy and seminarians from throughout the country, but the bulk were black students from theological schools in the Boston area, who were the meeting's organizers.

Their purpose in summoning the meeting was expressed as a general inability to identify with the white-dominated institutions they attend, with charges that the seminaries are doing little to prepare them for the roles they will be called upon to play as pastors.

Black students stood and cheered when a black educator suggested they might be forced to pull out of white theological schools and strive for all-black seminaries.

In making the suggestion, Dr. Charles S. Rooks warned, however, there are "serious obstacles to such a step," but said:

"There is a crisis in the black church and whites must change soon or we will have to make the hard decision to go our own way."

Dr. Rooks, who also is black, is executive director of the fund for theological education of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Besides demanding that blacks have a greater voice in the decision-making process of theological schools, he said white faculties "must begin to think black."

He said white seminaries try to convert black students into bland, middle-class white clergymen, even to the way they preach.

"If a black student were to get up and preach in a homiletics class the way he is going to have to preach when he goes out to serve a black church, he would flunk the course," he said.

Barriers to high level black theology schools, he said, are shortage of talent, wide divisions between black theologians and an unreadiness "to make the sacrifices we would have to make."

Much discussion was devoted to the validity of the "old fashioned, shouting black preacher" who raised the sagging spirits of his congregation through great emotional appeal.

The Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr., militant pastor of Detroit's Shrine of the Black Madonna, said it is not his preaching style that makes that type of black clergyman irrelevant today, but his faith in the white man.

"That old black preacher, as ignorant as he may have been at times, brought us to where we are today," he said. "We couldn't have got here without him.

"He may have been stupid at times, but he produced the only valid Christianity ever known on this continent."

Mr. Cleage said that Christianity is a black religion, and that whites are interlopers who falsely have colored it white.

He said that Abraham's tribe, both during Egyptian bondage and its 40 years of wandering, became thoroughly intermingled with black Africans. Recent research, he said, has proven that the Pharaohs themselves were black men. *(For more on Mr. Cleage's beliefs, please turn to p. 5.)*

On the topic of the old time black preacher, the Rev. Henry Mitchell, Santa Monica, Calif., pastor and sociologist, said it was this unlettered clergyman who invented dialogue, and that the white church is a Johnny-come-lately in this field.

"My great-grandmother knew you had to have interaction between pulpit and pew to have a real ministry of the word," he said, "but the white folks are just now catching on."

His paper, on "the black church in action," responded to some of the more avant-garde black clergy and seminarians at the consultation who called the black church a "blatant failure."

"Some of my black brothers have been downgrading preaching," he said, "but I believe I have been called to preach to the end of my days.

"And I don't care how much some white intellectuals or black militants knock the call, I am going to continue to preach.

"One of the previous speakers said our black churches only make people feel good, but if our religion has any validity at all, it must start here. Black religion is a feeling religion.

"The black church shouldn't be ashamed of its religious feelings. The white church can't even dig a 'soul' service.

"The white church must take seriously a church that sends its young men off to the seminaries with them saying, 'woe is me if I cannot preach."

He said that in his defense of the traditional black church he was not talking about "phoney emotionalism" or "contrivances to extract coins from the pockets of poor people."

"But, I suspect that anyone who has been through the bachelor of divinity bag can never be truly black again," Mr. Mitchell said.

"Our religion is warm and emotional and rich, and I'll risk that image of the emotional black preacher along with all the other risks a black man must take.

"The white Pentecostals, the holiness people and some rural southern Baptists also get emotional, but whereas they get emotionally mad, we get emotionally glad."

He said that frontier churches of mainstream Protestantism "shouted, raved and rolled on the floor," and that black churches were influenced by such performances to a moderate degree.

In contrast to the black churches, he said, these white frontier churches were expressions of "anti-intellectualism and know-nothingism," whereas the "black religion I grew up in was led by a cat who knew what was going on and was open and receptive to intellectualism."

In the consultation's keynote address, Dr. Vincent Harding said black clergymen can no longer seek to raise their congregations to white, middle class levels.

Rather, he said, they must descend into the ghettos and there stand or die with "the least of our black brothers."

Dr. Harding, chairman of the History Department of Atlanta's Spellman College, said blacks today are seeking "a new name in glory," using it as a symbol of the black search for identity.

"We are faced with the challenge to stand where the least of our brothers must stand, to live where they must live, to send our children to school where theirs must go," he said.

"Who else will stand with the least of our black brothers if we do not? If we are not there with them, living and dying, how shall our least brothers ever know their names."

In contrast to both Mr. Cleage and Mr. Mitchell, Dr. Harding said that the black congregation, unfortunately, is "tied to the image of the black clergyman," whom he described as "the professional holy man for the tribe, the preacher who turns people on, but never enough to get them to change their lives."

Black churchmen must face a higher and tougher challenge from the black community than their predecessors.

"After all we have been through," he asked, "how can you affirm America? How can you continue to lie to your children about freedom and justice for all.

"None of our black churches have preached that it is wrong for black men to kill yellow men who want to move things in Vietnam.

"Why are conscientious objectors mainly white? What have you been preaching?"

He said Jesus is becoming "almost an embarrassment" in the black community, "so distorted and domesticated by the white community that he needs to be born again."

"Shall we drop him, or shall we snatch him from the white community and paint him black just as they have painted him white?" he asked, "or would that be just another form of idolatry?"

He said that Jesus could relate to the whole world because he first related to his own people. This, black clergy must do.

"When the Saturday food supplement of my daily paper carries a recipe for chitlings," he said, "I know the time for yapping is over. It is time to move, to build a new nation."

Another speaker, Detroit city councilman Nicholas Hood, who also is pastor of an all-black church, told how his congregation built, with federal financing, a 230-unit garden apartment development in the inner city.

He said that more important than the building itself was the uncovering of black talent in the architectural, engineering and construction fields, men who had systematically been denied a chance in the past. ■

"We are faced with the challenge to stand where the least of our brothers must stand, to live where they must live, to send our children to school where theirs must go. . . ." Keynoter Vincent Harding (left, at rostrum) in address to 400 black seminarians in Boston, two of whom are shown at right.

MR JOSEPH TUCKER
UNION THEOL SEM
3041 BROADWAY
NEW YORK NY 10027
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TEMPO

December 15, 1968

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TEMPOsitions . . .

WIDENING HORIZONS OF MISSION
(Assessing An Assembly)

The Assembly of the NCC Division of Overseas Ministries at New Haven, Conn., was a very non-conformist affair. It did not bury God, adore secular man, identify mission with service, or reject service for revolution. Neither did it celebrate the lofty otherness of God, the utter helplessness of man, the absolute superiority of Christianity, or the certainty of social and economic development. It was, in the language of the executive head of the division, Dr. David M. Stowe, a "Thinking Occasion." The only cause it seemed to promote was rigorous reflection on the central issues with which Christians are seriously struggling all over the world.

With more than 400 people registered, and too many topics on the agenda, the Assembly was predestined to be centered on platform performance. The object was to spotlight a number of provocative and unfinished notions that are currently stirring the minds of everyone at all concerned with the mission of Christianity in our emergent world-wide civilization.

The result could have been the chaotic juxtaposition of a lot of unrelated ideas, but there was a surprising measure of coherence, and only a few points of no-mesh at all.

I would summarize the platform message I heard at this Assembly in half-a-dozen points:

1. The World we experience today is not separate from God, and the God we worship is neither remote nor dead.
2. The immense attractive power of God is today turning the ancient ideal of a world-wide human community into an imminently possible event.
3. The dire rigidities of our inherited political, social and economic disorder operate as a vast system of injustice, obstructing the rising demands of the hurt and oppressed and risking the provocation of destructive revolution.
4. In the midst of this dangerous confrontation between privilege and poverty, three kinds of related service are proper to followers of Jesus Christ: the meeting of raw human need through welfare work; the promotion of radical social transformation; and the conversion of hearts that have become hardened against the love of God and neighbor.
5. Deliberate Christian missionary participation in the history of other religious cultures, as in the Orient, is destined to open a new phase in the life of the nations.
6. Christian missionaries entering into service overseas, must today think of their crucial task in terms of participation rather than invasion, of dialogue rather than domination.

These, then, were the main straws in the wind, evidenced at a meeting that indicated new need and new directions in mission for today and tomorrow.

Howard Schomer, Executive Director Dept. of Specialized Ministries NCC Division of Overseas Ministries

Guest Editorial

THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT: IS IT LOSING STEAM?

by Bernard Law

IS the ecumenical movement losing steam? Some commentators indicated a few years ago, that the earlier ecumenical movement had suffered the doldrums until that surprising epiphany which was Pope John. The transparent goodness of that man with arms opened to the world and the smiling greeting, "I am Joseph, your brother," was enough to stir the embers of hope.

There was that exciting time of Catholic ecumenical initiation when every joint prayer service or act of ecumenical cooperation was a sure newsmaker. Ecumenism is not news any longer. This is not all bad. It is an indication that we have begun to do together enough things enough times so that it is almost normal.

Three Paths

Ecumenism proceeds along three paths.

The first can be called secular ecumenism, and it would include the many joint efforts involving the Christian churches in a common outreach to a suffering humanity.

A second path of ecumenism is by way of dialogue. I think here primarily of theological dialogue at an official level between the churches, or the dialogue carried on at the level of theological faculties.

There is a third path and it has been called spiritual ecumenism. It is, certainly, the most important path.

Vatican II

One of the most beautiful passages in the Decree on Ecumenism states, "There can be no ecumenism worthy of the name without a change of heart. For it is from newness of attitudes, from self-denial and unstinted love, that yearnings for unity take their rise and grow toward maturity."

Spiritual ecumenism is rooted on the truth of that passage. If our joint social projects and our theological dialogue are to bear fruit, they must be rooted in a change of heart. And this is wrought through prayer.

It is not enough for us to come together in ecumenical congregations for the week of prayer for Christian unity or on some civic occasion such as Thanksgiving. We are at these times too self-consciously ecumenical. These efforts, laudable though they be, can become ends in themselves. Success is measured in terms of the number of churches participating and the size of the crowd attracted.

Metanoia

Change of heart is difficult to measure quantitatively, however. What is needed ecumenically is the gathering of Christians for the purpose of conversion, metanoia, change of heart.

A network of ecumenically-constituted prayer groups and Bible study groups in the setting of private homes would contribute a new dimension to the ecumenical movement. Some may feel that the Catholic Church's position on intercommunion inhibits spiritual ecumenism. It is a feeling which I would not share.

The basis for this common prayer must be our oneness in Christ through baptism, and our desire for a change of heart. There is a tinge of Alice-in-Wonderland in those who demand intercommunion now. We remain members of visibly separated Christian communities. Wishing does not change the hard fact. The communion we seek is the expression of a visibly united Christian community. Sin has wrought our divisions. Change of heart will realize our unity.

A principal task facing all those interested in ecumenism is to multiply the opportunities and forms in which Christians can join together in their effort to achieve, with God's grace, change of heart. Such a development in the ecumenical movement would cause the sparks of hope to fly again.

The Rev. Bernard Law is Executive Director of the U.S. Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs.

In this issue, TEMPO accents news developments emanating from the triennial assembly of the National Council of Churches' Division of Overseas Ministries, held in New Haven, Conn. Nov. 19-22. The Features:

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THE COVER: "The Magi," in beautifully stylized Thai design, was painted by Pak Ho Tsang, of Bangkok, Thailand. As one of two pictures he entered in the annual Christmas theme art competition of NCC/DOM's Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature. The competition's two-fold purpose: encouragement of Christian artists overseas with cash prize awards, and production of Christian art for Lit-Lit Christmas cards which support the committee's work. Mr. Tsang was born in China and educated in Hong Kong. He is an active young Presbyterian church member and family man (two children), makes his living as a staff artist of the publishing house of the Church of Christ in Bangkok.

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Kruse

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS: Dorothy Rensenbrink, Doris Thompson

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David Ackerman, John Fisler, Henry McCanna, David Poindexter, L. I. Stell, Maza Tilghman, Albert Tippit, Glen Trimble, John Turnbull, John Wood

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A MEANINGFUL MISSION FOR TOMORROW

A Report on An Assembly

by Dorothy Rensenbrink

CROSS currents of religious, social and political change influencing people all over the world were reflected in four days of discussion in New Haven, Conn. last month by more than 400 church overseas mission and relief officials. They met to evaluate new and old approaches to U.S.-based foreign mission work.

In the city's brand new Park Plaza Hotel, across the street from one of the oldest (1639) churches in the U.S.A., the mission leaders weighed conflicting philosophies in light of their heritage, and tried to pinpoint a meaningful mission for today and tomorrow.

Questions about the relationship of new theology to old church structures, the reality of personal "conversion," the effect conversion should have on social and political life, whether Christianity is the only way to be "saved," and how it can become authentic in different cultures—these were some of the topics considered by the delegates.

The occasion was the second triennial assembly called by the National Council of Churches' Division of Overseas Ministries, whose related boards in the United States and in Canada account for $127 million of the total $299 million mission income of all Protestant churches.

Need for Perspective

The lessons of the world — in the form of the disastrous results of unexamined foreign policy (i.e., the Vietnam war), the impatience of youth with irrelevant super-structures, and proud culture-conscious, world-wide nationalism — these too were omnipresent factors in discussions. Response to it all was best summed up by Dr. Alford Carleton, chairman of DOM, when he said on the closing day, "Our basic need is for perspective and reflection.

Smith

Carleton

Rose

Potter

Latourette

Mathias

Tyson

Ockenga

"We need to see ourselves as others see us . . . the peril of having power and money, the inherent colonialism of the missionary enterprise during the past century and until now, and the vested interest in doing things as we do because it is easier that way.

"What we need . . . is broad-based awareness of the world in which we live and of our own resources and capacities. If we find it hard to live with uncertainty and ambiguity . . . let me remind you that the Biblical translation of those words is faith. 'Abraham went out, not knowing whither he went.' "

Dr. Carleton pointed to two immediate assignments for mission officials. The first, he said, was to "find a middle ground between two extremes — bigotry and syncretism (with its implication that religion is not important because what kind of religion a man has does not make any difference). The second is to distinguish symptoms from the disease which creates it." Thus he called peace or hunger symptoms behind which lies justice, love, and skillful organization of society, or their opposites.

'Brutal' Conversion

Representing two opposing viewpoints were Dr. Harold J. Ockenga and the Rev. Theophane Mathias, S.J. Dr. Ockenga, pastor of Park Street Congregational Church, Boston, chairman of *Christianity Today*, president of Gordon College, and member of the Billy Graham Evangelical Association, defended the reality of "radical personal conversion" as being psychologically and theologically sound. He cited William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience* and Biblical texts as proofs and told several stories of the change which occurred in the lives of people he knew who had become "converted."

Speaking from the floor during discussion, Father Mathias, an Indian national who is president of the Jesuit Educational Association in that country, indicated that such conversion of foreign nationals was itself "brutal and un-Christian" and said the task of the missionary today was rather one of studying other religious heritages with a view of lifting the "hidden Christ" which already existed in them, to the surface.

Dr. Philip Potter, executive head of the WCC's Division of World Mission and Evangelism, in essence agreed with Dr. Ockenga, but in emphasis pushed the whole concept of conversion from the personal plane to the social and political sphere. Calling Dr. Ockenga's concept "too limited," he said a turn toward God involved then a second and continuing turn again toward man. Conversion, he said, can be seen in the way one lives in social and political life, and if it cannot, then man is not truly converted.

Separate Traditions

In large agreement with Father Mathias was Dr. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, director of the Center for the Study of World Religions at Harvard University. Each separate religious tradition is the process of response to God's initiative, and the current phase is our response to His bringing of the religious communities of the world into mutual involvement, he said. "The missionary assignment for the next phase of human history is to take the leadership in this participation: to help realize in fact the vision that we can begin to see, wherein we all participate in each other's processes of moving towards God."

New Haven's Mayor Richard C. Lee, in a short welcome at a plenary luncheon, warned that what happens to the U.S. depends upon what happens to its cities. He said, "No one in this country has done the job that needs to be done." He called for more committed people both in churches and government, and commended the NCC for its interest in physical as well as human renewal.

A kind of "new left" criticism was voiced by Stephen Rose, founder and ex-editor of *Renewal* magazine. In response to an address by Dr. Reginald Helfferich, who saw a fully ecumenical church relief structure by 1980, Mr. Rose said what the churches don't yet understand is that people are unwilling to be "enslaved by either hate or by a loving pax Americana. Redemption in Jesus Christ involves not merely radical justice but freedom from all the idols of humanity—including idols of service."

Dr. Brady Tyson of American University, an ex-missionary (Methodist) to Brazil, asserted there are two revolutions sweeping the world—one technological and the other a humanizing revolution. He warned that the technological effort was winning out, and that although the two were not irreconcilable, not much was being done to bring them together. "We are living in a pre-fascist, pre-totalitarian world," he said. "If we fail to prevent such a world from developing, it will not just be the failure of millions of comfortable Christians, but our failure to help hundreds of millions of not-comfortable persons in the world," he stated.

Dr. Howard Schomer, director of the NCC's Department of Specialized Ministries, said the radical attack on Christian mission was "most trenchant inside the church, was characteristically American, and was a renewed sign of health and hope." With this preface he suggested a new theology-in-mission based on the philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead. Both Dr. Schomer and Father Mathias addressed themselves to the philosophical implications of "A Living God, Deity, Being and Becoming as Fundamental Apprehensions."

The division into separate units within American churches of home and foreign missions was called a "scandal" by the WCC's Dr. Potter, who said the problems each had to face were the same —technology, development, affluence, and poverty. The way U.S. churches respond to the crisis in their nation has relevance to churches all over the world, he said.

All of these various issues and concerns reflected what Dr. David M. Stowe, NCC associate general secretary for DOM, called the "fundamental questions being increasingly asked about the position and function of the overseas missionary." *(For more by Dr. Stowe, see next page.)*

FOREIGN MISSIONS TODAY

A Spent Force?

by David M. Stowe

ONE of the chief questions we face today in overseas missions is whether or not the missionary — at least, the professional missionary — is a spent force.

In the whole history of the Christian mission the role of the missionary has changed before.

For several centuries during the first great burst of Christian mission this is the story: Anonymous, largely lay missionaries were central. Then came St. Benedict in the 6th century, and the beginning of Christian monasticism. Speedily the monks became the primary bearers of mission. Corporately or individually, they took over the task of extending Christian faith and works, as professionals of mission. The Society of Jesus, launched in the 16th century, brought the vocation of mission to an unsurpassed effectiveness and reaffirmed the pattern of specialized sending society and its specialized professional missionary. Roman Catholic missions down to the present are still dominated by these patterns.

The rise of Protestant foreign missions in the late 18th century saw the essential acceptance of the Roman model, with one significant variation: the marriage of the missionary (often obligatory in the early days, when boards were not about to trust single men east of Suez) brought some significant differences in style of work and relationships. But the pattern of sending society and the sent remained.

Facts and Figures

Just off the press is the *1968 Directory of North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, a publication of the Missionary Research Library in collaboration with the Missions Advance Research Center of Monrovia, California. Alongside it I will put the statistical directory of the Mission Secretariat, *U.S. Catholics Overseas 1968*, also just off the press. These volumes give us a first quantitative probe into that question so far as North America is concerned. And that is important. For Protestant mission sending, "as goes North America, so goes the world." Some 65% to 70% of the total non-Roman missionary force goes out from this continent. The proportions are otherwise for the Roman Catholic Church — about 15% from the USA. Yet the American contribution is important, and probably rising.

Let me suggest in bold and over-simplified outline the apparent implications of the data.

The traditional missionary-sending system is stronger than ever. The *MRL Directory* indicates that between 1960 and 1968 the income for overseas ministries increased from $170 million to $299 million, an impressive 75%. The DOM / Canadian Council-related boards income went up $35 million, from $92 million in 1960 to $127 million in 1968. This is a healthy growth of nearly 5% a year in a period when general inflation in this country increased the cost of living by an average of some 2.5% a year.

Meanwhile the three associations of conservative evangelical-fundamentalist boards more than doubled their income in these eight years, from $46 million to $99 million, while the unaffiliated group of agencies went from $27 million to $74 million, a whopping 175% increase.

An All-Time High

The foreign missionary force is at an all-time high and still growing. However, the center of gravity of Protestant missionary sending is shifting constantly away from the "ecumenical" agencies toward conservative evangelical and fundamentalist ones.

Something of a sensation was created by the appearance in 1960 of a special issue of the Missionary Research Library's *Occasional Bulletin* devoted to an analysis of "North American Protestant Missions in 1960." It was then discovered that the National Council-related mission boards had dropped, in percentage of the total missionary force, from 43.5% in 1956, and 41.2% in 1958 to only 38% in 1960. Great capital was made, in some circles, of this purported evidence that the torch of mission was passing from failing liberal and ecumenical hands to vigorous sectarian and conservative ones. Whatever the proper implications, the trend discerned in 1960 continues.

The Protestant figures given above represent the total overseas sending of an enormous list of some 417 boards and agencies.

In the ecumenical grouping of DOM and Canadian Council-related boards, ten are of substantial size, and account for nearly 70% of the total for that grouping. The list is as follows:

Seventh Day Adventist	1,467
United Methodist	1,415
United Presbyterian	1,088
American Lutheran Church	660
Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod	577
Presbyterian, U.S.	533
Lutheran Church in America	503
Episcopal Church	449
Mennonite Central Committee	386
United Church of Christ	382

Catholic figures show a similar pattern of dispersion and concentration.

Dollar Quotient

The relative concern of mission agencies, for missionary sending, compared with other aspects of program, varies greatly. One important indicator is the dollar quotient of missionaries to total income of the various boards. In rough averages, the "ecumenical" agencies have an income-to-missionary ratio of about $11,000; the evangelical associations $6,700, and the unaffiliated boards (excluding those who are primarily service programs rather than missionary agencies) $8,500. The probable implications are that the DOM/Canadian Council boards give higher missionary compensation and allocate relatively more funds to program rather than support of personnel.

From such data as this we may draw one more provisional conclusion: DOM-related agencies up to the present are operating on a status quo basis. They have not decided to devalue the professional missionary; they are sending all they can recruit and pay for.

Down Turn Ahead?

It is just possible that we stand at an extraordinary juncture in time where data just off the press (but of course reflecting activity in 1967) is already far out-of-date. There is no way of making sure that the statistical curves will not show a significant, perhaps a sudden, turn downward beginning precisely this year. There are enough red flags on income and recruitment experience of some major DOM boards to make this plausible.

But my personal hunch is that the figures we have seen are not too misleading. It is very easy for executives and promoters of an enterprise which has shown a phenomenal growth rate to feel panic when signs of a leveling off appear.

Certainly there is a mass of testimony that the position and function of the missionary is being questioned in many ways. One of the last issues of *Jesuit Missions* showed a beautiful white marble tombstone, with one red rose on it, and the inscription: "Rest in Peace — Missions — A.D. 33-1967."

Behind such judgments there appear to be a series of problems. One is the image problem. A curious situation wherein "mission" and even "missionary" become increasingly accepted vocabulary; while the prototype figure becomes increasingly unacceptable, or at least written off as proselytizer, imperialist or colonialist. Others include family, living standards, morale and recruitment problems.

To what does all this point?

There is apparently going to be a rather massive continuation of missionary sending by at least some sectors of the church. Even if ecumenically-related denominations drop their personnel levels, others will almost surely continue or increase theirs. Moreover, there is increasing sensitivity to the international dimensions of human existence in our global village. Almost certainly some of the best Christians in all denominations will feel themselves called to witness and serve in international and ecumenical ways.

Secular Global Village

No trend is more evident and general in the global village than secularization — the general release of human activity from sacred prescriptions and proscriptions, the focus on this-wordly rather than other-worldly values. This is not to say that an authentic Christianity, or other faith for that matter, may not play an exceedingly important role in human life and the destiny of the world community. But these spiritual factors will do their work — if they do it at all — in terms compatible with a secular ethos and in a context of secular presuppositions and preoccupations.

Along with this is an unprecedented secular diaspora of technicians, educators, businessmen, artists, government employees and others, within which individual Christians play their full part.

For effective service, the missionary of the future will need qualities and characteristics which enable him to cope with the problems we have identified. Genuine ability will rank high on the list of required qualifications, along with high motivation.

Spiritual Gift

Those lay Christians in secular callings who will increasingly carry the work of mission will do so with a secularity appropriate to their calling. But there will be no use in thinking of them as missionaries at all unless they have an underlying and intentional spiritual purpose. As for the professional missionaries of church agencies, the task is clearly spiritual, ethical, theological in substance, whatever the form of work — teaching, theater, translation, broadcasting, agriculture. For this, the prime requisite is a notable vitality of spiritual, ethical, theological existence. As a Japanese leader put it, the role of the missionary is that of "a person who has been given a spiritual gift." To discover those gifts and make them available to the world is the primary function of the enterprise of mission. ■

Dr. Stowe is Associate General Secretary of the National Council of Churches for its Division of Overseas Ministries.

THE PICTURE

	1960	1968		
Total American and Canadian Missionaries	27,219	33,270	an increase of 6,051	(22%)
Missionaries of DOM boards and Canadian Council of Churches	10,260	10,930	an increase of 670	(6.5%)
Missionaries of Evangelical Foreign Missions Association	5,744	7,369	an increase of 1,625	(28%)
Missionaries of Interdenominational Foreign Missions Association	5,443	6,206	an increase of 763	(14%)
Missionaries of unaffiliated boards	5,093	8,406	an increase of 3,312	(65%)
Others	877	1,128	an increase of 251	(28%)

U.S. Catholics Overseas meanwhile increased from 9,303 in 1966 to 9,655 in 1968 — a modest but significant 3.7% in the two most recent years. Over the eight years from 1960, the Catholic missionary force rose 2,873 — an increase of over 42% — nearly double the Protestant rate of increase.

THE LIVING GOD

A Catholic Views Mission Now

by T. A. Mathias, S.J.

ONE of the most fascinating tasks of future historians will be to analyze the extraordinary times through which the world is passing today. On the one hand, our world seems to be totally divorced from God, a fact that has been dramatically expressed by the several "death of God" theologians. Modern man simply does not feel the need of God any more. The world and human existence are completely self-sufficient; problems can be solved with the aid of science and technology without calling on any other-worldly person or power. The longings of the human heart, the messianisms that draw men and raise up leaders—these are no longer expressed in religious but in economic, political, social, scientific—purely human —categories.

"God is alive"

On the other hand, this is also the age when the highest ideals of Christianity have received more homage in word and performance than ever before. For the first time in history, human brotherhood means something serious to a majority of men. It is strong enough to impel the affluent, individuals or nations, to part with their money for the uplift of the poor; and the youthful or talented to spend themselves for the less fortunate. For the first time, the idea of human solidarity cutting across boundaries of race, culture, language has ceased to be a philosophical ideal and become a reality in international organization like the U.N. Take the new appreciation of truth and sincerity, the readiness for sacrifice, the disparagement of ostentation, pharisaism and facade that find violent and sometimes distasteful expression in youth movements like that of the Hippies. I see in all this a real, though hidden, worship of God. This new sense of God is more comprehensive than former concepts; it includes a new appreciation of the depth and richness of all human values.

I therefore say that God is not dead, but alive and active today, only he is no longer recognized under the categories, the form and the concepts which have till now been used to describe him. As that great prophet of the modern age, Teilhard de Chardin, aptly says: "Whatever may be said, our century is religious — probably more religious than any other. How could it fail to be so, with such vast horizons opening and such problems to be solved? The only thing is that our age has not yet got the God it can adore."

Our Problem

We could react to present trends by a wholesale condemnation of everything modern, by retreating into the citadel of the Church and placing our complete trust in God who will save the Church and make her triumph over the world. If this attitude is adopted by large numbers of Christians, then indeed the accusation of being irrelevant to the modern world, so frequently made against Christianity, will be true. It is not by retreating from the world in which we live, nor by accusing it of inability to understand the Church that we Christians of 1968 can fulfill our role. It is by realizing that the Church, too, perhaps does not understand the modern world, and yet has to, since Christ and the Church are meant to save the world, such as it is, and such as history has inexorably fashioned it.

God in History

Christian theology, as we know it, took shape at a time when the world was regarded as a static reality, governed by the Aristotelian concepts of permanent substance and cyclic time. Hence Christian theologians have generally proposed the idea of a worker-God who created the world once and for all, is interested in it surely, but who somehow remains outside its evolution and progress. The natural result of this thinking has been that Christians and Christianity have unwittingly become allies of all that is conservative and reactionary.

A conservative stance is natural to religions like Hinduism, which stress the mythical, the transitory and the illusory nature of man and the world. Christianity however is, objectively speaking, not a religion of withdrawal or of the status quo but one of hope, of transformation and change; a religion of optimism, of involvement in the present and expectation for the future. It is this hope, this attitude of dynamic and creative New Testament. The unfortunate thing is that expectation that vividly comes through in the Christian hope has been either so postponed or so underplayed in the history of Christian thought that Christianity somehow got excessively linked up with the present and the past and became the very symbol of conservatism in society. The problem now, is to restate the hope of the New Testament, to regain the true Christian posture of radical optimism and its early stance which was unswervingly oriented towards the future.

"The Incarnation is complete only when Christ becomes an Indian in India . . . ."

Living God in Society

We are living in an age when people realize much more acutely the essential values of society. One of the tragedies that has befallen Christianity is that the early conviction of the importance of the group was slowly eroded. Little by little, individualism in morality and religion began to reign supreme. Martin Luther unconsciously turned the Biblical "we" and "us" into "I" and "me." In this way faith became essentially reflective. "I" must be convinced that "my" sins are forgiven by my own attachment to Christ, not through the intervention of the Church. This paved the way for later pietism with its subjective spirituality and generally a loss of sense of community in the Church. Among Catholics, even a great churchman like Cardinal Newman could speak of "only two final realities in the universe, myself and God."

Little by little, the Christian moral sense underwent a subtle transformation, concentrating on individual sins, like sensuality, greed, pride, and on inter-individual relations; but becoming completely blind to crimes against mankind: crimes committed collectively, nation against nation, race against race, social class against social class. The "mote" of individual sin has been carefully picked out, but the "beam" of social crime has been allowed to pass.

I hope I am not being too bitter in this statement, but I do believe that this is one of the facts of Christian life in all the churches that has contributed most to the rise of a generation which has lost faith in the Church and considers "established religion" as responsible for the death of God.

God in the Church

The living God must be found in the Church. To make Christ alive and present in the world, the Church must embody him in diverse human cultures and societies. The incarnation is complete only when Christ becomes an Indian in India, a Chinese in China and American in the U.S.A., i.e. when the Church is fully domiciled in every land and culture, using its art forms, its liturgical attitudes, its modes of worship and thought. To achieve this is the Church's mission.

God in the non-Christian World

Part of the revolution through which we are living is a newborn appreciation of the spiritual riches and treasures of non-Christian religions and cultures, chiefly the great ones like Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism which have sustained the life and spirit of millions of people for thousands of years. There has also dawned upon us the bitter realization that we are willy nilly living in a pluralistic society where different religions coexist, and by no stretch of imagination can we hope that this state of affairs will change in the foreseeable future. Moreover, the "Christian" West itself seems to have abandoned its faith in its own religion. It seems to have lost its inner moorings and to be suffering from spiritual starvation. With what face then can European and American missionaries go out and preach Christianity to others?

What is the purpose of the missions if people can be, nay are being saved through their own religions, and if the living God and the living Christ act on them through the channel of their own religious traditions? The Church's mission is not primarily to bring salvation to individual souls but to be the sacrament and sign of the Living God, of Christ and his saving action on behalf of the whole world. It is, therefore, the task of the Church to make Christ present in every age and culture and race. This is the basic purpose of evangelization or missionary work. The missionary era is not dead, as some would have us believe. Christ's command to go and teach all nations has to be fulfilled today also. But in a different manner and with radically different theological and human attitudes. Though Christ's grace is working in an anonymous manner in the hearts of non-Christians through their own religions, this working is incomplete and has to be brought into the open. They too must share in the fullness of Christ. Only then will Christ's true function be achieved.

God in our personal lives

For one who holds to the truth that the living God is not some sort of vague all-pervading force, but a Person, who knows and loves us individually, it is evident that he must manifest himself primarily in each one of our lives.

The current trends between God are not universal. They are the result of Western secularism and confused Christian thinking. They also show that believing in God in the true interior sense of the term is not an easy matter. To confess the reality of the living God is a different thing from asserting the existence of some sort of supramundane being.

The message of the living God is therefore not so much a doctrine to be taught and discussed, but a life to be lived and a witness to be given. The Christian is the man of faith. He believes that the visible phenomena of life and of the world are enclosed in an ultimate reality of love. He is the man of hope: who knows that all death, if it is death for the sake of others, turns into life. He is the man of love: who understands that love is the ultimate and only reality that lasts forever. Our God is not something outside the world, "living" his isolated existence; the living God is the heart of the world and yet greater than the world which is only the manifestation of the divine mystery of love. This is the joyful news which should transform us, giving meaning, fulfillment, joy to our lives. These are the good tidings which Christianity has to bring to the world age after age. This is the "wonder" of the living God. And so with Dag Hammarskjold, I would like to end: "God does not die on the day we cease to believe in a personal deity, but we die on the day when our lives cease to be illuminated by the steady radiance renewed daily, of a wonder, the source of which is beyond all reason."■

From an address to the NCC Division of Overseas Ministries Assembly Nov. 20, 1968. Fr. Mathias is Director, Jesuit Educational Association of India.

THE EAGLE SCATTERS HIS NEST — The Latin American Scene

"Like an eagle that stirs up its nest, that flutters over its young, spreading out its wings, catching them, bearing them on its pinions, the Lord alone did lead him and there was no foreign god with him." Dt. 32.11.

by Dana S. Green

"HE thought that God is like an eagle who scatters his nest never made much sense to me," said one of the participants in the Second Conference of the Latin American Roman Catholic Episcopate (Medellin, Colombia, August 24 to September 6), "until I actually saw it happen one day while fishing in a mountain lake. When there was no nest left, the eaglets came fluttering down toward the water while the old eagle went swooping and screaming above them. They did not know, of course, that he would bear them up on his pinions before they went under. And, they never found out whether he would or not because they managed to get their wings working and with very wobbly navigation made their way back to join the old eagle on the top of the cliff. When I see what is happening here on top of this mountain in Colombia, that Scripture makes even more sense."

The meeting of Roman Catholic Bishops was to be only one of two recent conferences which can now, in retrospect, be seen as living symbols of the eagle stirring up its nest. The other, convening in Rio de Janeiro on September 22nd, was the Eighth Conference of the American Armed Forces, composed of high-ranking officials of the military establishments of nineteen Western Hemisphere nations. *The stated purpose of the Bishops' conference was nothing less than that of "revising the mission of the Church before the global transformations of Latin America."* The military leaders were a bit less pretentious, stating the purpose of their meeting as being to "tighten the bonds of comradeship and understanding" and to "study military problems of mutual interest." *Dom Helder Camara of Brazil, who has virtually declared a non-violent revolutionary war in Latin America, was in excellent and saintly form among the Bishops.* General William C. Westmoreland, Army Chief of Staff of the United States, promised the army leaders "that the United States would assist the Latin American military in its struggle against communist subversion."

The Bishops had a few sharp words about the military: "When so many people are hungry, when so many homes suffer misery, when so many men live submerged in ignorance . . . the race for arms becomes an intolerable scandal." The military men undoubtedly said things equally sharp about those radical Bishops, but the Bishops published their words while the others kept theirs secret.

Church conferences we have known seldom result in immediate action, however relevant the rhetoric — and the rhetoric of the Bishops was above all things relevant. A spokesman for the U.S. Department of State denied that there was any connection, but the historical fact is that within three weeks of the military conference, two more nations (Peru and Panama) had joined the fellowship of Latin American nations under military regimes. Of the remaining nations under more or less democratic civilian governments, the lid is tightening on Uruguay; Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador are on very thin ice weakened daily by the rumors which race through the streets, and Venezuela and Colombia have military establishments capable and ready, needing only sufficient pretext. In Central America, only Costa Rica is free of military dominance. The reform-minded civilian government of Guatemala now only hopes to be allowed to finish out its term. Finally, completing the round-up, the once revolutionary government of Mexico is seen relying more and more heavily upon the military to hold the nest together. "The higher you build a dam," said a Chilean friend, "the greater the pressure which builds up behind it . . . and the greater the devastation when it finally gives way." To return to the original metaphor, the stirring of the nest has only just begun.

In these two recent meetings we have witnessed the emergence of two powerful regional entities: the collegiality of the Roman Catholic Bishops of Latin America committed to the "profound, valiant and rapid transformation of the structures of Latin American society" and of the Church itself — and the bond of the military forces of the hemisphere committed to "the struggle against communist subversion," which in Latin America today means any move which in any way threatens to upset the status quo. For once in the 400-year tragedy of Latin American history, it appears that the military and the Church are choosing opposite sides. It is true, of course, that many valiant and able churchmen in Latin American history have taken the side of the oppressed and the dispossessed and served as a saving remnant. But the Bishops in Medellin were the most representative body ever convened by the Latin American Church, and that is quite a new thing. It is also true that, in the revolutions of Mexico and Cuba, the Church found itself virtually dispossessed. But that was a result of the Church in those nations having chosen stability when revolutionary change was the order of the day. What happened on that mountaintop in Medellin was partially the result of this very history.

The Case for Stability

In 1964, the people of Chile gave an overwhelming majority vote to the Christian Democratic Party running under the banner of REVOLUTION IN FREEDOM. Radical and revolutionary changes in the social structures were promised by dedicated but naive men new to the game of political and economic power. Chile, they said, would lead the way for Latin America, it would institute genuine land reform and distribution programs, it would awaken and educate the illiterate, it would provide for the participation of the marginal peoples into the social and political order, it would reform the university system and make possible the education of the masses. And, it would do all of this without bloodshed and without the fearful disruption of a shooting revolution.

But within eighteen months it became clear that the Christian Democrats were facing a new coalition, as the conservative parties teamed up with the Socialist coalition to put the brakes on the revolution.

The point of the Chilean example is that a courageous effort was made to combine peaceful stability with revolution. The result was that Chile is left with peace and stability — for the moment — at the price of justice and renewed structures which would have opened, at least, the way for the fulfillment of the true potential of her people, and of herself as a nation.

However good the intentions may have been, the U.S.-sponsored programs of development built the case for stability. It is, of course, utterly rational: economic and industrial development can only take place in a relatively stable situation. Stability, or at least the appearance of stability, is therefore essential. But the United States, like the Christian Democrats in Chile, assumed that the dominant classes in Latin America would gladly offer their full cooperation. With the fading away of the Alliance for Progress and the emergence of the military on a hemispheric basis, it is revealed that the political structures of most of the nations of Latin America do not in fact consider genuine development to be one of their primary functions. As to the threat of communism, a good case can and has been made that reaction to military suppression of internal populist forces actually helps to spread communism rather than deter it. A study prepared for the U. S. Senate Sub-Committee on American Republics Affairs entitled, "The Latin American Military" has the following paragraph as one of its conclusions:

> "The rationale set forth for the present military assistance and arms sales programs does not stand up under close scrutiny. The threat to internal security allegedly posed by the forces of international communism has been distorted and exaggerated. Castro's Cuba has only a limited capability for subversion; the Soviet Union and the orthodox Communist Parties of Latin America are not currently provoking social violence and the pro-violence unorthodox Communist Parties, encouraged by Red China, have very limited influence. The principal threat to internal security in Latin America comes from suppressed populist forces. The U. S. military assistance program is contributing to that suppression in all those countries with military regimes or with unrepresentative civilian regimes sustained by the military."

Many genuine friends of the United States in Latin America have been trying to alert us to the critical nature of this problem.

"We in Latin America," said one Latin American Protestant Church leader, "desire the same freedom and democracy within and among our nations that the United States believes it practices domestically." Reading between the lines, one realizes he is really expressing his concern lest the U.S. tendency to rely upon military power to solve political and social problems will, in the long run, destroy the very thing the United States prizes most highly.

Instability: Source of Hope

Approximately four-fifths of the people of Latin America live today under military tutelage. Problems inherited from the feudalistic structures of the past make life so bleak and hopeless for millions that the Puritanical virtues which were so effective in the U. S. experience are rendered almost worthless. Hard work and thrift are useless in situations where inflation goes as high as 130 per cent per year, as was the case in Uruguay in 1967. Educational opportunities are designed to provide leadership and to maintain the status of the elites; the average child faces odds of 100 to 1 that he won't get beyond the fifth grade. Each year there is less food available per person. In spite of all however, there is a resurgence of hope in some sectors, specifically among the rebellious youth and within the Roman Catholic Church; the voice of hope from the Protestant sector has up to now been only a whisper.

"The question is no longer that of changing or not changing the structures of society," stated one of the preparatory documents of the Bishops' conference." The only question is whether the change will be violent or non-violent." In the conference itself Msgr. Eduardo P. Pironio boldly proclaimed a "new Pentecost for Latin America," with "the Holy Spirit simultaneously awakening man to his misery and the Church to the nature and responsibility of its mission." He went on to say, "there is a new presence of the Lord on this continent arousing the expectation of *total* liberation."

These verbs "arousing" and "awakening" reverberate in the sixteen documents covering a wide range of social, political, and ecclesiastical issues. In brief, the Bishops committed themselves to the risks involved in "concientizacion," in the awakening the peoples of Latin America to the necessity for the radical change of their social structures, to the dilemma posed by their marginality, and to the over-riding fact of "institutionalized violence." This work of "concientizacion," of awakening people, of fomenting through preaching, catechesis, colleges, universities, and seminaries, "a critical sense of the social situation and of the vocation of service" is called a "fundamental work of our times." And it is to be undertaken whenever possible in collaboration with diverse confessions, both Christian and non-Christian. The risks involved in this commitment were not underestimated.

All of this, and much, much more, took place on the Medellin mountaintop — and new hope leaped through mountains and valleys meeting other hopes. One had been voiced in a nearby valley by a young priest named Camilo Torres: "When an authority exists contrary to the people, that authority is not legitimate and is called tyranny. We Christians can and must fight against tyranny." The fact that he was shot and denied a Christian burial only underlined the difference in methods chosen by a young rebellious priest on the one hand and the Bishops of the Church on the other. They all, I believe, would have agreed on the hope.

The non-violent revolution in Brazil now counts over forty Brazilian Bishops in its ranks. And, on a shoestring, Glenn Smiley, former director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, is training cadres of labor union people in the methods of non-violence. He reports a surprising response for a culture in which there is no history of non-violent philosophy. The influence of Martin Luther King is strongly felt throughout the continent and Rev. Andrew Young of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is planning an early trip to Latin America to share the experiences of Montgomery and Atlanta. Non-violence as a revolutionary instrument in Latin America also faces great odds, for the hard-core guerrilla groups simply have not thought in these terms. It just might catch fire, even among these, in spite of the odds.

The odds do not seem to bother those who are committed, and the ranks of the committed are growing rapidly. They are all convinced that they are on the right track; that they have already begun to find their wings and they intend to bring to birth a new civilization. And, they take for granted that the real eagle, whatever the pretensions, is a bit more powerful than the forces which have contrived, so far, to hold the nest together.

The Rev. Mr. Green is Executive Director, Latin America Dept., NCC Division of Overseas Ministries. His article appears in fuller form in World Outlook for December.

Church, Racism, and Boston

An Interview with JIM BREEDEN

Who Is Getting Things Done

The Rev. James Breeden is Executive Director of the Massachusetts Council of Churches' Commission on Church and Race. To find out what a church council's race commission is and does, and how its director copes with issues and problems, Darrell Holland put some blunt questions to Mr. Breeden and his assistant Miss Ann Petett—and got candid answers. Mr. Holland edits the Pilgrim State News, *which shares the interview with TEMPO.*

H: Has the race commission got the freedom within the council structure to function?

B: Yes. And it is hoped that with this freedom the commission will help the council and the denominations to take more effective action on the long hard road to racial reconciliation.

H: What do you mean by effective action?

B: The churches have economic resources and other influences through both lay people and clergymen which have not been tapped in terms of their potential.

H: Potential to do what?

B: To change attitudes and practices in government, business and communities.

H: What do you mean by change?

B: Laymen hold key positions in business, industry and government and all these institutions have contributed to the creation of racial crisis and can now contribute to its solution if they will.

H: What can the white community do to deal with the problem of white racism?

Petett: One thing whites ought to be aware of is that fact that there is a racial problem, and that they are the cause of it, and that they shouldn't stand on the outside looking in, but should be involved in seeking solutions. White people are often the cause and a part of the problem in their communities and won't admit it. The black community looks for a change of racist attitudes and a change of practice from the white community.

B: Many white people do business with realtors who won't do business with black people and they live in communities that exclude low-income housoing. Whites should work to change these practices.

P: Many employers have different standards for hiring blacks than whites. People should invest money and do business only with those firms which don't discriminate against blacks in hiring. Also, many whites employ black domestics and don't pay just salary or benefits.

H: How can you work with both white and black communities?

B: We have to set priorities and determine what is important at any given time. It's tough to find the time to develop self-help programs in the black community, and also to work at changing white attitudes in the suburbs.

H: How do you define white racism?

B: White racism means that most of the control and power in solving problems rests in the white community. The black community wants that power in an equitable way of itself. White supremacy is really what is meant by white racism. It is the attitude that what is

white is superior and good and that what is black is inferior and bad. In terms of practice it means the arrangement of power and institutions so that an unjust share of power stays in control of white people with the result that black people bear more than a fair share of pain.

H: What has the race commission done with the Kerner report?

B: We have commended it for study and urged its implementation. But there has been no structural attempt to implement it. The Kerner report has to do with national action and we have continued to urge government officials to take action as problems arise. Actually the Kerner report was a white institutional response which says what blacks have been saying for years.

H: What does the report really mean?

B: It says that white attitudes have created racial problems, that white institutions have continued the problems, that white society condones it, and that white society must do something about it.

P: This is the shocker for the black community — white society has created and maintains the ghetto.

H: Some whites feel there is nothing they can now do in the black ghetto to help. Is there?

B: Whites can come when called and should do what the black community asks. Whites must give up power. Many whites want to come to the ghetto and use power so that they can be congratulated for it.

H: Can a white person, who lives in the suburbs, really work now in the black ghetto to solve the racial and economic problems, or should he work to alleviate the racial problems where he lives?

B: Often he has to work where he lives. But if a person has talent or skills or financial resources that the black community may need, then he may put them at the disposal of the black community. Now, however, white people who are active in the black ghetto must recognize that blacks are designing their own programs. This is different than before.

H: What are some of the accomplishments of the race commission?

B: One thing we have done is to call attention to the responsibility of Boston police in starting the June 2 rebellion in Boston in 1967. We made a full report, which was widely circulated and based on eye witness experience of several commission members, of the hysterical police action in enflaming the situation.

H: How does the race commission deal with the root causes of such rebellions?

B: In terms of police action in the ghetto, the commission has assigned teams to the ghetto to help protect the rights of black citizens of the community, and also at-

tempts to help families during a rebellion.

H: Other accomplishments?

B: That may be a white, middle class question which always looks for concrete results. Actually the commission hasn't solved anything yet, but we have brought more resources to the ghetto than were there before and we have helped church and community groups to organize more effectively both in black and white communities.

H: What kind of liaison does the commission have with other black organizations?

B: At last count there were more than 300 organizations in the black community of Boston. We frequently help to direct resources to these. We attempt to bring groups and individuals and resources together in both black and white communities. For example we published a booklet, "Who's Black in Boston Business."

H: Are you involved in community organization work?

B: Yes. Roxbury Associates is the community organization arm of the commission. There is a staff of three in Roxbury (Boston's Harlem or Watts) which helps to organize

programs which will benefit the community.

H: What kind of programs?

B: We have programs in developing neighborhood control of housing, food buying clubs, working with community schools, police, welfare workers, recipients of welfare and in such areas as jobs and city services.

H: Does the race commission work primarily in Boston?

B: It covers the entire state and has more than 40 persons on it from the churches. However, most of its efforts have been so far in Boston. When we can expand the staff we will broaden the base of our work. The present budget is $70,000.

H: What is the role of black people in denominations and the council of churches?

B: Neither the council nor the churches have ever fully acknowledged the strength and experience of black churches. Much more needs to be done by denominations and councils of churches to bring black churchmen into their decision making bodies.

H: Why are there so few blacks on decision making bodies of churches and denominations?

B: It may be that the white church's conception of mission is alien to what God is saying through the black churches. It is a fact that the call to include black churchmen in white church power-structures is not a call for tokenism, but a call for the renewal of the church. ■

WASHINGTON COMMENT

The Election: Mandate and Prospects

by JOHN TURNBULL

IF things had been just a bit different, they would have been very different indeed. The shift of a few thousand votes which would have given Hubert Humphrey the presidency would have made the 1968 election lcok like a pretty straight-forward endorsement of the general tendency of Democratic domestic policy over the past eight years, and maybe the past thirty-six. Who better than Mr. Humphrey represented that policy in its most attractive and most courageous form?

As it is, thanks to a few thousand votes, it is Richard Nixon instead who must try to read and interpret a much less clear message. Some kind of change appears to be the will of that majority which mysteriously shapes itself to bestow the most powerful office on earth upon this or that ordinary mortal. But what kind of change and how much and whether indeed there is any coherent public judgment on the matter at all — that is another question.

John Turnbull

No Dramatic Shift

It is particularly difficult to get accustomed to the oddly inconclusive result of the election since a much more dramatic outcome had been so widely expected. A Nixcn landslide, a substantially larger Wallace vote, a clearly damaging defection of liberals from Democratic party ranks — any of these, all of which seemed not just possible but probable before the election, would have signalled something pretty clear.

Instead, while it may be true, as the "Wall Street Journal" remarked after the election, that the public mood is one of "vague but intense dissatisfaction," the vagueness of the dissatisfaction has been much more clearly registered than its intensity. Indeed, an electorate that returned to office all but five (yes, five!) of the incumbent congressmen who ran in the general election could be said to look extraordinarily well-pleased with things as they are.

The appearance, of course, is deceptive. For one thing, a much larger proportion of incumbent senators was defeated (four, all Democrats: Morse of Oregon, Monroney of Oklahoma, Clark of Pennsylvania, Brewster of Maryland); and 57 per cent of the voters opposed the incumbent party in the White House which they had elected by better than 60 per cent only four years before.

Moreover, its failure to speak decisively may only mean that the electorate really does not know where to look for answers to its major dissatisfactions and votes instead on more personal or parochial bases.

Finally, there was a high percentage of non-voters — and more important still, the percentage was unusually high in urban areas where this "vague but intense dissatisfaction" is especially keenly felt. This fact points to the possibility that substantial numbers of the dissatisfied are simply dropping out of the political process altogether — the most distressing possibility of all, and one, of course, which is suggested by plenty of other evidence. Our national indices of political participation have always been unhappily low, particularly among some segments of the population; and if they are now dropping lower yet at key points, there is cause for real apprehension, however reassuring other kinds of statistics may seem.

Still, the results of the election certainly did not bear out the widespread pre-election feeling that a major political upheaval was in the making on one or more fronts, which would result in dramatic new facts of political life making their weight felt on the new Administration and the new Congress.

What is the Message?

What, then, is the message to our new governors? Despite the closeness of the result — perhaps indeed because of it — a few key notes were sounded very clearly.

First and most clearly, on Vietnam: Get the thing over with. On this point it can be plausibly argued that the critics on the left won the battle even if they lost their candidates and their platform plank. They were at the very least a major cause of President Johnson's decision not to run again. They aroused public opinion to the point where every aspirant or candidate for the presidency (not excluding Governor Wallace) moved imperceptibly but steadily toward a more dovish position on Vietnam as the year went on. They finally found even the administration on their side on one of their major demands: the bombing halt.

The war has clearly become an insupportable political burden, and that fact argues very strongly that it will soon end. What the longer-range ramifications of the Vietnam episode may be, is a much more delicate question. Does the present revulsion against the war herald the rise of an indiscriminate popular neo-isolationism? Or a new commitment to multilaternalism? Or reaffirmation of our ties with the European west at the expense of the Orient? Or a new attitude toward the generation-old problem of "world communism" in east or west or both? As the trauma of Vietnam begins to subside, questions like these will begin to take sharper focus, and in the territory around one or more of them it seems likely that major foreign-policy movements of the Nixon Administration will take place.

On the domestic scene, the failure of Mr. Wallace to get much more than the hard-core segregationist vote represented a clear rejection of simplistic solutions to the race-poverty-urban crisis. Perhaps Mr. Wallace won his victory in forcing both parties to talk tough on "law-order" and to make it practically the only identifiable domestic issue in the campaign. (Mr. Wallace himself claims that Mr. Nixon had adopted "the principles and philosophy that we espoused," and hinted that that fact accounted for his victory). But to everyone but Mr. Wallace, not much is clear about the effect of various uses of the issue on the segments of the electorate to which it was designed to appeal (that is, how many people actually voted differently than they otherwise would have, because of it), except that Mr. Wallace's own use of it was a conspicious failure. Since Mr. Nixon did allude specifically during the campaign to his dissatisfaction with the present Attorney General's conduct of his office, and the tendency of recent supreme court decisions on the rights of criminal suspects, his appointments to these offices will be watched with particular interest.

There is certainly a sentiment favoring somewhat less reliance on the federal bureaucracy and somewhat more on various resources in the private sector for attacking major social problems, particularly those of the cities. Important policy-makers in the new Administration, some influential black militants, and a diversity of other business, labor, academic and other types are attracted by community development plans founded upon federal aid to essentially locally-initiated and locally-controlled programs designed to bring not only jobs but also capital into the ghettos and slums. But there is no indication that the federal bureaucracy is about to be dismantled or substantially curtailed: At the moment, the job corps is the only element in the government's poverty program that seems to be in immediate serious trouble.

Shaping the Mandate

Mr. Nixon will be announcing some of his cabinet appointments soon (some will doubtless be known by the times these lines are read). Partly because of the narrowness of his electoral margin and partly because of his own sense of the need for cementing national unity, there is speculation that the appointments will cover a broad spectrum of political and social allegiance, constituting a kind of coalition cabinet. (It does not seem likely that the reach of the coalition will extend as far as Drew Pearson proposed, apparently in all seriousness to include Walter Lippmann as Secretary of State.) Let us hope that the cabinet does not come to resemble one of those bureaucratic committees designed to represent every point of view and every interest and to accomplish nothing: The first job of the party elected to govern is to take both the authority and the responsibility of governing, and the narrowness of its victory does not diminish that authority or responsibility one whit, as was pointed out when John Kennedy was elected by a similarly slim margin in 1960.

At the same time, a narrow victory and an uncertain or at least undramatic mandate gives a new Administration some clear advantages. It can in an important sense shape and interpret its own mandate. Being beholden a little to everyone frees it from being too beholden to anyone. Nearly everywhere it looks it can readily find some important faction of dissidents whose support it can seek to woo with imagination and foresight, and thereby give its program a distinctive character. If the frame of the public mind as revealed in the election does not inspire wild cheers, neither does it occasion the groans that some thought it would. In that fact lies a unique opportunity for the new administration to break new ground. ■

it says here . . .

NCC ANNOUNCES 'THROUGH-THE-WEEK' RELIGION CURRICULUM.

NEW YORK — Public school students from Christian homes will have an opportunity to relate what they have learned in their daily classes to religious belief by way of a new Through-The Week curriculum, to be published March 1, 1969.

The curriculum, developed out of the Committee on Weekday Christian Education of the National Council of Churches, is the first total (grades one through 12) attempted by Protestant churches to deal ecumenically with the separation between religion and public school education. Dr. Blaine Fister of the NCC's Department of Educational Development is responsible for launching programs of interpretation and use of the new curriculum.

Resource materials are to be used, not in Sunday Schools, but in released or dismissed-time classes, Saturday or after-school, or on other occasions through the week when churches want to give a Christian perspective to what is learned in public schools, Dr. Fister explained.

CHICAGO GROUPS MOVE TO RENEW SOUTH SIDE

CHICAGO — Renewal plans for a 1.1-square-mile, hard-core poverty area on Chicago's Near South Side under the $3.5 million "Toward Responsible Freedom" program have been announced by the Rev. Curtic E. Burrell, Jr., chairman of the coordinating body, the Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization (KOCO). The site area has a population of about 49,000.

Burrell said the "frontier-like TRF program" emphasizes self-determination and self-help. Privately financed, it will enable site-area residents to renew their neighborhood by fostering community organization, rehabilitating homes, improving education, training, health and welfare, raising earned income levels, and offering legal assistance.

The announcement climaxed several months of negotiations between KOCO, a recently re-organized confederation of 30 neighborhood groups, and the Community Renewal Society, a private, 86-year-old inner city agency which developed "Toward Responsible Freedom" and is raising its operating funds.

Predicting that renewal specialists in many American cities will be closely watching TRF, Burrell asserted that "the salvation of the nation is bound up in the question of whether or not the urban black man will be aided in his drive to analyze his own problems, to name his own solutions, to set his own ends, to choose his own means, to dream his own dreams."

The KOCO leader's central observation was that "the wave of the future is black autonomy," and he called community organization the one means by which black self-sufficiency can be expressed.

NO. CAL. COUNCIL GETS THREAT OF LAW SUIT

SAN FRANCISCO — The threat of a law suit against the Northern California Council of Churches has been raised in an effort to change its stand advocating selective buying of California table grapes.

The Council's Board of Directors was told that legal action would be taken to stop Council support of striking farm workers. Leader in the action is the Rev. Fred Wilken, minister of the United Methodist Church in Sanger. He told the Board that its support of the workers and the California Migrant Ministry had caused churches to lose 50,000 members and suffer $10 million financial damage in the grape growing areas.

Legal counsel for Mr. Wilken and his supporters later contacted the Council's attorney with a demand that the Council furnish Mr. Wilken with a list of the members of the Council's Board of Directors and also call a meeting of the Board to reconsider the resolution.

It was indicated that if a law suit was filed, it would take the form of a declaratory relief action, seeking to set aside the "Selective Buying of California Table Grapes" resolution adopted by the Board last July. The suit would be filed on the basis of the plaintiff's claim that the Board was acting without proper authority in passing the resolution.

CITY PLANNER NAMED TO NCC POST

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Neiland J. Douglas, Jr., noted city planning specialist, has been named associate general secretary for planning and program of the National Council of Churches, it was announced by Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, Council general secretary. He will assume the post on January 1.

A Baptist layman, Mr. Douglas has been deputy director of comprehensive planning in the New York City Planning Commission, since 1965. Prior to that he was director of advance planning for Pittsburgh, Pa. and served as planning officer for housing in the federal Urban Renewal Administration.

He will succeed Dr. Rufus Cornelsen who will become executive director of the Metropolitan Christian Council of Philadelphia, Pa.

In his new position, Mr. Douglas will be responsible for development of long-range National Council goals, for assisting member communions in long-range planning, and for coordinating long range plans of the various Council program units.

Dr. David Stowe, executive head of the NCC's Division of Overseas Ministries, welcomes Sister Mary Louise Lynch, North American Sector Superior of the Medical Mission Sisters, to the family of DOM-related agencies, while Dr. William L. Nute, Jr., executive director of DOM's Christian Medical Council, looks on. The Roman Catholic order of medical missionaries, first group of that faith to be formally affiliated wth the National Council of Churches, numbers 700 doctors, nurses, medical technicians, pharmacists and administrators. A Philadelphia-based order, it cares for over one million patients a year in its 33 hospitals in 14 countries.

The sisters have been cooperating for more than a year with the Christian Medical Council in Malawi, where several health clinics have been staffed jointly. Plans are underway for similar cooperation in Ghana and India. The affiliating action was taken by DOM's program board, at the close of its Second Triennial Assembly, New Haven, Conn. Nov. 19-22.

FLEMMING ENCOURAGES STUDENT ACTIVISTS

ST. PAUL, MINN. — (RNS) — Speaking in his capacity of president of Macalester College here, Dr. Arthur S. Flemming said that he thought student activists can and should go further than they have. The president addressed the opening session of a two-day symposium on campus on International Student Militancy.

One of the student panelists later asked the audience, "My God, what kind of school is this when the college president has to tell students to rouse themselves?"

Dr. Flemming's thesis was that the gap between the ideal of individual worth and dignity, and reality, has created student militancy. He cited racism, the Vietnam war, the Selective Service system and irrelevant education as instances of this gap.

"Student activism has been a protest," he told the students. "It must now begin to develop programs to close the gap. Too many of my generation failed to make that commitment, but I am encouraged by student activism. I believe your generation will stay with the issues until the gap is closed."

Dr. Flemming is also president of the National Council of Churches.

CHURCH LEADERS FOR GROUP TO BACK SCHOOL DECENTRALIZATION

NEW YORK, N.Y. — (RNS) — Leaders of local and national Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish organizations have banded together to form the Interreligious Committee for Community Control of Schools.

The new group grew out of efforts of clergy and laymen in the New York area to support the experimental Ocean Hill-Brownsville decentralized school district during the 10-week teachers' strike here.

The group was convened by the Rev. Dr. Charles S. Spivey Jr., executive director of the National Council of Churches' Department of Social Justice, in cooperation with the Protestant Council of the City of New York.

In a statement of purpose, the committee members pledged "our own efforts to solicit, as needed, staff time, funds and other support from our own religious organizations" to back school decentralization efforts.

ANGELENOS "DIAL-AN-ISSUE"

LOS ANGELES — Instead of "Dial-a-Prayer," it's "Dial-an-Issue" in Los Angeles, where a church-related group is offering a telephone information service on issues of social justice.

When the caller dials the Community Issues Contact Center number, a recorded message gives information on a current social question.

The first recorded message — there's a new one every day — described favorably the drive for recognition of the migrant farm workers' union led by Caesar Chavez.

Sources of information and suggestions for action are given.

Laymen and ministers of several denominations operate the service, funded by the United Presbyterian Synod of Southern California.

NEWS IN BRIEF

CHICAGO — Making the first recommendations for allocations from its $20 million Fund for Reconciliation, the Council of Bishops of the United Methodist Church has proposed a rehabilitation and reconstruction fund of $2 million for Vietnam after hostilities cease. The bishops also recommended that $700,000 go to the church's Commission on Religion and Race and $1.5 million to the United Methodist Voluntary Service, a new "Peace Corps" type of project.

* * *

BURLINGTON — The Vermont Council of Churches has voted to give up its plan to become an interreligious agency. The action means that Unitarians and Universalists (who do not accept Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Savior) will have to leave the Council and Jews will no longer have delegates to its assemblies. Although Roman Catholics do not belong to the Council, they have been considering membership. Critics of the Council's ecumenical proposal claimed it would make the Council no longer "Christian" but just a humanitarian service agency.

* * *

NEW YORK — Word reached here that Biafran authorities have given permission for the evacuation of sick orphans on condition that none be sent outside Africa. Some 1,500 children have been sent out so far, some to Libreville, Gabon, and others to Sao Tome to a farm made available by the Governor of the island.

A clinic for them has been flown there from Rome, while supplies from Sao Tome have been flown for the children in Libreville.

* * *

RALEIGH, N.C. — The Raleigh Inter-Church Housing project (RICH) designed for low-income families is almost 30 per cent completed and is expected to be ready for occupancy in March. Five churches are involved in the project in which tenants will pay 25 per cent of their monthly income for rent. The balance will be covered by rent supplements up to a maximum of rent equal to commercial market value. No matter what the families' earnings, however, they may continue to live in the project.

* * *

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — The Missouri Council of Churches, at its meeting here, urged Gov. Warren E. Hearnes to provide immediately for civilian review boards for the Kansas City and St. Louis police forces and to develop legislation to assure representation on these boards of the poor. The resolution was passed unanimously by 80 delegates of the 13-member denominations in the Missouri Council.

* * *

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Many millions of Christians, in this country and around the world, will join in observing the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, Jan. 18-25. The theme on which the observance will focus will be, "Called to Freedom," in response to the worldwide urge for freedom, particularly in emerging nations and among oppressed minorities.

The week is sponsored in the United States by the National Council of Churches through its Department of Faith and Order, and by the 33 communions having council membership. It is also recommended in the U.S.A. by the Roman Catholic Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs.

* * *

AUSTIN, [illegible] — A new cooperative religious agency — the Texas Conference of Churches — will be launched with appropriate ceremonies here early next year with the aim to increase the already broad cooperation existing between Protestant and Catholic forces in Texas. Organizationally, the move will unite or merge the Texas Council of Churches (11 Protestant bodies and the Greek Orthodox Church in that state) and the Texas Catholic Conference, which represents ten Roman Catholic dioceses.

* * *

NEW YORK, N.Y. — A group of lawyers at Columbia University is filing suit in Federal courts in 26 states in an effort to increase the amount of food made available to the poor. If they win their suit, claiming that hunger is illegal, the Department of Agriculture will be forced to begin commodity distribution or food stamp programs in about 500 counties which lack such plans.

THE CHURCHES AND THE ELECTION

A Symposium (Continued)

In TEMPO's previous issue (Dec. 1), ten nationally known churchmen commented on how they felt the results of the recent election might affect the churches' strategy in trying to achieve social justice goals. The symposium continues, and concludes, with the contributions that appear below for which TEMPO is most grateful.

Constructive Response

Election results reveal that Americans, most of whom are church members, have a divided mind on many major issues related to the great social goals of the churches — peace, human rights, law and order with justice, economic opportunity, open housing, etc.

In many ways it would appear that the development of policies and programs that make for peace in the world, unity in the life of the nation and justice for all citizens may be more difficult because no strong trend has been made manifest. Furthermore, extremists at both the left and the right have shown an alarming tendency toward "rule or ruin" mentality and tactics which will make it difficult to achieve significant social progress.

However, the extremity of the national situation may be the real opportunity. It is certainly a time that calls for positive, constructive response on the part of all citizens, not least of all the churches and their leaders. It is my hope and belief that out of the agony of dissent and grim reality of violence and the confused approach to solutions for great national issues, there may come a new day of progress in our common life. It must always be remembered that the churches have never been completely dependent upon the existing order for the fulfillment of their reconciling mission. Our faith is in Jesus Christ whose way and truth transcend political victories and defeats.

A. Dale Fiers,
General Minister and President
Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)

Careful Review

The churches in 1969 will face new responsibilities as they attempt to relate to a new Republican administration and to a Democratic congress. It will mean, for example, that while assuming the role of the objective, sympathetic, ethically oriented institution pledged to assist the administration, as it appears appropriate, it will review the mandates from legislative bodies, such as the General Conference of the United Methodist Church, in reference to certain specific implications of both the platform of the Republican Party and the public statements and record of the new President. Crucial and paramount will be the projected increase of expenditures for arms, which will not only be an attempt to increase the military might of the United States, but also to increase the temptation to use such military expansion to the space race. By reason of long tradition and official mandates, ecumenically and denominationally, the churches will be required to raise fundamental questions about this development, and seek to secure disarmament and control of nuclear weapons.

The churches must be ready, willing, and able to make clear that the narrow margins of support for the new President make it extremely necessary for him and his administration to move consistently and constructively in expanding, rather than contracting, the programs designed to deal specifically with internal national problems, that neither by suggested legislation nor administration decision nor by attempts through particular kinds of appointments or arrangements to reverse the trend of far-sighted legislation and constructive decisions of the Supreme Court of this nation.

And then, special attention should be given by the churches to the role the United States will play in the world of nations, with particular reference to our military posture, the necessity for supporting multilateral attempts to solve the many problems of international relationships, and the imperative to re-do our entire foreign aid undertaking.

**From an editorial in ENGAGE, by
The Rev. A. Dudley Ward.
Board of Christian Social Concerns
United Methodist Church**

Appraise and Consolidate

The election of Richard Nixon to the Presidency, the triumph of conservatives in a number of Congressional races, and the sizable vote realized by George Wallace call for appraisal and consolidation of church strategy in at least three respects:

1. In relation to government, the churches will need to be alert to prevent the scrapping, sabotage, or abuse of laboriously won programs — housing, employment, health, civil rights, public welfare, community action. The temptation of the "new broom" will be to sweep out old mechanisms, leaving nothing in their place or offering slickly packaged substitutes with reassuring labels.

The new Administration will presumably regard the election as a mandate to move the country to the right. Therefore, the churches must help to develop a broad coalition combining both the old elements (labor, civil rights groups) and new liberal elements as a counterpressure.

2. The church must serve as advocate and support for the poor and the racial minorities who suffer most in a period of retrenchment and "law and order."

3. We must also take into account the fearful and disaffected who contributed to the protest vote. The white middle class and working people who oppose "handouts" and demand "law enforcement" are often in our churches. Our strategy must take into account their fears and aspirations, and win their support for programs that benefit the entire community.

Huber F. Klemme
Associate Executive Director,
Council for Christian Social Action,
United Church of Christ

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We Must Move into The Struggle for The Future of Man

We Must Give Form to a New Community of Faith . . .

Failure of a Mission

by Richard Schaull

(In this article written for TEMPO, the Rev. Richard Schaull, Th.D., searchingly examines his 20 years of mission service in Colombia, Chile and Brazil. Since 1962, when he returned to the U.S.A., Dr. Schaull has been closely following developments of mission — its problems and objectives in the contemporary world — as professor of ecumenics at Princeton Theological Seminary. Last year the 47 year-old theologian was elected chairman of the World Student Christian Federation.)

WENTY six years ago, I went to Latin America with all the enthusiasm of a young missionary out to save the world. I trust that I now still have as much concern for the commitment to the Christian mission as I did then. But my missionary experience forced me to call into question all the basic presuppositions on which I had worked for two decades, and then began to build again on the ruins.

Most of those years were spent in exciting and successful activity, focussed around tasks so urgent that I found little time for the academic work I very much wanted to do. My mission board gave me full support and offered me the freedom to do what seemed to me to be most important. And at every stage I was associated with young Latin Americans whose friendship and support, sensitivity and concern, enriched my life and gave direction to my efforts. And yet, I gradually came to the conclusion that, no matter how satisfied or successful I was personally, each year I was further from the achievement of my missionary goals.

When, in 1962, I had to face the fact that the end had come, I realized that, aside from my possible contribution to the growth and development of some individuals, my efforts had resulted in almost total failure. I am still trying to find the reasons for this, and several things now seem to me to be clear.

R. Schaull

As a young missionary, I had been captivated by a message of new life for man and for the world. Listening to Emil Brunner's lectures on theology at Princeton was, for me, a conversion experience, which was strengthened and deepened by my biblical studies and my readings in Barth and other theologians. Consequently, I threw myself into the pastoral ministry and the work of evangelism, trusting that in this way I was contributing to building a church that could serve as a witness to this life in Latin America.

New Life vs. Stale Values

However, I was gradually confronted by disquieting facts, which it took me a long time to see and then admit to myself. If those who were converted experienced new life, many of their children raised in this Protestant milieu, did not. They saw themselves rather as victims of a repressive Puritanism that became an intolerable burden. When my efforts to establish the church among the poor and dispossessed met with little success, I was forced to recognize that the Protestant experience often did not touch the dynamics of **their** existence; more than that, it tended to impose on them middle-class values and perspectives which violated their own authentic selfhood, and gradually drew them away from the life and death struggles of their own class. I was shocked when a brilliant young minister explained to me that this was the reason he had decided to leave the church and become a Marxist, but I could not escape the truth of his experience in the church.

In Brazil (as elsewhere) many of the most concerned young people in the church discovered that their faith led them to participate in the social struggle going on around them. As they did so, they began to live fully the experience of contemporary man, and soon found to their dismay, that in this new context, the terms in which the Christian faith had been presented to them became meaningless.

All of this has led to a profound crisis in the life of the church — which could become the occasion for a rebirth of a new beginning. But the fact that the leadership of the church is unprepared for such a challenge has meant that they have responded by trying desperately to shore up the old orthodoxy and moralism. And as they have done so, many ministers and laymen — those who have not yet left the church — have chosen the only alternative open to them, to regress to one form or another of pious religiosity, and to be attracted to ever more esoteric forms of religious experience of a sectarian nature. In the immediate situation, this may make it possible for them to hold on to their faith. In the long run it can only mean the increasing irrelevance or death of historical Protestantism.

Faith and Transformation

I have always believed that a vital Christian faith will express itself in the world as a power for social transformation. Faced as I was by the tremendous misery, injustice and exploitation in Latin American society, I justified my own lack of involvement in the political struggle by the fact that I was working to establish a church that would contribute to this struggle. Over the years I gave a great deal of time and energy to awakening such a political consciousness in the church, to the organization of study programs on Christian responsibility in society, and to experimentation in a variety of forms of Christian social action.

Today, the urgency for such social action as a witness to Christian faith is greater than ever before, and the Catholic Church has been so shaken by its awareness of what is happening that it is beginning to take rather unusual strides in this area. Yet the Protestant churches, as they now are, seem to be unwilling and unable to face this responsibility. In one country after another where such concerns were beginning to emerge among Protestants, the church bureaucracy has completely turned away from this frontier. And in some instances, it has set out systematically to destroy those individuals and movements attempting to give expression to this social responsibility.

The reasons for this are not hard to find. The pietism and orthodoxy on which they were brought up offer them few resources for dealing with a revolutionary social struggle, and they are threatened by a new generation of those who have moved beyond them. Their earlier political participation was oriented by an uncritical acceptance of liberal democracy and middleclass values, and their present position in society and in the church is closely tied up with the preservation of such a world. To abandon all that and support the struggle for a new social order is more than most of them are capable of at this time.

Structural Blocks

From my earliest days in Colombia, I was very much aware of the profound crisis in the life of the church, but I firmly believed in its **renewal.** For this reason, when I went to Brazil I decided to spend my time teaching in a seminary rather than working in the university. I concentrated on the rediscovery of the missionary character and task of the church.

Many young people became vitally interested in this vision — until they tried to put it into practice in the local church, the presbytery, etc. Seminarians were often enthusiastic about it — while they were in the seminary. Five years after they had entered the parish, most of them were back in the same old rut. Eventually, it became clear to me that the problem was one of **structure.** The religious institution was not created for mission in the modern world and its whole structure stood in the way of movement in that direction. In Latin America, the problem was complicated by the fact that the structure was imported from North America. It did not respond to the realities of Latin America, and when it was developed as an importation, it became almost demonic. In fact, the whole thing was so out of line with the mission of the church in today's world that many of the more conscientious of the younger generation soon discovered the bind they were in, and gave up; while those in positions of power were tempted to use that power for their own ends. Only if the old order of church life is overcome can it move ahead, but that seems to be the one thing the structure is powerless to undertake at this time.

The Central Struggle

As I look back on the failure of twenty years of missionary labors, I realize that this is not such a high price to pay—in the world we are living in today—to learn such lessons, if they provide us with some clue as to how to move ahead. This involves nothing less than a basic shift of our entire outlook and strategy, which leads us to step into the center of the struggle for the future of man as it is now being carried on, and within it, to attempt to give form to a new community of faith. For it is only out of such a break that the new can take shape and the old order can be confronted by a radical challenge to its existence.

Urgent as that task may be in Latin America, it is something that I as a North American cannot expect to do at this time. As we have learned in relation to the black struggle for liberation today in this country, our own chance of participation is to take on *our system* and be involved in *our own revolution.* So those of us who are concerned about the Christian *world* mission will have to take on the responsibility to change the structures of our own society, attempt to give shape to the emerging community of faith in the midst of that struggle and, from that base, challenge the given religious institution to face the possibility of its own death and resurrection. As we do that, I believe we can hope and trust that we are making our contribution, at this particular moment in world history, toward the ongoing missionary penetration of the Gospel into the *oikoumene.* ■

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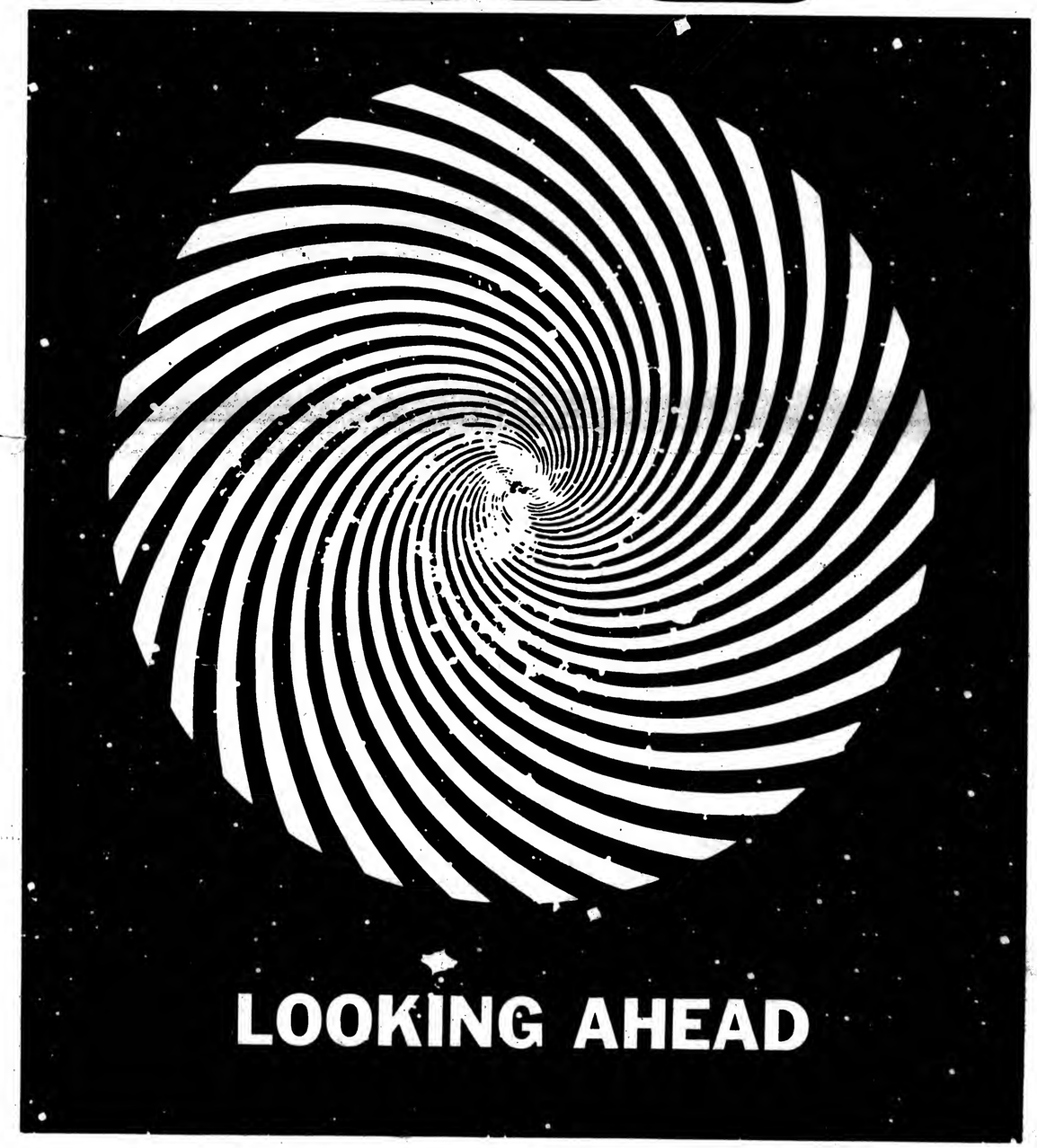

LOOKING AHEAD

TEMPOsitions . . .

The City Church of Tomorrow

by Neiland J. Douglas, Jr.

Douglas

What happens to the children of our urban slums? What happens to the millions of Negro and Puerto Rican people — a population which will represent a majority of our center city's population in twenty years? What do they have to look forward to in the future? Born in a rotting tenement or in an inadequately staffed and maintained public health clinic — left to fend for themselves at home or in the streets until eligible for school — often abandoned by their fathers at an early age because of the divisive requirements limiting public assistance with the father present in the family — shuffled through an educational system ill prepared to cope with the social, cultural as well as educational insufficiencies which are the inevitable by-products of their broken homes and neighborhoods — thrust into the streets and alleys of their neighborhoods where violence, crime, and social dysfunctions obviate more constructive pursuits — dropping from high school with little if any preparation or training which is suitable for success in the job market — crushed under the wave of discrimination, exploitation, suspicion and indifference by the rest of society — until that time when that child, blinded by hate, frustration, and sickness reaches for a gun, a gasoline torch, a package of heroin, or some other destructive device and strikes back. Equally bad, he may totally succumb to the system, selling out his body, his soul and his life to the oppressive and seemingly insurmountable elements of our world — in short, he gives up on life.

If today's urban crisis can be said to have a focus, I believe that focus is the failure of the process in our cities whereby people can advance themselves socially and economically. In particular, it is the failure of the Negro, the Puerto Rican, and other dark skinned populations to achieve a full measure of self-fulfillment, human dignity and self-respect. This process is like a ladder with each rung representing a further advancement — from a socially cohesive home to a viable education to a job with a future. That process worked for earlier immigrants and it is working for most of the white population today. It has failed for the Black population and the hopelessness and despair which it has wrought is having grievous consequences upon their lives, our community and our whole way of life.

In light of the compelling nature of this problem, the Church must work for the restoration of opportunity, hope, and the spirit of self-fulfillment for the Black population of our cities.

While there are many views as to the nature of our Church involvement in the urban crisis, let me share with you two important areas of concern. First, we cannot turn our back on politics, government and public services. The Church must assume a far greater and more effec-

See **The City Church**, page 11

The Communications Revolution Is It Real?

By David O. Poindexter

I am becoming weary of the phrase "communications revolution". It isn't as if we had suddenly leaped from Smoke Signals to Samos Satellites in the sky. We have had a bit of time to adjust, and therein lies a lesson.

When one swallows whole the prophetic opinions of the oracles of electronic oratory, it creates quite a lump in the area of the anxieties. Forget printing says one. Shortly we shall witness the publication of the last book. Trouble not yourself unduly about the problems of center city suggests another. Soon electronics will solve your problem. We shall all have wall size TV screens coupled to a sound system and a high-speed electronic printer for recording any information we wish to retain. Books, magazines, newspapers and all other incoming messages will arrive via this route. Our offices will be at home and our homes can be spread across the world. No need to commute daily to the crush of the city or even to live very near it, Linked by laser "pipes" we will all have our own private line for sound-and-sight communication across any distance. Inasmuch as we can be instantly in each other's presence electronically, we will seldom need to visit personally or for that matter gather for worship, fellowship discussions. But when we do, distance will be immaterial. Supersonic transports will whisk us "in a wink". Simultaneous telecasts, world-wide, (with optional language sound track) will further link us together. Before long such experiences will transform our world-wide language babel into a single tongue.

Be of good cheer, brethren. The realities of the world inevitably creep in to overcome the oratory of the oracles. Electronics may put an end to books. However, there is pretty good evidence that the practical effect to date has been to increase the book business four-fold. We may forsake center city for electronic "togetherness". But I doubt it. The fact of our humanity suggests that we enjoy each other's actual presence. It appears that more business currently is done across the luncheon table or on the golf course than over the telephone. I doubt that the addition of video to that phone will change things radically. Supersonic transport which was initially to be available from American manufacturers in 1972, will now appear (according to latest reports) in 1978, or later. Further, given the sonic boom problem, it may never appear over land. Finally satellite costs have virtually ruled out inter-continental telecasts, and Brigitte Bardot continues to outpull Justice Hugo Black in the ratings.

Do not misunderstand me. I do not maintain that the impact of electronic communications media will not over the long run vastly re-order our world. They have, and they will. But the form of emerging new orders will be considerably different from the predictions, and the time schedule will leave adequate margin for adjustment of our personal psyches and our institutional structures.

We do have time to adjust. But we do not have forever. We are in business as a church to witness and to minister. What wouldn't St. Paul have given to have imminently available the electronic capabilities for communicating the Gospel which God is vouchsafing in our time to us.

So, don't panic. God was at work in the world of Johannes Gutenberg and Martin Luther. He is still at work in the world of David Sarnoff and Martin Luther King, Jr. It is clearly possible that the impact of communications technology can result in revolution with all the violence upheaval and dislocation that word implies. But it doesn't have to be. We have yet the possibility to invent a viable future.

With this first issue of the New Year, TEMPO attempts a look into the future of the church and of man whom it will attempt to serve. The features:

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CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, John Fisher, Henry McCanna, David Poindexter, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell, Mazo Tilghman, Albert Tippit, Glen Trimble, John W. Turnbull, John Wood.

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Everybody's Job—

CHURCH PLANNING FOR THE '70's

by Harold C. Letts

HOW can individual church members and groups within all sectors of church life have a more meaningful part in shaping the church's life and mission in the 1970's? How can the churches in both the United States and Canada think together and plan jointly for their one mission on this continent? Above all, how can the churches come to understand more fully what God wants them to be and to do in the years ahead? These are key questions in long-range planning, and the answers will be tested at the 1969 General Assembly of the National Council of Churches.

Meanwhile what's happening now? How has planning fared to date?

Planning groups in both member and non-member communions cooperating with the two national Councils in the United States and in Canada are carrying on processes of planning for the decade of the '70's. Some communions, such as the Lutheran Church in America, have carried out studies of social and theological trends in society and are using these studies as the basis for planning by boards and agencies in program areas such as Christian education. Others, such as the United Presbyterian Church and the Southern Baptist Convention, have convened regional groups to help in identifying needs and concerns around which goals and action programs can be developed. Several other communions working through regular agencies or special committees are engaged in formulating programs related to issues that will be important in the decade ahead.

Practical Ecumenicity

These denominational efforts in forward thinking are being reported and "fed in" to a cooperative process of joint planning now known as *Mission in the '70's*. This venture concentrates on the decade ahead in order to give sharpness and focus of interchurch planning. It arises out of a long period of experimentation and development. It parallels the action of the New Delhi Assembly of the World Council of Churches, which said to the churches:

> "Let us everywhere find out the things which we can do together now, and faithfully do them, praying and working always for that fuller unity which Christ wills for his Church."

A key purpose which led to the formation of the National Council of Churches is to provide a forum in which the churches might have fellowship, and take mutual counsel with each other. When the Council was reorganized in 1965, a much stronger role of the Council in planning was envisaged and a staff and committee structure were provided for this purpose.

Then, in 1966, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. invited other communions to join with it "in the planning and interpretation of . . . a mission advance" that would challenge the Church to "an affirmation of God's mission" and a "renewal and extension of the ministry of the Church in the world. . . ." In subsequent discussions the representatives of the communions requested that the National Council of Churches give leadership in exploring the feasibility of such a joint planning effort. After a year of consideration involving two consultations of representatives of churches in the U.S.A. and Canada and the General Board of the National Council of Churches in February 1968 instructed its General Planning and Program Committee to respond to "the expressed desire of member and non-member communions to engage in joint planning" and "to make the necessary provisions for such joint planning."

Goals For The '70's

It had become clear that, in the light of the existing structures of the Protestant and Orthodox churches, good planning must provide for and encourage maximum feasible participation of communions and their agencies and judicatories, as well as state, metropolitan and local councils of churches. The Canadian and National Councils of Churches have both to facilitate the whole process and also to involve their own agencies in the planning effort. Participation is being sought in two ways:

1. Individuals, local study groups and church agencies at all levels are invited to recommend goals that the churches should be trying to achieve during the next decade.
2. All participants are encouraged to formulate for themselves and their groups a set of immediate objectives and action programs that will contribute to the achievement of the overall goals that are recommended.

To facilitate this process the Department of Long-Range Planning of the National Council of Churches developed a 60-page *Workbook on Goals for Mission in the '70's.** In addition to providing information about the joint planning process and about trends in society and the church that must be considered in planning, the Workbook lists 22 areas of concern or challenge that have been identified by the churches and some 47 possible goals that the churches might adopt in order to plan for their mission in relation to the areas of concern.

A Way Of Participation

The *Workbook*, as the name implies, is an instrument by means of which individuals and groups can examine the areas of concern and goals. Each user of the Workbook is asked to indicate what priority ranking he would assign to each goal. Response Forms are included in the Workbook. They may be duplicated locally to permit multiple responses.

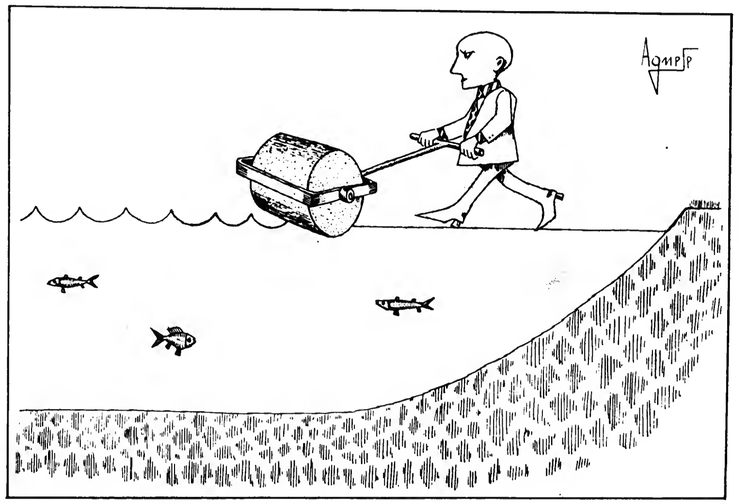
Experience with the Workbook seems to indicate that it is helpful for a group to discuss together the meaning of the statements of concern and goals. Then each individual can submit a response of his own if the group does not have time to work together on more than a few of the 47 goals.

It can be anticipated now, on the basis of reactions already received, that the goals proposal to be submitted to the 1969 General Assembly will be significantly different from the statements now in the Workbook. The important thing at this stage of goal development is to solicit and encourage study and use of the Workbook by participants in all phases of church life who also participate in many phases of public and vocational activities.

The responses received from users of the Workbook no later than March 1, 1969, will be analyzed and studied by committees of the National Council and a report submitted to the General Board of the Council. The General Board will submit a proposal of Goals for Mission in the '70's to the General Assembly of the Council which meets in Detroit, Michigan, December 1-4, 1969. That Assembly will discuss the goals proposal in working sessions in small groups for 8 and one-half hours and act in plenary session on the report of these discussions. The goals for Mission in the '70's that are adopted by this process in Detroit will serve as a guide and focus for more detailed planning in the National Council of Churches. They also will be commended to the churches and their state and local councils for such use in their planning as they desire. ■

*Copies of the Workbook on Goals for Mission in the '70's may be obtained from the Department of Publication Services, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027, at $1.00 per copy. Quantity prices are available.

Dr. Letts is Executive Director, Dept. of Long Range Planning, National Council of Churches.



"It Is Not Easy for a Sensitive Spirit to be a Member of a Local Church Today . . ."

The Local Congregation And Its Future

by Gerald J. Jud

ONLY a few years ago there was this terrible explosion. No, a series of explosions. Many then thought that when the dust settled the local church would only be visible, as a tottering reminder of a day that is gone.

And now the dust has settled. Not only is the local church still there, but in many instances she is stronger than ever, showing signs of change, signs of living in the real world and helping to shape a new world being born.

Don't think I was not in favor of the explosions. Those who set these explosions did the church a good turn and were not simply apostles of despair. I set a few small explosions myself.

The pressure in recent years has been strong. The level of anxiety, guilt and even hostility in the church has continued to rise. During this time, those who have been willing to be cracked open have become free to move in new ways and indeed are doing so. They now hear a fresh word and do a fresh deed. Many have moved beyond defensiveness, anger and resentment and are full participants in the dialog. These church leaders are the ones helping to shape the local church of the future.

What Is The Critique?

1) The world has changed; the local church has not.

2) The present structure of the local church is no longer adequate to meet the needs of modern man.

3) The local church ministers primarily to private life.

4) There is failure to establish a depth relation with the people who are members of the church. Members covenant together to love one another and to pray for one another, but they know one another only on the surface.

5) The local church is called to assume the shape of its servant Lord but instead is shaped by the society it serves; and being shaped by the society, the local church acts for its institutional well being instead of following the servant Lord in faithfulness.

6) While we are called to be present at the strong points as well as the weak points of man's existence, the local church is separated from the great centers of power.

7) The local church is not involved in the great issues of our time.

8) The local church attempts to domesticate the God who goes before.

9) The local church is called to be a community that demonstrates to the world the character of *shalom*, God's intent for mankind. Instead, many local churches practice discrimination in regard to race and serve only one class of people.

10) The failure of unity on the local level is shameful and a disgrace before the world.

11) Worship in the local church is detached from the agonies and issues of the world and to that extent is non-authentic.

12) The forms of the life of the church should depend on function. They should be designed to facilitiate locating and participating in the mission of God. This is not the situation now.

13) Authentic theological reflection can do on only in the midst of involvement. A living theology of our time, therefore, can only be shaped from the involvement context.

14) The laity are largely acting as assistants to the clergy. Rather the clergy, through their professional speciality, ought to be helping the laity, who are set in the midst of the world.

If the church of Jesus Christ is to be involved where people are, where the suffering is, where the power is, and where the issues are, then new forms must arise.

The Critique Is Not Wrong

The critique is on the nose. But the Jonahs who cried the doom of the local church did not rightly assess the toughness of the institution, did not have sufficient confidence in the institution's ability to change, did not reckon with the return to localism and with the possibility of repentance in the deepest sense of that term.

The local church is an institution and as such is subject to all the pitfalls of institutions. It may become obsolete, it may allow its structures to be oriented to a day that is gone rather than the right-now world. But also as an institution it is possessed of the power to change its style and its shape while continuing to fulfill its function.

In recent years many local churches have begun to change radically. They have responded to the critique. There are some churches everywhere that have made progress in changing shape in each of the areas mentioned under the critique. The shape of the local church is changing, and it is possible that in twenty-five years it will have changed almost beyond recognition.

The return to localism was definitely not envisioned five years ago. Yet, in terms of what is going on in the revolution, what is going on politically, the local is now again coming to the fore. This means that again the local church as a free institution is in a position to fulfill a servant function in unique ways. Thus, changes in the culture now become again favorable winds as far as the local church is concerned.

The Local Church Will Fulfill These Functions

In the local church being born, these functions will be continued to be carried by the local church:

1) Primary recruitment for the Christian life. The local church remains and will continue to be the primary manifestation of the stream of history living out the biblical message. Members of local churches are a continuance of that people who first lived out their life in relationship to the living God who called, guided and judged them. Recruitment into this stream of history-making is still done by and in the local church. Here new Christians come into being, babies are baptized, persons confirmed, covenants made. Here children and adults are incorporated into the memory and hope of the church and made one with the pilgrim people of God. I do not envision this function changing in the foreseeable future.

2) The institutional church as presently structured for mission has its primary financial dependence on the local church. I do not see this changing radically in the next twenty-five years, despite much brave talk to the contrary.

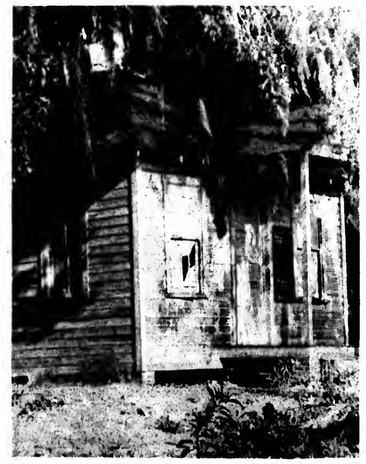
3) In the local church, the nurturing process is carried out through Christian education. Here Christians are at least partially equipped for mission in the world. Many old forms on which we have depended to carry out this nurturing process are withering, and new shapes are emerging. The Sunday school may be on its way out; but we are in the process of learning new ways of communication and community-building from the world, and more and more this worldly knowledge will be applied in the church. Presently the local church wastes a great deal of its members' time in archaic and meaningless activity. These old ways of action will increasingly disappear and new ways will take their place.

4) The local church will continue as a center for the public worship of God. Presently the form of this worship is too disconnected from the daily life of the church member. We are still worshipping in archaic ways, with obsolete thought-forms; and the worship is far too cerebral. This will change radically as the worship more and more rises out of the common life of the gathered people.

5) The local church will become more specialized in ministering to persons in their private worlds. Because of our passion in recent years, concerning unjust, imprisoning structures in the society, we have diverted our eyes somewhat from the needs of the person in the pew to the needs of the world. We have learned to speak the word "private" with a slur. The emphasis has been a right one, but now we are in a position again to discern the truth that the local church is uniquely shaped to minister to persons in their private worlds. In our worldly orientation we have talked disparagingly about "hatching, matching and dispatching." But my birth, my decisions, my marriage, my grief, my death are matters of ultimate importance to me and therefore to my brother. The local church, more than any other institution, has entry into this world. No other agency is in so favorable a position to minister to persons in their needs in the private sphere. I believe this will continue to be true.

6) The local church exists as a sign of *shalom* to the world. The difference between the church and the world is that the church is called to be a sign of what God intends. It is called to be a representative community, a community that exists on behalf of the whole world. The very way in which its people relate, the love they express to one another, the deeds they do, become this sign. The local church has been rightly criticized for failure in this area, but the signs of hope of improvement in this area are numerous all around the country. I look to see the local church increasingly as a sign of *shalom* to the world.

7) The local church has a turf of its own. It exists as part of a pluralistic community. And in that community there is human need. There are important problems in which the local church can and must be involved. This is the world beyond the private life of its members, a world in which persons are dehumanized, a world in which the local church is a partner with other agencies in its concern for humanization. And beyond the particular turf on which the church is set, exists the metropolis as the real setting of the church. There the local church must find new ways of planning for participation in God's mission. And beyond the metropolis is the whole world. It is the local church's task to call its members to full participation and responsibility there.



8) The local church has many committed people involved in the world. These persons have a distinctive style and serve in unique ways. We do not yet know how to assist them properly in their witness and service, but we are in the process of learning how. This is a fundamental task for the major Protestant denominations today and tomorrow.

Frontiers of the Local Church's Life

1) Ecumenical planning on the part of the local church will increase sharply. Denominationalism is dying: there is really no biblical basis or good common-sense reason to keep it alive in our kind of world. Denominationalism served a purpose in its time, but it has fulfilled its function and now deserves a dignified death. Already there are around the country many clusters of churches, local churches joining their resources in planning for participation in God's mission in their area and beyond. We still lack appropriate designs for this, but they are on the way.

2) The style of leadership in the local church will continue to change. We are moving away from a vertical, well-defended style of leadership to a style that stands alongside of persons and organizations, a style that is open and vulnerable, a style that does not presume to have all of the answers or the last word. It is a helping, alongsided style. As this new style emerges, the erosion of the old style which has caused so much anxiety will be over and a new sense of confidence will take over the profession as pastors see their function essentially as bearers of the historical tradition (specialists in biblical theology), trained helpers of people with personal problems, experts in the field of communications and group therapy specialists in worship, and knowledgeable about what is going on in the world.

3) Conflict will emerge increasingly as a positive instead of a negative in the life of the church. More and more pastors are becoming skilled here. Heretofore, conflict has been seen as an enemy of the life of the church; to see it in this new light is a major switch.

4) We will learn new ways to minister to persons one at a time. Since the local church was so tragically intertwined with our culture and so deeply committed to the preservation of her own life, it has been a right emphasis that we move the church radically towards involvement in the world. But now the time is coming again when we must see a frontier as being that of learning new ways to minister to persons. Here we have much to learn from those persons who are pioneering in the group therapy field. In this field today the non-religious experiencing of the gospel is going on. Conversion and repentance are common. We need to find a way whereby this theory and practice can come alive in the church and be understood through and illumined by the Christian symbol-system.

5) Yet another frontier of the life of the local church is that of becoming a dialogic center. The church is one of the free institutions in our society. It is naturally structured to provide the means whereby all may come to participate in the dialog which surrounds the great issues of our time. Within the context of no last word being spoken, but rather within the context of speaking, hearing and learning, a new service of the local church emerges. A new humility possesses the church, but as she senses her weakness she may also then emerge with power as a center of dialog.

Invitation

Some of my friends have copped out on the local church. I honor them if they have acted upon carefully thought-out data and if they are not simply working out other unresolved feelings. I acknowledge that it is not easy for a sensitive spirit to be a member of the local church today. To those who have left for good reason, Go in peace.

My final word in this article is addressed to those who have not left. I urge you to move away from carping, unloving criticism to a new stance of creative involvement. A person usually does not respond creatively to criticism given without love and without hope. Neither does an institution. If you are still in the church, then I urge you to get to work on one of the frontiers of the local church's life. Help her to respond creatively to the real world, help her to shape the future. ■

Dr. Jud is General Secretary, Division of Evangelism, United Church of Christ. The ideas in this article are more fully dealt with in his book, PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, published by the United Church Press, 1967, N.Y. and Boston.

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* See "The Local Church And the Big Daddy Fantasy" chapter three of Crisis Of The Church, Pilgrim Press, Philadelphia & Boston, 1968.

FAUST AND THE FUTURE—

An Interview with Anthony J. Wiener

"Modern man is clearly engaged in Faustian enterprises on a huge scale . . . His bargain is not with the Devil, but with nature, the human condition . . ."

Dr. Wiener

As a prominent socio-political analyst of the Hudson Institute — well-known professional research group which examines major economic, technological and sociological problems of U.S. public policy at home and abroad — Dr. Anthony J. Wiener became convinced that man, in order to preserve his quality of life, must turn again to issues that were once thought to be solely religious. This interview with TEMPO contributing editor L. I. Stell was prompted by Dr. Wiener's remarks before a recent national meeting of church researchers and planners, sponsored by the National Council of Churches. Together with his well-known colleague at the Hudson Institute, Dr. Herman Kahn, Dr. Wiener co-authored THE YEAR 2,000, A Framework for Speculation (New York: Macmillan, 1967). The Faustian theme of this book will be re-accented in a new work both are working on, tentatively titled FAUST'S PROGRESS — a theme with which the following interview is concerned also.

Why do you begin and end your book THE YEAR 2000 with the legendary figure Faust?

The legend of Faust happens to be an apt metaphor for one of modern man's most crucial problems. There are several different versions of the story and each one illustrates a different insight into the dilemma. During the medieval period people were very clear on what the consequences were of acquiring knowledge and power which were beyond those that a man ought normally to have. So in Marlowe's Faust and in the earlier legend, Faust made a simple bargain with the devil, by which he acquired extraordinary knowledge and power. As a result, the devil claimed his soul, even though at the end of the play Faust was sorry and felt it hadn't been worth it. He attempted to repent, but it was too late.

Do you think modern man will pay such a price?

Not necessarily. There are other poetic insights into the problem. For example, Goethe created a different Faust during the period of romanticism and enlightenment. His Faust made quite a different bargain with the devil. He asked specifically to be given those kinds of power which would never satisfy him fully. One particularly modern request he made was to say "Can you supply me with the kind of girl who, with her head on my shoulder, will already be ogling my neighbor?" That way, Faust explained to the puzzled devil, he wouldn't be tempted to be complacent or satisfied but would want to go on and on. And he did go on, in a modern kind of way —never being satisfied with any of his successes. Through his scholarship and inventiveness he changed the face of the earth — cleared land, built dikes, settled people, specifying that the dikes not be perfectly secure because they would not be good for the people.

Finally at the end of the play he does say to the moment, "Abide with me, thou art so fair." Then the devil arrives on stage to claim his bargain, but angels interrupt and save him, saying, in effect, "This man has been so noble, so heroic in his ceaseless striving, has done so many impressive things, that it wouldn't be right to let the devil take him." Goethe, then, did not share the medieval view that the apple of the tree of knowledge necessarily brought disaster.

And the modern Faust doesn't know he's sold his soul?

We really don't know whether we have or not. Certainly we don't remember promising, as the medieval Faust did. Nor do we have the confident feeling that if we carry off the bargain with great style we will be saved, as in Goethe's romantic and progressive view. It's obvious that we are not immune from the risk of paying a severe price for what we've been doing. We pursue new technology and accelerating social change, with some feeling of jeopardy, some faith in progress, and a great deal of uncertainty.

But to continue with the metaphor (which is all it is, of course — at least for me), it strikes me that we have made a further special compact with the devil in the last third of the 20th century — and we don't know what price we may have to pay for this clause in our contract. We have asked to engage in a relationship with nature — including our own nature — in which we try to work out everything. We say, all right, we are creating risks and fouling things up as we go along, but with foresight and planning we'll somehow maneuver our way through. This process of trying to work things out, to think things through for ourselves morally is also a kind of Faustian commitment and we ought to be alert to the price we may pay for that. I'm not saying we have an alternative. All the alternatives are worse. We can't call a halt to this process, nor can we continue blindly. The dangers of failing to think things through are probably much worse than the dangers of trying to plan everything rationally, and from scratch — but this modern rationalism is hubris, and may not be successful.

Are you saying that the modern Faust is working out his own divinity, controlling his own fate?

There is certainly a movement in the direction of trying to usurp omnipotence and omniscience. We are, of course, very far from all-powerful and all-knowing. Yet we have expanded our power and knowledge far beyond what we are used to and what we learn over centuries how to cope with. What I am saying is that the risks are not only to be found in the dangerous technology and disorienting social change caused by our manipulative rationality. The very means we have for dealing with the dangers — that is, *more* manipulative rationality — may in itself be in part a source of danger.

This reminds me of another theme in your book — that man's power over nature is in itself becoming an uncontrollable force of nature. Isn't a belief in and commitment to "progress" one of the delusions that caused this new natural force?

There's a fairly widespread, naive belief which more sophisticated people in the most affluent countries no longer subscribe to: the belief that things necessarily get better and better, that technology, science and economic growth are unmixed blessings, that whatever is progressive is good and whatever is reactionary is always bad. In its naive form this belief tends to be found in the communist countries, in newly emerging nations and in many technological groups in the U.S.A. There are many American engineers, for example, who assume that innovations are always their most important products. It's not progress that's a delusion — the delusion is that progress doesn't have its costs, or that the solution of old problems may not give rise to new problems. The new problems are usually not so bad as the ones that have been solved, but can sometimes be worse.

So computers, science, and technology are not necessarily leading us straight to the devil. It depends on how we deal with them.

That's right. These techniques have given us prowess we didn't have before and on the whole we should be glad of it. But they are *mixed* blessings, and the balance of progress and risk is what is uncertain. For example, the computer is an extraordinarily useful machine, yet we don't know what price we will pay in, say, the erosion of personal privacy by national data banks. We solved certain shortrun problems in developing weapons of mass destruction, like nuclear weapons — we won the arms race with the Nazis, which was clearly worth doing. But as a result, we have probably made the world permanently more dangerous for human life.

Tranquilizers — which are obviously very useful to individuals and have reduced the population of mental hospitals by half — will soon pose the problem of Huxley's "soma" — which made the people of his "Brave New World" perfectly satisfied, and therefore passive toward the most bizarre social conditions. The psychedelic drugs pose similar problems of reconciling individual choices with social policies.

What are some of the basic reasons we find ourselves in these predicaments?

We are developing our most basic cultural trait, the one that has lead to all our economic development and to technical progress, that drives us into the future — what I call manipulative rationality. This is our inclination to intervene in the world — to manipulate it, to alter it. We don't hesitate to change the physical world, the social world, our own biological-psychological selves. We think we can avoid the dangers we create. We have faith we'll eventually control our weapons, clean up the environment, establish

In these days he again did dream of Hell

moral, ethical and legal codes for medicine and other branches of science. This cultural trait is more pronounced in modern western industrial countries and is becoming increasingly more pronounced as we go along.

But manipulation is an old art.

We are rational in a way no other society has been. We jump to change things if we think it will suit us better. Anything. There are no limits to what we are interested in changing. But the criteria are in terms of human satisfaction. This is what really makes modern Western society special. We want to make things better for people — which means we are engaged in asking "Do we like it?" and if we don't "Is there a better way of doing it?"

For example, take the current controversy over birth control and the related issue of abortion. People say not allowing the control of birth leads to all kinds of human suffering. That's true. It leads to individual tragedies, social problems, and unwanted children being brought up in conditions where they are hardly likely to be healthy or happy. But these arguments are all in human terms. Some of those who argue against permitting human intervention in conception or pregnancy often say it would be more destructive of human happiness to allow abortion than not. Because you allow it, the argument goes, you've made it permissible to kill human beings and then you don't know where you'll draw the line, euthanasia, infanticide — why not kill defective infants at birth? And why not kill them at three years old, if you don't notice defects until then? But this is still a secular, humanistic argument on behalf of traditional norms. It is not an argument from absolutes.

This is our Faustian situation. We work at everything now in these realistic, humanistic terms, whether we understand fully what is involved or not. We're going to do the best we can to figure it out for ourselves. We have no other choice.

You have spoken about the problems of affluence that face us in the year 2000 — the meaning of money and work when average annual family income, after taxes, might be $20,000, earned by going to work on perhaps less than half of the days of the year. With this kind of wealth and leisure coming would there be a need any longer to manipulate? Wouldn't Faust's "fair moment" be abiding with us?

What to do with wealth and leisure is already becoming a social issue. It's no accident that the hippies call themselves "flower children" — like the lilies of the field, who toil, not, neither do they spin. It's no accident that the dissidence that following affluence takes the form of a rejection of economic and political values — particularly of manipulative rationality.

What is being said by the drop-outs, the hippies, the new student left, by many of the black power people, ridicules the organizing capacity of the society and its willingness to use people for its own political purposes.

We're talking about the "structures" everyone is trying to tear down or reform.

All of these extremely different groups are rebeling against the "power structure" or "establishment" or "system". They say it dehumanizes by calculating and manipulating. It destroys freedom, creativity, spontaneity, capacity for perceptiveness, for sensory awareness, for emotion, and for love — all the "soft" virtues. The new trend —which is starting and will continue to meet many obstacles — being introduced by these varied groups is clearly going to lead a large percentage of the American population away from "reason" as a value. The movement is also away from traditional concepts of God's will, away from deistic transcendence, away from the traditional Puritan conscience, and toward the free expression of impulse.

How does this jibe with America's recent swing to the right?

The swing to the right is in part a reaction of older groups to the new dissent. If the country gets into trouble — either domestic or international — the deviation will no longer be tolerated. Creativity and empathy become vices and the emphasis goes back to loyalty, dedication, discipline. But the dominant trend is one toward affluence, education, permissiveness, the whittling away of traditional values, questioning of all kinds of inherited and prescribed standards and purposes. The potential for pathology is clearly around. It would take the form of anarchy, nihilism, lawlessness, loss of standards. But all orientations have their potential for pathology. The orientation of conscience of the 19th century could easily take the form of rigidity, self-righteousness. The orientation of reason, dominant for most Americans over 30, is one that can take the form of abstraction, theorizing, rationalizing, indecision, scientism, and dehumanization.

From my body I will amputate a member

Actually then, some of the children of Faust are rebelling against him?

Yes. They are products of the environment that Faust created, but didn't grow up in himself. When the Berkeley rebels said, "Don't trust anyone over 30," they really meant don't trust anyone *now* over 30 — don't trust the people who experienced the depression and World War II. They didn't mean they would have to stop trusting each other in another few years. Their comment doesn't have to do with psychological consequences of maturation, but with the fact that pre-1930 people are different, having met the stark demands of military and economic pressure.

The question is, are the older people hung up on an obsolete reality, or are the kids in a fool's paradise? There is always the possibility that old nasty reality will reassert itself. For example, if enough people drop out now, so will the basis for the affluence and permissiveness that makes large-scale dropping out possible.

What particular role do you see for the church in the future?

On the one hand, there are traditional groups who think they know what God's will is — either by means of Papal pronouncements or fundamentalist exegesis of the scriptures. But in an increasingly modernizing society, more and more people will feel, rightly or wrongly, that these prescriptions of absolutes are irrelevant.

But on the other hand, there seems to be a tendency in other groups to secularize church activities to the point where the special contribution the church can make is lost in an effort to be relevant. These churches become social agencies. For example, many people in liberal churches are very much concerned about exactly the same things as people in the Office of Economic Opportunity. There is some contribution to society when clergymen take on the role of social worker, but it's an unwise division of labor, for it leaves out the essence of what the church can do best.

You're saying that the churches are caught between remaining unwordly on the one hand, and becoming secularized on the other. Can the church be humanistic without losing its identity?

I think it can, and should. We need a lot more people devoting attention to the basic questions which are not the province of any specialist, but which are, in an important sense, religious questions: What is a human being? What ought he to be? What is man's relationship with the universe he finds himself in? What is or should be his relationship with other men?

Are those religious questions or are they also policy questions?

They are both. I believe that asking policy questions, under current conditions, leads one to religious issues. I'm convinced we have lost sight of where we are going, in very many fundamental ways. We have choices of routes that were never open before. We need new answers to the kind of question that people once thought God had answered. The danger is that people who have stopped believing the old answers have also stopped believing that the questions are worth asking or that answers are possible.

But we shouldn't rush unreflectively into decisions like the organ transplants, birth control, abortion, the capacity to prolong the life of senile people and defective infants, the capacity to centralize information and decision systems, the capacity to change the life-support systems of spaceship earth. It isn't only the church that can help fill this gap, but religious people are in some ways uniquely equipped to deal with these issues. We need the theologians' willingness to struggle with questions that are most important, rather than the more narrow questions that we know how to answer scientifically.

Even if the result of churches' effort is only to cause attention, concern, thought, debate — and we should not expect clearcut answers — that attention would dramatize to people that these are important, crucial issues.

How would you suggest the church attract and focus this attention?

If you're a minister you might easily find yourself talking to a congregation of bigots. You could address yourself to that problem as any social worker might. That would be valuable, but not unique. An even more important question is how do we get through this period of social strain and cleavage without letting the situation polarize further. Up to now churchmen, along with secular intellectuals, have for the most part abdicated their integrating function. It is not enough to chide bigots for their sins, or to give them group therapy, though these things may help. What is needed is to provide an understanding of the world and of the human condition which makes clear the meaning of communication and compassion.

Why are you appealing to religious people rather than to secular intellectuals for this purpose?

Lo, then will I tickle thy lust otherwise

We need both. When I was in college, I saw no value in anything but a scientific or, at least, a reasoned approach to human problems. Now I am much more impressed with the difficulty of working everything out rationally — maybe I'm discouraged by experience. Reason just isn't enough for very large problems. We can analyze comparatively simple problems, like those of technology and economics, with frequent success, but the secular humanists cannot use the same methods nearly as well to understand the human and social issues that must be dealt with comprehensively.

Of course we need great integrative thinkers in the church, men like Tillich, Bonhoeffer, Niebuhr, but we also need church organizations and men behind pulpits who have a general and compassionate concern for interpreting and communicating integration and synthesis. We need a world view — new integrative myths — but we also need the interpretation of meaning to be made relevant to each man in his own group and community. That's why philosophers alone would not be enough — even if we had adequate philosophy, and we do not. ■

Looking Back—

THE YEAR IN RELIGION—1968

(Based on a Year-End Review, by Religious News Service)

Vietnam: A People's Plight

Vietnam: War and Worship — A Conflict

Uppsala: The World Council Assembly Opens

HOPES of an early peace in Vietnam spread some cheer over the closing months of 1968. But over-population, poverty, racism and economic imbalances—combined with widespread student unrest, violence and open defiance of established authority in many areas — remained ominous realities. For the religious, as well as the political world, it was a troubled and difficult year.

The year's top Roman Catholic story was the growing challenge to Church authority by liberal priests in countries around the world. A major Protestant focus was on the urgent need for a more active involvement of the churches in the social sphere.

In the United States, the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (incorporating strong fair housing provisions) was hailed as a triumph especially for the nation's religious bodies, which had worked for it, and an epochal step toward solving the racial problem.

Shock and Anger

Passage of the law came after the entire world had been shocked by the murder in Memphis, Tenn., of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., America's top exponent of non-violence in the struggle for racial justice.

In June, tragedy struck again when Senator Robert F. Kennedy, highly articulate apostle of social and economic reform, was shot to death in Los Angeles, allegedly by an Arab extremist. Deploring the two senseless crimes, churchmen joined in demands for Congressional action to halt the indiscriminate sale and licensing of firearms.

Outstanding ecumenical event of the year was the World Council of Churches' 16-day Fourth Assembly at Uppsala, Sweden, in July, which called on both sides in the Paris talks on Vietnam to "take risks for peace" and to refrain from building up their military strength during the conversations. Delegates were alerted to the need for a more effective role in combatting the world's ills if religion was to make any real impact on modern society.

Touching off world-wide controversy was Pope Paul VI's encyclical of July 29 (**Humanae Vitae**) reaffirming the Roman Catholic Church's traditional ban against artificial birth control. The document stirred bitter criticism in circles worried by over-population, as well as sharply adverse reactions even in the ranks of Catholic theologians. Other top stories of the year were:

Starving populations in Biafra, Nigeria's secessionist province, was a prime concern as religious bodies also mapped new drives against world poverty, with specific emphasis on Latin America.

Pope Paul became the first pontiff to visit South America when he flew to Bogota, Colombia, in August for the 39th International Eucharistic Congress (the first such event ever attended by official non-Catholic observers) and renewed his many pleas on behalf of the poor, especially in Latin America.

Church union moved ahead in the United States with the creation in April of the 11,289,214-member United Methodist Church—a merger of the former Methodist Church and the Evangelical United Brethren Church.

Anti-Establishmentism

Attention in religious circles was also focused on another 1968 phenomenon: the growing unrest among college students, some seeking campus reforms, others demonstrating for democratic reforms in the political world, protesting the war in Vietnam, or simply giving vent to dissatisfaction over the economic or political establishment.

Areas caught up in the "Student Power" upheaval included New York, Los Angeles, Honolulu, Mexico City, Paris, Madrid and Rome. In August, the Iron Curtain cities of Prague and Bratislava rang with student outrage over the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. The Russian action ended a process of democratization in that country on which religious leaders had placed high hopes.

The World Council of Churches' concern over Vietnam was shared by the National Council of Churches in the United States which issued another statement in February urging Washington to halt the bombing of North Vietnam as a prelude to a negotiated peace. Looking to the future, the NCC also called for avoiding provocative military action against mainland China and admitting that country to the United Nations, and American recognition of Cuba and the East German Democratic Republic.

Assembly at Uppsala

Attended by Protestant and Eastern Orthodox delegates from over 80 countries, the WCC Assembly was made doubly historic when Pope Paul sent a message in which he urged expanding collaboration between the Catholic Church and the WCC in areas of common interest. Greetings were received also from Augustin Cardinal Bea, internationally renowned president of the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity, whose subsequent death on November 16 brought world-wide tributes to his long and fruitful leadership in the ecumenical movement.

In its closing message, the Assembly condemned racism as "a blatant denial of the Christian faith" and stressed the need for closing "the ever-widening gap between the rich and poor fostered by armament spending." One of the preludes to the Uppsala meeting was the conference of Protestant, Orthodox and Catholic churchmen held at Zagorsk, near Moscow, to discuss the place of religion and Christian ethics in a world of revolutionary upheaval.

Another top-level event of 1968 was the 10th Lambeth Conference held at London in August. It was attended by 563 bishops of the Anglican communion, who were urged by Archbishop Arthur Michael Ramsey of Canterbury to confront changes occurring in the Anglican and Episcopal churches "without fear, without anxiety." After

Memphis: Martin Luther King's Last March

two days of debate, the conference voted appreciation of Pope Paul's "deep concern for the institution of marriage" shown in his encyclical, but said it could not agree with his stand against artificial birth control. The conference condemned racism and took a major step toward full recognition of the sacramental rites of other churches. The ordination of women was given large support by delegates, but the conference concluded that arguments for or against the practice were "inconclusive."

Encyclical Causes Rifts

Pope Paul's encyclical climaxed five years of debate and speculation on what his stand on birth control should or would be in the light of modern conditions. One of the first criticisms came from a group of American Catholic theologians who maintained that the encyclical was not infallible teaching. Their statement was subsequently endorsed by some 65 theologians. Liberal Catholics argued that sexual morality was a matter of personal conscience and could not be dictated by any authority, even a Pope's. At the annual Catholic Day (Katholikentag) Congress in Essen, Germany, participants in a Marriage and Family workshop voted 3,000 to 80 in favor of a petition calling on the Pope to revise his stand.

Religion and Racism

Religion's part in the battle against racism in America was underscored in January by Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, president of the Lutheran Church in America, whose death six months later deprived the nation and the ecumenical movement of a most influential churchman. In a message to his denomination's 7,300 pastors, he urged them to help awaken the country to "a racial emergency of gigantic proportions."

In March, the National Council of Churches responded to the report by President Johnson's National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders. It announced a program to attack the root problems of racial injustice and the growing urban crisis by demanding better housing and job opportunities for the Negro minority. In April, the Catholic hierarchy adopted a report calling for massive programs at the diocesan level to combat racism, to be carried out in full cooperation with Protestants and Jews. In mid-November, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod announced a $1 million campaign to provide improved housing to the underprivileged, regardless of race or religion.

Of continued concern to American churchmen also were conditions in segregationist South Africa, where the South African Christian Council issued another strong denunciation of **apartheid**, only to be rebuked by Premier B. J. Vorster with charges against clergymen "who use sermons for preaching politics."

A year-long spotlight was focused on Biafra, where thousands died of starvation. The World

Atlanta: The King Funeral Cortege

Washington: Resurrection City — The Poor People's Campaign

Council of Churches and Caritas, international Catholic relief agency, organized massive welfare programs for the Biafran sufferers. Large-scale relief programs also were conducted by Church World Service, welfare arm of the National Council of Churches, and by Catholic Relief Services.

In the U.S.A., Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders supported the March on Washington in May on behalf of the Poor People's Campaign, the last project of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Fund-raising drives to alleviate poverty as well as discrimination in housing were announced by leading Protestant churches and crash programs were also set up by Jewish agencies. The most spectacular gesture came from the United Methodist Church: it announced a $20 million Fund for Reconciliation—the largest ever approved by an American church to help resolve social and economic problems.

The spectre of poverty in Latin America who in the spring marched into a Catonsville, Md.,

Chicago: Dissent Meets Police Violence

St. Louis: The Black Church Talks Over The Future

California: Grapeworkers Fight For Recognition

loomed large when Pope Paul paid his visit to Bogota. Addressing 35,000 workers, he called upon the governments and wealthy classes of Latin America to help mitigate poverty in their countries by backing agrarian reform and instituting more equitable taxes.

War and Conscience

In their November pastoral, the U.S. Catholic bishops urged a change in Selective Service laws to permit selective conscientious objection and the right of some individuals to decline to participate in some wars on the ground of conscience. The National Council of Churches and several member denominations had previously affirmed their support of selective conscientious objection.

In July, Dr. Benjamin Spock, author and pediatrician, and three other defendants—one of them the Rev. William Sloane Coffin Jr., Protestant chaplain at Yale University—were sentenced to two years in prison for conspiring to counsel draft evasion. In November, a Federal judge imposed sentences ranging from 2 to 3½ years on a group of nine Catholics, including two priests, draft board office, removed 378 records from the files and burned them with napalm. The heaviest sentences were given Father Philip Berrigan, S.J., and Thomas Lewis, an artist, for pouring blood on Selective Service files the year before. Father Berrigan, S.J., brother of Philip, was among those convicted. In September, five Catholic priests and a teaching Brother were arrested in Milwaukee after breaking into a Selective Service Office and burning records.

The year also saw the ancient tradition of sanctuary invoked as groups and individuals defying the draft sought asylum in Protestant churches and university chapels. In some instances arrests were made by Federal agents.

Homefront Movements

American Protestantism had a "red letter" day when the new United Methodist Church was solemnly inaugurated in Dallas, Texas. Shortly afterward, the denomination's Commission on Ecumenical Affairs invited three Negro Methodist Churches — the African Methodist Episcopal, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion, and the Christian Methodist Episcopal — to join it in exploring the possibility of union.

In February, the Lutheran Church in the U.S.A agreed to join the Consultation on Church Union (COCU), a group set up in 1962 to unite 10 major Protestant bodies with an aggregate of some 25 million members — as an observer consultant. The COCU meanwhile directed that a plan of union be drafted by a special commission no later than 1970. Other developments were:

The Presbyterian Church in the U.S. and the Reformed Church in America approved the first official steps toward merger in 1970. In September, the International Convention of Christian Churches adopted a restructure plan setting up a more centralized polity, and changed its name to the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).

In the U.S., the Jewish community was disturbed by anti-Semitic overtones in Negro militancy during the prolonged New York City school teachers' strike. However, the United Synagogue Council of America cautioned against equating the anti-Semitic utterance of some black extremists with the wider Negro community. More valid cause for concern came in a series of outrages in New York City in which 11 Jewish houses of worship were desecrated by vandals in a three-month period.

And Elsewhere . . .

Other developments that also rated headlines in 1968 were:

Attended by 1,100 participants from 25 countries, the Asia-South Pacific Congress on Evangelism held in Singapore in November voted to establish a Coordination Office for Evangelism in Asia. . . . Six manifestoes relating evangelism to specific world issues were presented at a Continental Congress on Evangelism held in Washington, D.C., in September as part of a massive Baptist-sponsored hemisphere-wide Crusade of the Americas scheduled to climax in 1969. . . . The second Triennial Assembly of the NCC Division of Overseas Ministries, meeting in New Haven, learned that while more missionaries and more money are available than ever before, the "prototype missionary" is increasingly unacceptable, while the greatest gains have been with the conservative rather than the "liberal" churches. An "ecumenical first" was recorded when the Medical Mission Sisters became the first Roman Catholic religious community to be affiliated with the Division. . . . In St. Louis, the Second Annual Convocation of Black Churchmen heard Maulana Ron Karenga of Los Angeles castigate black churchmen for their "dependency mentality." Discussions of the role of the black churchman in being a missionary to the white churchman drew strong approval . . . and Catholic authorities joined the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, the National Council of Churches, and numerous state and local church councils in supporting a national boycott of California grapes seeking to secure union recognition for striking California grape workers. ■

it says here . . .

WCC TO SET UP INTERRELIGIOUS UNIT ON VIET RECONSTRUCTION

GENEVA — (RNS) — A committee of the World Council of Churches here accepted a proposal from an interim group concerned about war reconstruction in Vietnam to set up a coordinating program with interreligious participation.

The recommendation was made to the WCC's Committee on Interchurch Aid, Refugee and World Service by a Vietnam Interim Committee. The report was given by James McCracken, executive director of Church World Service, the relief arm of the National Council of Churches (USA).

Scheduled to meet in early 1969, a 50-member commission will have provision for consultants from the Roman Catholic Church and non-Christian religions. Membership will be drawn from the Christian community in Vietnam, representatives of the East Aris Christian Council, service agencies giving assistance to the Vietnamese, and the World Council.

Mr. McCracken said the "coordinated program would include a general over-all strategy. A variety of models may be followed in putting the program into practice."

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PRIEST WHO DESTROYED DRAFT FILES UPHELD BY PRESBYTERY, 148-110

BLOOMINGTON, MINN. — (RNS) — A Roman Catholic priest facing a jail sentence for destroying draft records in Milwaukee won what he called "a vote of confidence" here from a group of fellow priests of the Archdiocese of St. Paul-Minneapolis.

After a long discussion, the Presbytery of the Archdiocese voted 148-110 to "express its gratitude to our brother priest, Father Alfred Janicke, for making us more sensitive to the issues involved by his witness to the dictates of his conscience and assure him of its support as he faces the consequences of his action."

Father Janicke, assistant pastor of St. Philip's church, Minneapolis, was one of 15 draft protesters arrested in Milwaukee Sept. 24. They spent 30 days in jail as they awaited bail funds from friends.

* * * * *

CLERGYMEN ROUSE DELAWARE GOVERNOR'S WRATH

WILMINGTON, DEL. — Governor Charles Terry of Delaware has lashed out at white clergymen in Wilmington who object to the continued presence of National Guard troops in Delaware's racially-mixed large city. In a vigorous reaction to efforts of some clergymen to hold meetings expressing concern about the eight-month stay of the Guard in Wilmington, Governor Terry said the churchmen ought to be preaching from a pulpit rather than "going out in the street and preaching what is next to revolution." Church observers in Delaware have connected the use of the Guard with Terry's claims that a so-called "black army" exists in the state — a claim which some reports connected with Terry's campaign for election. The Associated Press reported on December 6 that National Guardsmen have been put on night duty at Dover, capital of Delaware. State officials have also threatened to use the Guard in connection with student protests at the University of Delaware, where two liberal professors have been fired. Speaking at a recent meeting of the clergy coalition, the Rev. Paul Countryman said that Wilmington is a place "where all Americans should come to see the shape of the future in the land of the free and the home of the brave."

* * * * *

WOMEN'S AGENCIES URGE NIXON TO CONTINUE JOB CORPS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — (RNS) — Officers of four national women's organizations, three of them religious, joined here in urging President-elect Nixon to retain the Job Corps and other programs for the disadvantaged.

The groups were Church Women United, the National Council of Negro Women.

Presidents of the groups, which have a combined membership of 27-million women, expressed concern about citizens living in poverty amid a great prosperity.

"Thus, we would hope that your administration would not seek to dismantle or greatly alter the many programs designed to give the disadvantaged the tools . . . needed to achieve mobility," they said.

Special concern was voiced over the future of Job Corps for which the women's agencies have recruited and screened applications for three years. The corps is now providing job training for 31,000 young men and women.

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FRIENDSHIP ACRES YIELD FOOD FOR HUNGRY

ELKHART, IND. — CROP — Christian Rural Overseas Program which is affiliated with Church World Service of the National Council of Churches — reports that 1968 has been a banner year for Friendship Acres. Nearly 4,000 acres of planted farmland in many parts of the country were harvested in behalf of the hunger appeal of Church World Service.

CHURCHMEN VISIT TROUBLED CAMPUS — Dr. Charles S. Spivey, Jr., Executive Director of NCC's Department of Social Justice, and Dr. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr., Chairman of the Division of Church and Race of the United Presbyterian Church, USA, are shown being welcomed to San Francisco State College by the Rev. Hannibal Williams of the United Ministries in Higher Education team at the college. The church leaders met with Vice-President Glen Smith of the college, leaders of the Black Students Union and Third World Liberation Front and with area church officials.

Dr. Wilmore's comment on the proposed expansion of ethnic studies (one of the demands of demonstrating minority group students) was that it was "the most comprehensive he had seen and that, if developed it could attract national attention." Dr. Spivey discussed the development of financial support for the program from church groups, to be matched by funds from area and national denominational sources. He and Dr. Wilmore agreed to serve as national coordinators in an effort to bring this about.

PUBLIC SCHOOL PRAYER BAN ENDORSED BY CHURCH COUNCIL

ATLANTA — (RNS) — The Georgia Council of Churches has endorsed the U.S. Supreme Court decision banning prayer in public schools and raised objections to the manner in which religious holidays are observed in the schools.

Representing 11 major denominations in Georgia, the council called for government neutrality in matters of religious belief and proposed that baccalaureate services not be held under public school auspices.

In a resolution approved at its annual meeting, the council declared its opposition "to the use of the power or influence of government to promote any religious beliefs, even those held in common by most citizens."

The Rev. Robert Thomason, a member of the committee which drafted the resolution, said that the Georgia Council "comes out on the same side of the Supreme Court decision."

"But," he explained, "we did so for different reasons. Theirs was legal and ours were theological."

* * * * *

CANADIANS SUPPORT GRAPE WORKERS

TORONTO, ONT. — Church and union officials led a march of more than 1,000 people to St. Michael's Roman Catholic Cathedral in support of the striking California grape workers. One food chain agreed to post signs asking customers not to buy table grapes. In the U.S., the Council of Churches of Greater Washington, the Pennsylvania Council, the Greater Portland Council, and the Missouri Council have joined in support of the National Farm Workers Organization to obtain coverage for farm workers under the National Labor Relations Act.

* * * * *

RACISM ALIVE AND WELL

MINNEAPOLIS — A survey of nearly 250 local churches in the metropolitan area has revealed that white racism is "alive and well." Conducted by the Urban Coalition of Minneapolis and the Minnesota Council of Religion and Race, the survey analyzed 67,000 questionnaires showing that 55% disagreed with the statement that "leadership in the cause of black freedom must rest in the hands of black men," and 42% disagreed that the black community should be able to decide what help is wanted from white people and when and how it should be extended.

THE CITY CHURCH OF TOMORROW

(Continued from page 2)

tive role in guiding and shaping the activities and functions of our government as it may deal with the crises of our cities. Government has a substantial role to play for which there is no viable or meaningful alternative. This may be a hard pill for some of us to swallow — especially when we continue to read about corruption, inefficiency, chaos and the lack of credibility which enshrouds much of government these days. Yet some amazing things have happened to our government over the past few years. Government has traditionally been a basic provider of services — caring for the sick, supporting the indigent, providing water and waste removal, etc. In the past five years, an entirely new role has evolved in government — out of the failures of this paternalistic function of government, a new role is being born, a role which involves the creation of opportunity, the kindling of hope. This new role involves manpower training, remedial education, community organization, and the decentralization and restructuring of government. Much of the exposure of corruption, the agitation of people taking an interest in our neighborhoods, the monumental struggles of unions and city agencies are the inevitable consequences of this new role. We must nurture this new expression; we must not be discouraged by some of its early failures; we must not let it get buried in a backlash of resentment and impatience with governmental inefficiency and neighborhood agitation.

Second, I sense that for many of us the world of the Church is generally regarded as separate from the private worlds of home and business. The world of the Church is two hours on Sunday — or any additional time devoted to a program or activity directly sponsored by a Church institution. It is very clear to me that the solution to our urban crises cannot be easily advanced unless there is a wedding of these several personal worlds. The criteria which govern all of our personal activities. Our personal decisions as to where to live, who we accept as friends, where to be educated, where to shop, how we invest our resources, how we spend our leisure time, where we work, how we conduct our business, how we interrelate with our fellow employees, all of these actions can be the lifelines for social, economic and spiritual fulfillment for the growing poverty population of our cities. While government can express a new public responsiveness to the problem, herein is expressed our *personal* response. In more tangible terms, our gross national product is approaching nearly $600 billion or about 20 times our Federal allocations for domestic programs. Thus it does not seem inappropriate to suggest that our own potential private response far outweighs in terms of energy and resources anything government can conceivably perform. Without this personal response, the meaning of love, the presence of God, and the viability of the Church in the burgeoning urban ghetto will continue to falter.

I asked at the outset what hope there was for the children or for the millions of people who face the bleak and ominous future of life in an urban slum. Their future is being hammered out right now — indeed the very future of our cities, our country, our society is at stake. Our present response as a Church to this urban crisis is in its very formative stages.

The disparity between this current response and what we are potentially able to do is almost without bounds. Yet, in this great potential is locked the very assence of hope and the promise of a better world for the black people of our city ghettoes. I believe we must move to unify our worlds of politics, government, business and home, through the common bonds of our Church mission. I believe that nothing less than actions should demonstrate the mission of the Church.

Mr. Douglas is the newly appointed Associate General Secretary of the National Council of Churches for Planning and Program. A Baptist layman, he was formerly Deputy Director of the New York City Planning Commission.

An Open Letter to Readers of Tempo

Dear TEMPO Reader:

Beginning with the first issue of October 15 last, you have been receiving TEMPO twice a month. We hope you are finding each issue interesting, stimulating and even unique, for—as many have written to tell us—there is nothing quite like TEMPO in the field of religious journalism. To use some of the flattering words we find in our mailbag, TEMPO, in its coverage of news and issues that count, is "fast," "daring," "effective," "colorful," "dramatic in spots," "complete, when it comes to giving all facets of a big story," "easy on the eye."

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"One dislikes the quarrels that erupt within the Christian church. But we dislike even more the tiny minorities that earn their livelihood by smearing the faithful work of Christian people and the organizations they share cooperatively . . ."

DISSENT, YES—SMEAR, NO!

A free society, like a family, cannot stay healthy if the conversation dries up. And nothing will make conversation dry up faster than ugly calumny and name calling.

For the better part of two decades now, the Christian family in the United States — most major Protestant denominations and their agencies in particular — has been carrying on its back a small, vocal band of professional conversation destroyers. They not only dissent, acting on a privilege all cherish for others as for themselves. But in dissenting they smear, thereby hoping to crush those with whom they disagree by persuading others to go along with their public nightmares and support them financially in the process.

The key smear word, in these days of insecurities and anxieties everywhere, is of course "communism," which is a code word for treason against the American state. As the professionals in this game have found, the word can be applied to virtually any idea (and any person holding an idea), from fluoridation of drinking water to a preference for holding peace talks rather than risking incineration of the planet.

Fortunately, few are found who wish to share in the nightmares. Sane conversation continues to be held in the Christian family, and the family remains on the whole healthily in communication with itself and others.

Yet nothing is to be gained by pretending that slanders, and those who perpetrate them, do not exist. Exposure, too, is healthy, if only as a measure of preparedness for the kind of stunt recently pulled off by an outfit calling itself **The Clergymen's Committee on China.**

By way of explanation, this committee was founded a few years ago by the late Dr. Daniel A. Poling as a reasonable channel through which this respected conservative could expound his and others' views on the "menace" of Maoist China and the legitimacy of Chiang Kai Chek's claim to China rule. Farthest from his thoughts was any attempt, private or public, to identify those with whom he disagreed on this issue, including the National Council of Churches, with communist sympathies.

Dr. Poling later severed all his connections with the committee, and the committee went its own way under the paid direction of a Reverend David C. Head. At some point recently, the committee headed by Mr. Head decided to people its public chamber of political horrors with more than the ogreish figure of Mao. It added the bearded Castro, the gang in the Kremlin, the repulsive Ullbricht of East Germany and, symbolically, as **pieces de resistance,** the World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches.

The new, improved horror chamber, complete with the essential "enemies in our midst," and guaranteed to scare every unaware citizen out of his wits, was given full-page display in an advertisement in the **New York Times** of November 18 last. It cost the committee money, of course —at least $7,440, the minimum price of a full-page ad in this newspaper. But money is always recoverable with a built-in sales pitch in the ad. The deplorable technique — so long practiced and proven profitable by the Billy James Hargises and the Carl McIntires — was now in full swing: (1) Invent and spread the fears. (2) Pose as the Gallahad who will save the nation from the invented perils. (3) Ask and get money to carry out the mission of national salvation.

All this, together with a reproduction of an excerpt from the ad which appears below, serves as a necessary introduction to a responsible public statement by Dr. David Poling, President of the Christian Herald Association and Editor of **The Christian Herald,** which was founded and edited for many years by his late uncle, Dr. Daniel Poling. (Editor)

STATEMENT OF RESPONSE

by Dr. David Poling

As President of the Christian Herald, I find it necessary to respond to the charges made in an advertisement placed by the Clergymen's Committee on China in the November 18, 1968, New York Times.

In a few hundred words the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches are identified as a "Liberal Church" whose goals are almost identical with the United States Communist Party and its leader Gus Hall. This is a deliberate falsehood, a calculated smear, and it deserves an immediate rejection.

That insult is followed by the innuendo that the "convictions" of these two bodies coincide with Communist ideology and that an "effort is being made to soften up the church people to accept Communism."

Rather, we are being softened up by these advertisements, confused by these false statements, to accept the leadership of a faceless, shadowy "committee" and to endorse its self-appointment as the guardian of the church and custodism of the true faith.

Specific criticisms are made against the National Council, especially its call for a new foreign policy in the United States that will end "its reliance on the Military." The advertisement prepared by the Reverend David C. Head, Chairman of the Clergymen's Committee on China, states that the Council has made "dangerous and thoughtless proposals," such as stopping the bombing of North Vietnam, and the avoidance of provocative military actions against Mainland China, and support for the Two-China policy, which would admit Mainlamd China to the U.N. at the same time as retaining the representation of Formosa.

We reject this narrow criticism, and support this lead of the Councils.

1. The historic, eternal — often painful —unpopular task of the Christian Church is to preach peace, to stand against warfare, to challenge the military mind, and the armament mentality.

When the Council of Churches — be it National or World — backs away or hesitates from his bruising task, it is dishonest to the Bible and unfaithful to Christ.

When the U.S.A. or Russia or China or forces in the Middle East pursue policies of armed intervention or national strategies shaped by military adventurers, then out of fidelity to God who is Lord and Father of all, the Church must put down war, restrain conflict, be the agent of reconciliation, and the reducer of tension.

2. The Clergymen's Committees takes issue with the World Council of Churches over its support of the International Court of Justice, the proposal for a 1% tax of industrial nations to aid the underdeveloped countries, the end of a Cuban blockade, and endorsement of selective pacifism and civil disobedience of draft laws.

The Clergymen's Committee, as I read their propaganda, is promoting a regional religion and trying to pass this off as a universal faith.

The Christian Church is not an American franchise, it is not owned and operated like a S. A. C. Base. We are judged by God, and in hope and humility seek to serve Him everywhere.

I object to the use of Dr. Daniel A. Poling's name in regard to this advertisement and the work of the Committee for fund-raising campaigns.

Dr. Poling founded the Clergymen's Committee on China out of his deep regard for the safety and integrity of Formosa. His life-long friendship with General and Madame Chiang must never be forgotten. But here we have a major attack on the National and World Council of Churches — material published nine months after Dr. Poling's death, yet implying that he endorsed this salacious material. Although Dr. Poling was the founder, he made a public statement of resignation from this Committee on January 5, 1967. It should be noted that this is the only organization — religious or secular — that he severed his relationship with in the last years of his life. (Dr. Poling died on February 7, 1968.)

One dislikes the quarrels that erupt within the Christian Church. But we dislike even more the tiny minorities that earn their livelihood by smearing the faithful work of Christian people and the organizations they share cooperatively.

MILLIONS OF AMERICANS ARE DISTRESSED AND **CONFUSED** BY:

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN OUR CHURCHES?

EPILOGUE

Every proper story must have its beginning, middle, denouement and end. With this one, we get as far as the middle. A denouement followed on November 28, in the form of a broadcast dialogue between Dr. David Poling and the Rev. Mr. Head on CBS Radio's "The World of Religion." With Dr. Poling restating, in effect, his positions in his public statement above, Mr. Head countered by saying: "I feel that the church should adhere strictly to its spiritual commission and not seek to function as a political, economic or other wise secular institution. POLING: "I think the opposite is true. I think people want the church to become more concerned with human activity, and I for one vigorously oppose Mr. Head's position." HEAD: "When you have controversial political and economic issues, you create more havoc with the church as you encourage people to take a stand pro or con. You divide the church. I'm sure that is not what Mr. Poling wants." POLING: "I disagree. I want this division if it's over a moral issue. Slavery in this country divided churches in half for a hundred years . . . I think this is the name of the Christian game. I don't see how you can back away."

Stating that "laymen are concerned about the drift of their churches" and may show their concern "probably by means of their pocketbooks," Mr. Head concluded by saying: "We did not launch, nor do we wish to launch, and overt attack — blanket attack — upon the National Council of Churches. I'd like to make that very clear."

So much for denouement. The story really could end only with an avowal to revert to the more civilized practice of calm and reasoned discussion, or lively debate under agreed rules — such as those that prevailed in the CBS broadcast. It is devoutly to be wished that we will live to see the day — and the end. (Editor)

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January 15, 1969

A Twice-Monthly Publication of the National Council of Churches

A Celebration Of Conscience

by HARVEY COX

JUST north of the small Pennsylvania town of Allenwood, an obscure sign on the edge of the highway points the way to what is euphemistically designated as a "Federal Prison Farm." Actually Allenwood is more than that. It is America's largest political prison—its main constituency being about 130 men who have refused to fight in Vietnam. On the Saturday before Christmas these prisoners for conscience' sake became the delighted recipients of one of the largest single visitations that has ever occurred in an American prison. Encouraged by an agreement on the part of prison officials to allow "shifts" of visitors to come and go on this day, many hundreds of potential visitors poured in for a "Celebration of Conscience." Allenwood will never be quite the same again.

TEMPOsitions . . .

THE ECUMENICAL FUTURE: PURPOSE AND SPIRIT

by Msgr. John Cummins

Ecumenical activities are not so much fun any more.

The good old days of three or four years ago — the interreligious dinners and other happy events that brought refreshments to both Catholics and Protestants — are just memories now.

Those were the acquaintance days. Pope John had brought his own kind of refreshment to historical Protestant ecumenism. Vatican II had opened the avenues; each of us became familiar with new men.

The growth beyond this embryonic stage was dialogue. Perhaps there were great hopes that once we understood one another, progress toward unity was inevitable, or at least patently possible.

But soon realizing the "impenetrable" doctrinal wall across the road to the future, we then moved into the next obvious stage: working together. The timing of civil rights made it secular ecumenism, with religion and race conferences, the experiments in ecumenical parishes and the rest. All of us were happy that we were bringing forth together a developing theology of the Church and the World. The Harvey Cox of "The Secular City" was a favorite author in Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox circles.

Now we see a further development — spiritual ecumenism.

In a recent issue of Overview, Michael Harrington is quoted as urging on religious people a sense of the transcendent in their social activism. The World Council of Churches last summer spoke of the nostalgia for prayer life, and on the part of many in the churches a sense of guilt for not having a sufficiently developed interior life.

Ecumenism, however — secular or spiritual — now has neither novel nor exciting appeal. By no means is this situation deplorable, nor does it point to any loss of hope. For while the things we are doing now — education, missions, welfare work, parish organization and our own prayer life may not be exciting, they are practices flowing from our conviction and our own understanding of God's revelation.

Christian unity, therefore, is a matter of conviction and the understanding of how the Holy Spirit is speaking to us right now. The fact of its prosaic style at this moment does not lessen its validity.

The sole danger is neglect. It is our serious purpose that seems to be tested, not the clarity of the Spirit's direction. ■

Monsignor Cummins is Chancellor of the Oakland, Cal. diocese and chairman of the diocesan ecumenical commission. His comments originally appeared in a combined edition of The Church at Work (Protestant), The Catholic Voice, and The Pacific Southwest Lutheran.

Should The Roman Catholic Church Be In The National Council Of Churches?

by R. H. Edwin Espy

Dr. Espy

WHY is the Roman Catholic Church in the United States not a member of the National Council of Churches? There are numerous and fruitful areas of program cooperation, some of them accelerating at a dizzy pace since Vatican Council II.

Since 1965 there has been an official Working Group made up of high level representatives from both sides to discuss common concerns. In 1966 the National Council took a formal action recognizing the Roman Catholic Church as being in agreement with the Preamble to the Constitution of the NCC, such agreement being a requirement for membership in the Council.

During the same period the first Roman Catholic priest was elected to the NCC executive staff. Catholic agencies have become affiliated with Program Boards and Department Committees, with the full privilege of voting representation. There have been a number of successful ventures in joint publication. Dialogue has widened, joint studies have been undertaken, common prayer has deepened, participation in one another's activities and events has proliferated, public acknowledgement of our fraternal relations has become commonplace. We are genuinely engaged in common mission.

But all of this has not meant membership. The issues involved are so far-reaching, that authorities on both sides have desired to proceed with caution. They have been eager to deepen relationships but hesitant to consider membership.

Now, however, the situation is changed. Official requests to discuss membership have been made in recent months by both sides — the Committee on Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, and the Executive Committee of the General Board of the National Council of Churches. The existing Working Group of the two bodies is to be reconstituted and redirected in order to focus on the membership question.

From some sincere churchmen in both constituencies there have been signs of anxiety at this rapid pace of events. It is right, realistic and healthy to raise basic questions.

But it is exactly the basic questions which impel us, indeed oblige us, to face this ecumenical issue head on. Without prejudicing the answer at which any of us might arrive, how can we fail to pose the fundamental question of Roman Catholic membership in councils of churches?

The basic issue is the degree of inclusiveness of the ecumenical movement. If ecumenism means anything, it means wholeness, the whole Household of Faith. From the Catholic side, other churches of Christendom have now been recognized as churches. From the Protestant-Orthodox side, the Roman Catholic Church has been recognized by the National Council as being a church in agreement with its Christian basis. All confess the same Lord and Savior. Should we not manifest this unity in Christ through the channel provided by councils of churches?

Membership in the conciliar movement is not the same as church union. In the latter there are a myriad theological, ecclesiological, liturgical, institutional and other questions which are not at stake in the consideration of membership in a council. For the Roman Catholic Church in the United States to become a member of the National Council of Churches does not entail the resolution of these questions any more than this has been entailed for the present member communions.

But the question that does need to be answered is fundamental: on what grounds can churches which recognize one another as churches, and which desire to manifest their unity in mission and renewal, fail to join with one another in organizations of unity and cooperation? If councils in their present forms are not adequate channels for a more inclusive expression of unity, should they not be modified to become such channels? Organization should always be responsive to the demands of higher principle, in this case the principle of greater ecumenical inclusiveness in the service of unity, renewal and mission.

In a subsequent issue we hope to comment on some questions this principle may pose for both the National Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. ■

Dr. Espy, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, serves as one of two Western Hemisphere members of the Joint Working Group of the World Council of Churches and the Vatican Secretariat on Christian Unity.

January 18-25 is Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, to be observed in churches around the world. Including the editorials on this page, a number of features in this issue of TEMPO are keyed to this event.

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A Celebration of Conscience

(Continued from cover page)

For the hundreds of visitors, many of them young people of draft age decked out in resistance buttons and peace symbols, the Celebration had already begun before they arrived at Allenwood's barbed wire fence. On Friday night they had overflowed nearby Bucknell University's Coleman Hall for a rally and briefing. So many had showed up, in fact, that the proceedings had to be carried by closed circuit TV to overflow halls in the same building. After the rally, the visitors stood patiently in long lines at a local Episcopal church and received their shift assignments.

Saturday morning began at 8:00 a.m., a few of us going to the prison early to lead a service of celebration of conscience. The prison farm chapel is an old church building complete with gruesome stained glass windows and a wood infested cemetery. A tiny Christmas tree stood before the altar and next to it stood an empty creche. Still, it was an unforgettable service. Joan Baez, her hair shorter but her eyes just as penetrating and her dedication to peace just as luminous, opened it by throwing back her head and singing "Swing Low Sweet Chariot" in a voice so sweet and transparently clear everyone's heart beat faster. She had flown all the way from California just to be in this service.

There were readings from the Hebrew Scripture ("The people who worked in darkness have seen a great light . . .") and from the New Testament ("Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God. . . . Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you and say all manner of evil against you . . .") I gave a short sermon emphasizing the joy of the occasion and our gratitude to the prisoners for the witness of conscience they were making. Then Joan led the congregation in another song, one she had learned during her incarceration last year in the Santa Rita "rehabilitation center," the Alameida County prison farm where she'd been sent for obstructing an induction center. "I was arrested for disturbing the peace," she said "but I was really disturbing the war." The fatigue-clad inmates were obviously enjoying Joan immensely. A petite girl, her enormous voice seems almost to rush out of her from another dimension.

The men clapped in rhythm as she sang "Paul and Silas sittin' in jail, had no money for to pay their bail . . .") What most of the prisoners did not know was that seated among them, singing and clapping along, was Joan's husband, David Harris, who may very well be joining them soon. A draft resister, his appeals have nearly run out and he faces sentencing in a few weeks. He will probably be sent to Allenwood for 3-5 years.

Father Richard McSorley S.J. of Georgetown University then stepped to the altar for the most unforgettable part of the service, the dedication to God of Monica, the tiny infant child of Kathy Miller and inmate David Miller. David Miller, a Catholic pacifist, was one of the very first people ever to burn a draft card. It was the first time he had seen his new child.

Under Father McSorley's direction, the congregation then shared in breaking and eating bread. We had brought a bottle of wine for the service but it was confiscated by the guards at the gate. While we fed each other the bread, Joan led us in singing, "Let Us Break Bread Together." The service concluded with a period of prayer requests from the inmates. One mentioned the prisoners in military brigs and stockades who would see no visitors this Christmas. One young inmate mentioned Morton Sobell now serving his 18th year in nearby Lewisburg, Allenwood's maximum-security sister prison. These young prisoners were obviously aware there were others who were sharing the price of conscience.

Just as the service concluded, the first group of visitors arrived at the chapel door. A black rock-'n'-roll band split the air of the Pennsylvania Dutch countryside with wails and trills. Groups of visitors swarmed in, embraced the prisoners, chatted, or stood in silent solidarity. At the end of a brief period, the first shift left and another arrived. When I left Allenwood, two long lines of visitors were stretched out three abreast from the gate. The pilgrims stamped their feet and blew on their hands. Some sang carols and peace songs. Even the frozen rural countryside and the somber barbed wire seemed warmer.

As we returned along the highway to Lewisburg and the command center of the visitation, cars full of visitors heading for Allenwood passed us. At the Bucknell headquarters more cars were arriving — from Washington, Boston, Indianapolis. Here, at the closest thing America has to a concentration camp, a Christmas miracle was happening. A newly emergent community of conscience was celebrating light and love amidst the threats of death and darkness.

Harvey Cox, author of the exclusive Tempo article on this page, waso also a leading participant at the Allenwood event. Here he addresses the group, urging amnesty for all prisoners of conscience, at Allenwood and other federal prisons where they are incarcerated.

Christmas is a lonely time in any prison. The occasional wisp of holly at a barred window, or the fleeting carol from a transistor radio sometimes heighten the loneliness. There is something especially bitter about being in prison during the celebration of the birth of the Prince of Peace when you've been sent there for refusing to fight in a war. But this is just the situation of hundreds of young American men this holiday season. Though by far the largest single concentration of America's prisoners of conscience is to be found at the Allenwood Prison Camp, there are many, many others. The Allenwood group includes draft refusers, war resisters and some Jehovah's Witnesses. It includes everything from a young black resister who once participated in the youth activities of a church near my home in Roxbury, Mass., to Josephite Father Phil Berrigan, who is now serving time for pouring blood on draft records. (Berrigan is now temporarily in a Maryland jail during hearings on his burning of draft records in Catonsville.) But add to this group the prisoners in the military itself, the men who are scattered in other prisons, the draft resisters and deserters in Sweden and Canada, the hundreds now awaiting indictment, trial, conviction, sentencing and appeal. The total of harassed and harried men of conscience is staggering.

Many of these men have taken this perilous step because they once heard something about a Gospel of Peace. They once heard it is wrong to kill. They were once taught never to violate the sacred voice of conscience. They have taken these admonitions seriously, more seriously than many people wish they would. Their act of conscience has put them on our conscience, and we do right to celebrate their courage. But the celebration at Allenwood cannot be the end. As a once-a-year visit, it is a travesty. It makes sense only if those of us who made that visit, or would like to have made it, redouble our efforts not only to end the war but to make our society one in which no more Vietnams occur and men of conscience are freed to live among us rather than locked behind barbed wire. ■

For more on **Allenwood**, turn to page 4

Keeping "war resister" balloons aloft in the Lewisburg Methodist Church.

Waiting for the visitor buses at the prison gate

A workshop session in the Baptist Church

Theologian Harvey Cox addresses mass gathering

THE SCENE AT ALLENWOOD

Text by Kay Leslie — Photos by Willa Percival, Ken Thompson and Richard H. Lewis

THE hacks recognized me!" the bearded young man wearing vintage Army surplus said with amazement. The hacks, so-called—prison guards—had hailed him by name as he came up the road to join the hundreds of youths, middle-aged and older persons milling about and stomping to keep warm outside the gates of Allenwood Federal Prison Camp near Lewisburg, Pa.

Last February those gates had clanged shut behind him as he left after doing time on a three-year sentence for refusing induction. Today he was back to visit his fellow prisoners and men since sentenced as war resisters—27 in all and the largest concentration of men of conscience in a federal prison.

He was one of more than 1,200 persons from the East, Middle West and as far away as California, who had converged on Lewisburg a few days before Christmas to take part in a prison visitation or "Celebration of Conscience" arranged by peace and resistance groups.

But the logistics of two small buses used to haul visitors from the gates to the little old sandstone church serving as prison chapel, where the prisoners were waiting—all within and the alloted morning hours of that Saturday—were unequal to the numbers. Only about 750 actually were able to take part in the visitation.

As the prison bus rattled down the road away from the gates, the driver pointed out the brick buildings that were gradually replacing old wooden barracks scattered throughout the 4,000-acre tract. No, he had never heard that Japanese Americans had been imprisoned there during World War II. He thought the original site had been bought for a munitions plant, but that the war was over before it had become operational.

Joan Baez sings "Carry On"

Folk songs were part of the scene.

The old sandstone church we were approaching—with its graveyard across the road—had been a country church when the property was acquired. Nearby houses had been razed, but the village church left intact—since restored for use as a chapel. Chaplains of the three faiths brought portable altars for services, the driver said.

There was an interfaith service for the prisoners taking place at that moment in connection with the visit. Joan Baez would be singing; Father McSorley leading prayers; Miriam Fishback, Wyncote, Pa., housewife and librarian who had brought a car full of young people from Philadelphia, would be reading from the Hebrew Bible; Richard Fernandez of Clergy Concerned would read the Beatitudes; Harvey Cox of Harvard Divinity School would preach and George Willoughby of Quaker Action would lead meditation. The bus full of visitors waited for the service to end.

Prisoners clad in Coast Guard surplus shirts and prison-made pants stood about the church and thanked the visitors for coming. No cameras were allowed. Visitors were at a loss as to how to thank these men for standing in their stead. There was a joyous whoop at one side of the chapel as the former prisoner was reunited with his buddies, and quieter but emotion-filled moments as families and friends greeted prisoners. Soon an official announced the 15-minute visit was over, and the chapel must be cleared for another busload of visitors.

On the heels of the morning visits in relays came brass-tacks workshops on the Bucknell University campus and in Lewisburg churches—workshops so crowded that every inch of seating and floor space was occupied, with overflow spilling into halls.

Amnesty, the Prison System, Selective Service, Blacks in Prison, Community and Resistance, Draft Repeal, Military Prisons and Where-Do-We-Go-From-Here workshops met.

Sharp differences of opinion within the movement surfaced in some workshops, as in one on Community and Resistance chaired by David Harris, husband of Joan Baez and member of the San Francisco Resistance. Militants challenged his Ghandi-like approach. The Resistance is still non-violent in philosophy on the West Coast, he affirmed. In the Draft Repeal Workshop, a young woman voiced the fear that repeal would negate the growing strength of the Resistance; she was assured that repeal was nowhere near.

On the fringes of the workshops were reminders that the discussions were not academic—young wives and small children of resisters, as Ophelia Salomonow, whose husband Allan was imprisoned just a few weeks ago, and their four month-old son, Gregory, and Cathy Miller, wife of Dave Miller, and their infant daughter Monica.

It looked as if only a miracle of loaves and fishes could feed the multitude of more than 700 who stayed for the Saturday evening communal dinner in the Baptist Church. But somehow the covered dishes and other food brought by the visitors was stretched, and all were fed—again in relays.

Then they crossed the street to the Methodist Church, where there was enough space to accommodate all for the evening meeting. David Harris, who expects to be sentenced to prison after his appeal is heard in February in a Northern California court, spoke of the need for all persons in the movement to continue to work, not only for peace, but for a new society. "It's up to you; if you don't do it, nobody else will," he said.

And at that moment Joan Baez, his wife, began to sing "Carry On." Soon everybody joined in. ■

A briefing in a church sanctuary

Once again national attention focuses on Memphis, Tenn., where representative policy makers of 33 denominations will meet, Jan. 21-24, for mid-winter business sessions of the General Board of the National Council of Churches. The following report on Memphis as a city in agonized transition was written by a Southerner who has witnessed much of this transition on the scene. Dr. Aldridge was, during most of eventful 1968, a minister of Idlewild Presbyterian Church, in Memphis, and Chairman of the Memphis Presbytery's Committee on Christian Relations. He is now Professsor of Homiletics at Princeton Theological Seminary. He bases this article on an extensive report he prepared for the interdenominational Association for Christian Training and Service (ACTS) of Memphis.

Gone are the Golden Days of King Cotton . . .

MEMPHIS: The Pain Of Transition

by John W. Aldridge

YOU don't have to take it from the Chamber of Commerce. Memphis is one of the more beautiful cities in the country. It is also, historically and geographically, a Southern city. Economically, it is a growing, progressive city; politically, it reflects its Southern heritage. Although the foundation and basis of early Memphis reflected a civilization "gone with the wind," there are still many there who reminisce nostalgically and hope for a return to the golden days of King Cotton and the romantic river boats.

The Memphis of the 1930's and 40's was bossed by E. H. Crump and his henchmen and cronies. Mr. Crump was in many ways a benevolent dictator. His regime reflected the paternalistic approach of the South, and was, in effect, an operating aggrandizement of the Southern feudal system.

The 1950's brought air-conditioning and the break-up of the Crump machine. Don't underrate air-conditioning. One would be hard pressed to say which played the more dominant role in the post-war growth of Memphis. The new-found political freedom brought industry, but air-conditioning opened the way for many major corporations to make Memphis a regional headquarters. Memphis began to boom. According to the Memphis Chamber of Commerce, it is now the "seventh fastest-growing city in the nation" and the 24th largest city in the nation.

To meet this situation many of the city's business and political leaders led the fight for a change of city government from the old mayor-commissioner system to a mayor-council form of government. This was called the "Program of Progress" (POP), and in a city-wide vote, this passed in late 1966. This system guarantees more area representation, thereby including Negroes in the governing board for the first time. But, as white Memphians wanted, there are six councilmen elected at-large, and seven from districts, thereby promising the continuation of the white majority since Negroes in Memphis make up only 38 per cent of the population.

In the mid-1950's Memphis' business, political, and ecclesiastical leadership had joined together to avert the possibility of Memphis' becoming another Montgomery or Birmingham. When you consider the geographical location of Memphis, you must salute those of both races who worked so hard to overcome what seemed to be insurmountable problems. Yet this was to go the way of all things. The reason was that the movement was, by and large, paternalistic. It viewed the Negro cause as a good "cause," thereby worthy of its concern and endeavors. But the rules were white rules. Negroes who would play by these rules were invited to participate in order to give the movement authenticity. There was no equality—just white initiative and black rubber stamp.

The city elections of the fall of 1967 demonstrated the stance the majority of white Memphians wanted to take, and this position was to have a profound effect on the future of the city, and also on the nation. Although there were some excellent persons of both races elected to city-wide positions, and to the new City Council, the motto of the incoming mayor, Henry Loeb, was to represent the desire of the voters. "Be proud again" was understood by white Memphis, not in context, but rather as a return to the past, the nostalgic security of another period of time. The polls only confirmed the decision that had been made by white Memphis during the previous months. The tragedy is that this determinative vote was the ballot of the white "Christians" of Memphis. All in all, Memphis entered the year 1968 bound to the past, yet challenged by the present. Memphis had become a city, but Memphis was not psychologically, politically, or sociologically prepared for the problems of urbanization it faced.

The sanitation workers dispute of the spring of 1968 was to be the issue that vividly illustrated all the ills of the philosophy (and theology) of white Memphis. If anyone had wanted to see a living illustration of what the report of the **National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder** meant when it said, "This is our basic assumption: our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal." Memphis was the place to look. The issue itself could have been easily resolved had it not been for the white pressure on the mayor to stand fast.

The issue was essentially that of human dignity, as J. Edwin Stanfield has so well pointed out in his report for the Southern Regional Council, "In Memphis: More than a Garbage Strike." Unlike New York, in Tennessee there is no Taylor Law, which provides for a legal grievance procedure. The strike, like that of the hospital employees which was to follow in the fall, was basically one of union recognition and a legalized grievance procedure — human dignity vs. paternalism.

The black churches came to the support of the striking sanitation workers and the black community solidified for the first time in its existence. Mass meetings were held every night, and the Memphis chapter in civil rights was being written.

One significant attempt at reconciliation must be mentioned. This was led by Rabbi Wax, president of the Memphis Ministers' Association. Rabbi Wax called some of the leaders of the association together. These men were able to get the two parties to agree to talk, beginning on the night of Sunday, February 18. The talks eventually broke down.

It must be pointed out that the white press had, through rigid and biased reporting, and through completely backing the Mayor, created an atmosphere that hastened polarization and not reconciliation. For those whose only contact with the strike was through the news media, it was almost impossible to have any objective understanding. Only those close to the movement understood the total situation.

Because the white community was inflexible, the black community was forced to use drastic tactics in order to achieve purpose. These included a boycott of the downtown stores and all Loeb (owned by the brother of Mayor Loeb) establishments, along with the white newspapers. Daily marches were also scheduled from Clayborn Temple to City Hall. When these methods would not move the white community to seek a settlement, the Negro leaders had no other recourse than to escalate. Bayard Rustin and Roy Wilkins were brought to town and spoke to large gatherings at Mason Temple.

Then Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was asked to help. Dr. King came to the city and spoke to a packed house at Mason Temple on the night of March 18. A massive march was scheduled for Friday, March 22, but was postponed due to the second biggest snowfall in the history of Memphis—over 17 inches. An announcer on DWIA, the Negro-programmed (but white-owned) radio station, stating that the march had been called off, commented, "White power has won out over black power today." The march was re-scheduled for March 28. Due to the actions of the young black militants, this march not only failed, but raised the crucial question as to whether the non-violent approach to human rights was a thing of the past. This ill-fated march was one of the reasons that Dr. King had to return to Memphis the following week. Dr. King preached his final, eloquent sermon at Mason Temple on the night of April 3.

Earlier the same day, Wednesday, the predominantly white Memphis Minister's Association met at St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral with members of the Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance, representing the black ministers. After much discussion it was voted to proceed to the mayor's office from the St. Mary's parking lot on Friday morning at 10 o'clock, to insist the mayor find a solution to this crucial issue that was tearing the city apart. On the morning of Thursday, April 4, the Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance met at the Mississippi Boulevard Christian Church with members of the Memphis Ministers'

(Continued on page 11)

MEMPHIS: An Updated Skyline on The Mississippi.

During Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, January 18-25, the Question is More Pertinent than Ever:

When And How Can The Catholic Church Join NCC?

by Jo-ann Price

WHEN Roman Catholic Archbishop Terence J. Cooke, of New York, paid a pre-Thanksgiving visit to the Interchurch Center, headquarters of the National Council of Churches, he remarked that he felt like "part of the inter-church family."

The prelate's tour and the cordiality he met at every turn were highly symbolic.

For the big question now between Catholic ecumenical leaders and representatives of the 33-denomination National Council of Churches is this: When and how can the American Catholic Church become an official member of the Council? Or, rather, what organic relationship is proper at this time?

Between May, 1966, and last May, a 36-member top level Catholic-National Council Working Group met regularly twice a year. A Steering Committee named by it conferred once a month, pressing forward dialogue topics ranging from education and the liturgy to social action, missions and mixed marriages.

Smaller groups formed

Then something happened. The joint working group decided last May to dissolve and name a much smaller group.

"We were so encouraged in our dialogue," said the Rev. David J. Bowman, Jesuit priest who serves as associate for ecumenical relations in the National Council Division of Christian Life and Mission, "that the group felt we should no longer talk about general topics but should talk about the organic relationship of the Catholic Church to the National Council of Churches."

The membership question has pursued the joint working group like the hound of Heaven ever since the larger discussions were initiated by representatives of the U.S. Bishops' Committee on Ecumenical and Inter-religious Affairs and top echelon National Council ecumenists.

It received a major boost in December, 1966, when the council's General Board, meeting in Miami, Fla., approved a resolution urging that, "the Roman Catholic Church be recognized as being in agreement with the preamble to the constitution of the NCC and that the Roman Catholic Church be added to the list of communions in such agreement."

Speedy membership

Now, the smaller committee, headed by Dr. Cynthia Wedel, NCC's associate general secretary for Christian Unity, and the Rev. Bernard Law of the bishops' committee, will explore membership in depth.

The question has many complexities, according to Father Bowman. One, he indicated, is that Roman Catholicism is both international and national, whereas the National Council comprises primarily American church bodies.

Further, the 18-year-old National Council operates like a parliament, with votes at its assemblies accorded constituent Protestant and Eastern Orthodox communions on a formula based on proportional representation.

If, say, the Roman Catholic Church in America was to become a member, it could have more than half the votes in the Council because there are some 47.4 million Catholics in the U.S., while the church bodies in the National Council together number 44 million members on their rolls. How could this situation be resolved or bypassed?

"Nobody wants to come and take over the Council," Father Bowman observed, "so it is imperative that we find some other organic unity.

"There is great willingness to enter into open discussion of this relationship in the future."

Some persons might ask, Father Bowman commented, whether there really is "one Roman Catholic Church in America — in a way similar to NCC churches. His answer would be yes, he said. "American Catholicism has its own style of working, and the formation of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in an organizational form makes it possible to think of this relationship with the National Council and its individual churches."

The close ties presently enjoyed by Catholic ecumenists with National Council leaders are the culmination of many events since the Vatican II Decree on Ecumenism, promulgated Nov. 21, 1964, opened a new era of interchurch relations.

Instances of Catholic membership in state and urban councils of churches have occurred in more than 40 cities since the Archdiocese of Santa Fe in 1964 became the first Catholic diocese in the nation to join a state council, according to a recent estimate by the Rev. Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, general secretary of the Council. Frequently, councils, as happened recently with the Protestant Council of New York, have had to change their constitutions to admit Catholic parishes or dioceses.

"Ecumenism is the opposite of parochialism, the opposite of extremism," Dr. Espy told a National Workshop on Christian Unity in Detroit last June. "It seeks to unite, not divide. It is fairness against fanaticism, breadth against bigotry, openness against suspiciousness."

The multiplication of dialogue groups—what Dr. Espy terms the "ecumenism of conversation" —is seen in scores of projects.

They range from the world-level talks conducted by the Joint Working Group of the World Council of Churches-Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity of which Dr. Espy is a member to hundreds of local Living Room Dialogues across the nation.

The purpose of such confrontations is primarily to pinpoint areas of agreement and disagreement, to destroy stereotypes and to take a prayerful look at the nature of the Christian church today.

One of the best-known joint worship ventures is the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, to be held Jan. 18 through 25 with the theme, "Called to Freedom." The occasion, observed in hundreds of parishes, is sponsored in the U.S. by the Faith and Order Department of the National Council and the Roman Catholic Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs. It was begun several decades ago by the Graymoor Friars. In the area of "secular ecumenism," or cooperation, the last year has seen increasing numbers of Roman Catholic specialists joining forces with National Council experts in the fields of special ministries, domestic and overseas missions, church-state relations, poverty, peace and programs to feed the world's hungry.

Sisters Affiliate

One of the most dramatic events in this area of collaboration came Nov. 22, 1968, when the Medical Mission Sisters, a Philadelphia-based order with 700 members in 14 countries, were accepted by National Council's Division of Overseas Ministries as an affiliated agency.

Since Vatican II, the atmosphere and mood toward the ecumenical movement toward Christian reunion has varied among members of the Council-Catholic dialogue.

"We may be in a period of swallowing what we've chewed," said the Rev. Dr. Robert C. Dodds, director of Ecumenical Affairs of the National Council.

"You know, when the Vatican II Decree on Ecumenism came along, and we began our dialogue, it was like a python swallowing an elephant. We're not in a period necessarily of regression, but we have to take some time to digest."

Pope Paul's birth control encyclical, **Of Human Life,** had various repercussions among the National Council colleagues of Father Bowman. Most disagreed, but some, especially the Eastern Orthodox, thoroughly approved. Did it set back the dialogue? he was asked.

"My own view," he replied, "was that we would be better off without the encyclical. The reaction of people here was that 'we're all hurt by this.' "

"You see, many people here look to the Pope as a chief Christian spokesman for authentic Christian concerns. There was no exulting, and no one was leaping for joy or saying to me, 'Well, your guy really goofed.' Many were saddened, though the Orthodox felt it represented their position rather closely. As the authority problem developed the reaction was uneven."

"After the walkout in Washington from Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle's sermon, someone at a Wednesday night meeting at a Presbyterian church in New Jersey registered this kind of reaction. "Well, now we believe Vatican II — the idea of conscientious personal witness is a reality among Roman Catholics."

"I'm still a square as far as episcopal authority goes — I believe Catholics must take Pope Paul seriously. But part of the problem has been that in this day and age, we can't afford to propose teaching that people aren't going to take seriously."

Has the ecumenical movement stalled?

"Catholics and Protestants have found it has been making great progress at top official levels and at academic levels," observed the Rev. John Sheerin, editor of the Catholic World and member of the original National Council dialogue.

"But the results at the parish level have been disappointing. I think it's the fault of the clergy, more so with Catholics than with Protestants.

"Young people used to be the backbone of the ecumenical movement in the early days. Now a lot of them are talking about the shortcomings of organized churches. They feel they can do more by the individual apostolate, in the ghetto. They feel ecumenism is fuddy-duddy."

Another aspect of what Father Sheerin thinks is an ecumenical sluggishness is that "the closer we get to unity, the more footdragging there will be."

Many Protestants may feel, he commented, that they got out of a superchurch at the time of the Reformation, and might be asked whether they would be getting back into it through the ecumenical movement. ■

Miss Price, former religion editor of the N.Y. Herald-Tribune, is a special correspondent of the Long Island (N.Y.) Catholic *for which she originally wrote this article, reprinted here by permission.*

A recent interreligious service at the Interchurch Center, New York City. From left: Father David J. Bowman, S.J., National Council of Churches staff; Monsignor Thomas Rigney, New York Archdiocese; Archbishop Cooke; the Rev. Dr. Eugene L. Smith, Executive Secretary, U.S. Conference, World Council of Churches.

The annual Thanksgiving service at the predominantly Protestant Interchurch Center in New York became an historic ecumenical first in 1968 when Roman Catholic Archbishop Terence J. Cooke participated as a leader in the service. Scenes like the following are becoming commoner as the great branches of organized Christendom move closer together in spirit and action . . .

Before Thanksgiving Archbishop Cooke became first ranking Catholic prelate to visit the Interchurch Center officially.

Speaking from the chapel pulpit, Archbishop Cooke said he felt a part of the Interchurch Center Family: "Our work is to create a climate which makes further cooperation possible."

Following the service, His Excellency met with many Catholic staff members who are among 2,000 employed at the Interchurch Center.

Archbishop Cooke is introduced to a luncheon gathering that followed the staff reception by Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, NCC General Secretary.

Three Who Are

MAKING UNITY WORK

by Dorothy Rensenbrink

IF as it's said, "God works in mysterious ways his wonders to perform," then surely one of the wondrous ways is the slow and steady movement of the tight little islands of once-separated, competitive churches into a kind of new continent of faith and the faithful. Within Protestantism mergers are happening so often they are no longer news. In society at large, every coloration of faith, Christian and non-Christian, appears on the spectrum of action for justice.

Totally commonplace nowadays are the joint presences of Protestants and Roman Catholics in planning sessions, liturgical discussions and meetings centered on a whole host of issues and concerns that confront Christians in a torn and confused world.

But perhaps more important than the noise of solemn ecumenical assemblies and the hush surrounding off-the-record gatherings of hierarchs is what's happening where humbler people are at work most days of their lives.

And so we come to the story of three who are making unity work. They are two Roman Catholic priests and a Catholic nun, who are staff members of the National Council of Churches — an organization that so far must be labeled Protestant, Anglican and Eastern Orthodox and no more.

In order of their appearance in NCC's executive staff midst they are, Father David J. Bowman, S.J.; Father Edmund Delaney, a Franciscan from the Graymoor Friars; and Sister Ann Patrick Ware, of the Sisters of Loretto.

Sister Ann Patrick only recently joined the NCC's Division of Christian Unity, in its Department of Faith and Order, to explore and report on the touchy subject of intercommunion. For a few months prior to this she conducted theological seminars under the aegis of Church Women United. She came to the Council from Webster College in Missouri, where she headed the theology department. The other day she told this reporter: "People don't care about abstract 'truth' so much any more — they care about People." Questions about the nature of Truth used to be raised and it was considered in its classical concept — as an abstract ideal, and loved in that way, she says. But today it is generally considered that Truth is not abstract, that it will prevail regardless, and that how it prevails in the life of human beings is what really counts.

She thinks the theology of both Catholic and Protestant today is greatly influenced by Bonhoeffer's concept that what is most Christian is that which is most human. That is why the humanity of Jesus Christ is emphasized more than His divinity, she says, and adds that in historical terms, "we can't do much else in this day and age since the other has been done already."

Personalism in philosophy and existentialism have also added to this influence on theology, she continues, so that once the abstract definitions of the Trinity and other religious concepts are learned, people are eager to get on to what it means to "become a person." Abstract essences no longer hold the fascination that concrete existences do.

The way truth or existence is manifested in Sister Ann herself is one of the interesting things about her. One of the "new" nuns who has discarded the flowing habits of another day, she looks at first sight like any attractive suburban matron. But if one is out to discover nun-like qualities in her, they are there to be found. A quiet kind of seriousness lies beneath her ready smile and she goes about her business of launching a major study on intercommunion with an economy of fuss.

When asked to comment on the differences between Protestants and Catholics, she couldn't "lump the Protestants together in any personal-characteristics kind of way." But when talking about the Church, Protestants more often quote Paul, while Catholics place the emphasis on the Gospels, she finds.

Her departmental colleague, Father Delaney, thinks the Catholic and Protestant churches are like "two ships passing each other in the night.

In Sister Ann's office, the three talk about Unity Trends, **a Faith and Order Department publication to which they all devote some time.**

You're reaching for authority and have learned the pitfalls of too much freedom, while we've learned the pitfalls of too much authority and are reaching for freedom," he says.

Father Delaney is information editor of **Unity Trends**, an ecumenical theological paper published by the National Council's Faith and Order Department and **Our Sunday Visitor**, Roman Catholic weekly. He is full of stories about the different Roman Catholic religious orders. After hearing about how various New York-based groups of Franciscans (who emphasize simplicity) are tied by their traditions, memories and loyalties to such an extent that they find it hard to unite with each other, one begins to realize that that "great monolith" of American Catholicism is a complete figment of the Protestant imagination.

Add to the troubles of one order, the Italian Catholic emphasis on emotion and color, the Irish on severity, and all of the national characteristics as they are expressed through religion, along with the emphasis of the different Catholic orders on scholarship, contemplation, simplicity, teaching, mission, unity — all this and one winds up with a kaleidoscope as varied as all the denominations of Protestantism put together. Father Delaney thinks there is no basis for denominational fear of giving up some autonomy and points to the Catholic experience that demonstrates how widely varying traditions and beliefs can exist under the umbrella of one church.

Father Bowman, although he comes from the scholarly Jesuits, seems to fit as naturally into his three-hatted bureaucratic executive existence as the proverbial hand-in-the glove. He is Director of Ecumenism for the Society of Jesus in America and for the NCC he is Associate for Ecumenical Relations in the Division of Christian Life and Mission, along with being an Assistant Director of the Department of Faith and Order.

In these related assignments he is in a position to have one of the longest and clearest views of relationships between the Catholic and Protestant churches that exists. He thinks this is now changing from the stage of church people simply meeting with each other to discover what each has in common with the other, to the stage of looking for some organic unity.

One example of this movement is the fact that the joint working group set up in May, 1966 by the NCC and the U.S. Catholic Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs to discover points of agreement has been dissolved. In its place now is a smaller group, formed to discuss areas where structural unity might be possible. The first group was headed by Archbishop John Carberry of St. Louis for the Catholics and Dr. John Coventry Smith of the United Presbyterian Church for the NCC. It was made up of twenty Catholics and twenty Protestants who found so many areas of agreement in its three years of existence that it became apparent there was no longer any need for it to continue, Father Bowman says.

He finds that in the many bi-lateral conversations going on around the country between theologians (Catholic-Presbyterian, Catholic-Lutheran, Catholic-Episcopalian, etc.) there is much disagreement, but it is rarely formed along church lines. Rather the lines are often drawn along educational, cultural, and even psychological backgrounds. Thus there exists a natural unity between conservative, liberal, and radical churchmen of different traditions in theological matters as well as in social and political affairs, he says.

Father Bowman combines an uncanny memory for names and a comic way of looking at things with his bureaucratic skills. Although he is director of Ecumenism for the Jesuits in America, 90 per cent of his time is taken up by and in the NCC. A favorite speaker at local and state councils of churches meetings, he finds the times increasingly busy and exciting — a view that all three of these new-style workers for unity share. **(For more on Father Bowman's ideas, please turn to pp. 6 & 7.)** ■

Father Edmund Delaney and Sister Ann Patrick Ware discuss assignments with their new boss, NCC General Secretary R. H. Edwin Espy, while Father David J. Bowman listens in. The portrait above Dr. Espy is of Dr. Roy G. Ross, his immediate predecessor.

WASHINGTON COMMENT

THE DEPARTMENT OF PEACE

by Allan M. Parrent

IT was not too many years ago that the United States had a War Department. In the post-World War II reorganization of our military bureaucracy the old War Department became part of our present Department of Defense, now reportedly administering the third largest budget in the world (after the U.S. and U.S.S.R. national budgets). One unit of this military behemoth, the Strategic Air Command, even has as its motto, "Peace is our profession." Without denigrating the need for an adequate national defense in a world wracked by the rivalries, suspicions, and jealousies of nationalism, it is obvious that peace is not the primary purpose of any military establishment. While the absence of war may be a by-product, and a desirable one as far as it goes, of an adequate structure of national defense, there is a qualitative difference between the absence of war and peace which must be properly understood. (What is "adequate" is another matter which cannot be treated here.)

While government has an obligation to provide for the protection of its people, it also has the obligation to foster the development of peace and actively to seek reconciliation among nations to the degree that this is possible in the context of existing international relationships. There is at present no government department working full-time at fulfilling this obligation.

Allan Parrent

Political realism does not require us to look upon the international power struggle as a constant unreceptive to melioration. It does not require us gloomily to assume the inevitability of the customary, some of the cold-war-bound realists to the contrary notwithstanding. In fact, for the Christian who supports nuclear deterrence as morally defensible, there surely must be a qualification which says that the chief purpose of such deterrence is to buy time to work for peaceful alternatives. To do less would be legitimate grounds for questioning his credibility as both a Christian and a citizen of the nuclear age.

The Proposal

All of this is a prelude to a discussion of a proposal to establish a Department of Peace in the U.S. government headed by a secretary of cabinet rank, the purpose of which would be "to promote the cause and advancement of peace both in this nation and throughout the world." The bill to establish a Department of Peace was introduced in the 90th Congress by Senator Vance Hartke (D., Ind.) on September 11, 1968, with Senators Mark Hatfield (R., Ore.) and Ralph Yarborough (D., Tex.) as co-sponsors. A similar bill was introduced in the House by Representative Seymour Halpern (R., N.Y.) with 21 co-sponsors. The bill is to be re-introduced in the 91st Congress on February 10, 1969. It is expected that there will be about 20 Senate co-sponsors and 50 to 60 House co-sponsors.

The Secretary of Peace would advise the President regarding the progress of peace, develop appropriate policies and programs designed to foster this progress, and encourage coordinated planning in this effort among the nations. There is a hope that this would extend the philosophy of checks and balances to the area of foreign affairs and separate traditional responsibilities of several present departments from the new responsibilities for peace in a nuclear age. There is also a belief that such a development would provide some creative tension in our foreign policy administration similar to that experienced as a result of the creation of separate departments for commerce and labor.

Basic Provisions

The provisions of the bill can be briefly summarized. Title I would establish the Department and broadly define its duties. It would transfer to the Department of Peace the following existing agencies: Agency for International Development, Peace Corps, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, International Agricultural Development Service of the Department of Agriculture, and certain functions of the Commerce Department's Bureau of International Commerce. Title II would transfer the Export-Import bank to the new department. This provision is absent from the House version of the bill. Title III would establish an International Peace Institute, in some respects a parallel to our service academies, which would prepare citizens for service in positions or programs related to the promotion of international understanding and peace. Title IV provides for the establishment of a "Peace by Investment Corporation," an idea which has been proposed independently. It would encourage an expanded flow of private capital investment from the U.S. into economically sound enterprises in the underdeveloped world. The corporation would also hopefully enlarge the number of private investors engaging in international investment, gradually reduce the need for U.S. public investment and grants overseas, and direct a higher portion of the flow of U.S. capital abroad into underdeveloped areas. Title V would establish a Joint Committee on Peace in the Congress similar to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Coordinating Efforts for Peace

Basically the whole idea, which incidentally is by no means a new one, having first been suggested in 1799, is to give focus, visibility, and power to those now disparate elements of our society and our government concerned with what is really the world's number one priority — peace. Most of its functions are already authorized by Congress, but dispersed among several agencies with varying degrees of weakness. All of these functions, it is maintained, could be operated more effectively as part of an integrated whole than as a separate entity, and the total impact would certainly be stronger than the combined impact of the separate parts. As Senator Hartke points out, if we needed new Departments of Transportation and Urban Development, because of the proliferation of independent but related efforts in those areas, we certainly need the concentrated positive efforts such as a Department of Peace could command.

The bill itself is by no means fixed and firm. Detailed hearings on it could very well result in some major changes in its contents. One criticism has already been aimed at Title IV and its Peace by Investment Corporation. Some of the criteria for an investment program, it is felt, might militate against investments in essential projects, such as hospitals, universities, etc., which might not be as "economically sound" or potentially profitable as other less essential projects. Others have asked for clarification on the proposed department's relationship to multilateral bodies, especially the United Nations. Still others question the political wisdom of creating a peace agency independent of the traditional political and military agencies to which its substance is so inextricably bound.

Nevertheless, if the deeper realism which understands with Pope Paul that "development is peace" is ever to be manifested in action, it is clear that peace must be given priority in deed as well as in word and that this must be reflected in some fashion by the way our government organizes and implements its efforts in this direction. A first step in doing this might very well be to put a Department of Peace on a par with the Departments of State and Defense and to recognize that economic aid, technical assistance, increased trade, and arms control all have an essential unity of purpose. That purpose is peace, and its attainment will be very closely related to the degree to which we all recognize that real national security depends at least as much on development and arms limitation as it does on vast defense establishments and new weapons systems. The extent of that recognition may be measured in some degree by the success of present efforts to get the idea of a Department of Peace included in the Nixon inaugural address. ■

"Peace Is Our Profession"

it says here . . .

NCC AND WCC MEETINGS USHER IN AN ECUMENICAL 1969

New York — Meeting tandem fashion, the nation's largest and the world's most comprehensive ecumenical bodies will jointly usher in a year of overlapping 20th anniversaries with two important policy sessions. The first will bring together representatives of 33 U.S.A. denominations for the mid-winter meeting of the National Council of Churches' General Board in Memphis, Tenn. Jan. 21-24. The World Council of Churches' Executive Committee will meet the following week in Tulsa, Okla. Jan. 27-30. The year will be climaxed by the National Council's seventh triennial General Assembly, to convene in Detroit next Nov. 30-Dec. 5.

In Memphis this month, the NCC's interim governing body will face a full business agenda at the Sherton-Peabody Hotel. The opening service of worship Tuesday, Jan. 21 at 7:30 p.m. will recognize the new era in American political life with a special prayer of intercession for the new U.S. president (who will have been inaugurated the day before), for the Congress and the nation.

Worship services on the remaining two mornings will be conducted with special reference to the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity.

Among more important program reports to be submitted to the Board will be one by Dr. Charles Spivey, director of the NCC's Crisis in the Nation Program, and a discussion of a study of social violence. Reports by the Council's Ghetto Community Development Investment Committee and its Task Force on Alcoholism will be featured.

Among speakers to address the Board at special off-business functions will be Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, general secretary of the World Council of Churches and a former NCC president. Other leading overseas churchmen will stop over in Memphis on their way to the WCC's Executive Committee meeting in Tulsa. Their presence will be recognized at an ecumenical luncheon Friday noon. Leading NCC personalities who will be in Tulsa for the WCC meeting include NCC president Arthur Flemming; general secretary R. H. Edwin Espy; and Mrs. Cynthia Wedel, associate general secretary for Christian Unity of the NCC.

Following the January meetings, WCC and NCC leaders will participate in six regional ecumenical seminars under the sponsorship of local councils of churches. Places and dates for these seminars will be announced later.

CHURCH AGENCIES GET U.S. PLANES FOR BIAFRAN AID AIRLIFT

WASHINGTON, D.C. — (RNS) — Representatives of three major religious agencies supplying aid to Biafra met here with State Department and Air Force officials to consummate the "sale" of eight C-97G "Stratofreighter" cargo aircraft. The price was set at $4,000 per plane, established as the scrap value of each. Each plane is capable of a maximum cargo capacity of 36,500 pounds—nearly twice that of planes currently used in the mercy airlift.

Bishop Edward Swanstrom of Catholic Relief Services, James MacCracken of Church World Service and Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee mapped out details of the transaction with two government officials.

While the C-97G's are still listed by the Air Force as "functional," they are described as "no longer required by the U.S. Air Force." Original price of the planes was $1,205,165 each.

NEGRO SUPPORT OF HUMPHREY IN MISSISSIPPI IS CITED

GREENVILLE, Miss. — An analysis of the presidential vote in Mississippi last November conducted by the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches disclosed that the state's black voters backed Hubert Humphrey by 90 to 99 per cent while only 3 to 6 per cent of white's supported the Vice President.

An analysis of the voting was released by Owen H. Brooks, director of the Delta Ministry here.

"The vote for the Democratic Presidential electors was 90 per cent black and 10 per cent white," his report stated.

"Selected black areas showed a 99 per cent vote for Humphrey," it added.

From selected all-white precincts it was found that the vote for Mr. Humphrey ranged from 3 to 6 per cent—in rural areas the figure was as low as 2 per cent.

QUAKER AGENCY SENDING AID TO NLF-CONTROLLED AREA

PHILADELPHIA — (RNS) — The American Friends Service Committee announced here that it has sent the first consignment of a $25,000 shipment of procaine penicillin to civilian war sufferers in areas of South Vietnam controlled by the National Liberation Front, political arm of the Vietcong.

AFSC officials said it was the first time in the Committee's 51-year history that the agency has made such a shipment without U.S. government approval.

DR. FEY ON U.S. CHURCH IN 1999: ONE-THIRD OF PROTESTANTS UNITED

INDIANAPOLIS — (RNS) — One-third of American Protestants will be united before 1999, Dr. Harold E. Fey predicted here.

Dr. Fey, professor-emeritus at Christian Theological Seminary, is the former editor of **Christian Century**. He wrote on "The Church in 1999" for the 50th anniversary issue of World Call, magazine of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).

He said he thankfully anticipates the union of one-third of the U.S. Protestants within the next decade. The way to unity, he added, is shown by the Consultation on Church Union (COCU), representing nine Protestant denominations.

He also foresaw strong Protestant-Roman Catholic cooperation, but with the likelihood that "forces of obstruction in Catholicism and Protestantism" will cause disruption and suffering.

TOLEDO COUNCIL PLANS UNIQUE CHRISTIAN UNITY OBSERVANCE

TOLEDO, Ohio — Months of hard work and close cooperation between the Toledo Area Council of Churches, the Roman Catholic Diocese of Toledo and the Eastern Orthodox Churches of Toledo have culminated in ten Ecumenical Neighborhood Clusters of church members dedicated to extending Christian Unity Week throughout the year through "grass-roots Living Room Dialogues."

Meetings of local Cluster groups early in December ended in a central "report-and-plan" session of local Cluster Planning Committees. These groups had prepared their own physical arrangements, personnel to conduct the litany and homily, and for discussion groups, using materials provided at the national level, including the Living Room Dialogues series, published jointly by the National Council of Churches and the Paulist Press.

Cluster groups also have been provided with a check list of problems, concerns and issues "in **our** neighborhood," covering physical environment, economic relations, political realities, the educational system, social services, municipal and agency services and religious cooperation. The ten Neighborhood Ecumenical Clusters will meet on 10 consecutive week nights in preparation for a Rally on Jan. 26. Attendance is expected to top 15,000.

ANALYSIS OF PROPOSED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORP. NOW AVAILABLE

WASHINGTON, D.C. — In anticipation of the reopening of Congress, the Washington Office of the National Council of Churches has prepared a background paper on a new proposal for dealing with the problem of poverty in the nation. Calling the proposed Community Development Corporation "an important new approach," which will be considered by Congress in the next session, the office director James A. Hamilton said, "under the terms of the present legislation, a Community Development Corporation is a stock business corporation which could be formed by the residents of any area which is substantially below national norms in either income or employment."

Under the proposal, any resident of the area over 16 could become a stockholder by purchasing a $5 share and each stockholder would have one vote, regardless of the number of shares he owned, and could hold office.

Mr. Hamilton explained that the CDC would create opportunities for community residents to own and manage business enterprises and would use part of the subsequent profits to sponsor community self-help projects such as day-care centers, job-training, legal aid, etc. Most important, said Mr. Hamilton, the CDC would provide its shareholders with a stake in the economic life of their communities and would enable them to sponsor projects in their community "as **they** see fit."

The proposal has been publicly endorsed by 32 senators and 22 representatives. Single copies of the analysis are available from the NCC Washington Office, 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL AGENCY CALLS FOR MANY REFORMS

RALEIGH, N.C. — (RNS) — The Commission on Christian Social Action of the North Carolina Council of Churches has adopted a Statement of Legislative Principles in which, among many other proposals, it calls on the 1969 N.C. State Legislature "to repeal the statutory laws barring interracial marriage."

It also "urged the school and political officials as well as the citizens of North Carolina to continue steps toward furthering the integration of our schools."

The council commission said it would "support legislation by Congress outlawing discrimination in housing based on race, color or national origin."

The commission called on North Carolina's Legislature to abolish the death penalty in North Carolina and "upon the Congress of the United States to abolish capital punishment within its jurisdiction."

MEMPHIS: The Pain of Transition

(Continued from page 5)

Association in attendance. At this meeting it was decided that both groups should appoint committees to work together in drawing up a statement to read to Mayor Loeb the following day.

The tragic murder of Dr. King, on that fateful Thursday, was to be the stimulus for many ministers to stand up and be counted. Such was the case on the morning following the murder, when both black and white ministers met at St. Mary's Cathedral for a Memorial Service for Dr. King and then proceeded to the mayor's office for the purpose of imploring him to settle the present crises with "swift dispatch."

Two facts stand out concerning the ministers' "walk" to City Hall. First, there was a great deal of criticism of the participating ministers, which illustrated the general thinking of white Memphis. Second, this visible demonstration of concern on the part of the ministers portrays a basic organizational and structural void in the Church in Memphis. Had there been a viable corporate church structure, such as a live church council, the ministers would have been able to use this base much earlier.

The pain of Memphis was apparent in the aftermath of the murder. Due to the vigorous leadership of the Reverend James Lawson, Judge Ben Hooks, and other black leaders, Memphis did not burn, although there was sporadic looting and arson. Two white reactions were apparent on Sunday, April 7. The first was one of secular attrition. Many whites were not sorry one iota that Dr. King was murdered, but they were sorry that he was murdered in Memphis. These groups began to attempt to restore the "image" of Memphis as the "city of good abode." The other group under the leadership of John T. Fisher, in coordination with the Negro leadership, set about forming what became known as "Memphis Cares." On Sunday afternoon they held the largest integrated meeting ever attended in Memphis at Crump Stadium. Both black and white speakers addressed the throng.

During the next week the city went wild with frantic meetings. The pain was there, but the organizational resources to accomplish objectives through co-ordinated effort were not. There were joint black-white meetings in every area of the city's life — political, social, economic, ecclesiastical — yet no groups had keys to make things work. For the first time there was the will to do the type of things that had been so needed in Memphis for so long, but the city was the victim of its 19th century institutions' attempting to operate in the latter 20th century.

Several efforts were made to ease tension and increase understanding. The Church Women United and the Roman Catholic Church held open forums as a means to this end. An "Interfaith Conference on Religion and Human Needs" was held at Southwestern College and the Rivermont Motel. This conference brought in outstanding national church leaders such as Bishop John T. Hines, Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, and John Anderson, Executive Secretary of the Board of National Ministries of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. One of the most productive factors to come from this conference were the discussion groups on Education, Employment, Housing, and Recreation. Generally these discussion groups pointed out that there are two distinct and different viewpoints in Memphis:

1. The viewpoint of the white establishment which sees Memphis as making great strides in these areas over the past several years.

2. The minority that is not represented in the establishment which sees that there is much work to be done to right present wrongs, and to end the discriminatory patterns that exist in every segment of the social order of Memphis.

As the churches' policy makers for the National Council meet in Memphis in late January they will see a physically beautiful city on the Mississippi. But behind the blend of natural and architectural beauty there remain the problems built up from a by-gone era. The out-dated political viewpoint is as real as the slums most visitors never see. Racism is deeply rooted, and the best efforts of the white Church still reflect the paternalism of an outmoded system. The gallant men who cry out for true change (Biblical repentance) are still branded as communist, along with the National Council. The Memphis the visiting churchmen find remains the city where Martin Luther King died for a cause yet far from won, a city unwilling to let go of the past. ■

"I Am Not Sad That Black Americans Are Rebelling . . ."

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S LAST WORDS FOR THE NATION

By Religious News Service

DR. Martin Luther King, Jr., in a lengthy survey of the human rights movement prepared just before his assassination, said that the predominantly black dissent against inequities in American life is the country's hope.

"I am not sad that black Americans are rebelling," the late civil rights leader announced. "This was not only inevitable but eminently desirable.

"Without this magnificent ferment among Negroes, the old evasions and procrastinations would have continued indefinitely. Black men have slammed the door shut on a past of deadening passivity. Except for the Reconstruction years, they have never in their long history on American soil struggled with such creativity and courage for their freedom. These are our bright years of emergence," said Dr. King. "Though they are painful ones, they cannot be avoided."

He made his survey of the human rights movement's future in an article in the January 1969 issue of Playboy magazine. The article was tape-recorded exclusively for Playboy in late March, 1968, just before Dr. King's death in Memphis. The edited version was approved by Mrs. Coretta King, the clergyman's widow.

Dr. King hit hard at the inequities of American life which discriminate against the black and poor. He criticized the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, saying that the two Presidents had been given "much undeserved credit" for helping the American Negro. "This credit has accrued," he said, "only because it was during these two administrations that Negroes began doing more for themselves. Kennedy didn't voluntarily submit a civil rights bill, nor did Lyndon Johnson. In fact, both told us at one time that such legislation was impossible." Although President Johnson "responded realistically" by getting bills through Congress "that other men might not have gotten through . . . (he) has not been nearly so diligent in implementing the bills. . . ."

Stupefying Complexity

But Dr. King's criticism did not center on a few men. Pointing out that "separate problems" have now merged into a "social crisis of almost stupefying complexity," he stated: "White America must recognize that justice for black people cannot be achieved without radical changes in our society. . . . The black revolution is much more than a struggle for the rights of Negroes. It is forcing America to face all its interrelated flaws — racism, poverty, militarism and materialism. . . . It reveals systematic rather than superficial flaws."

Dr. King explained that his indictment of "white America" did not refer to skin color, but to an attitude. "We have found that there are many white people who clearly perceive the justice of the Negro struggle for human dignity. Many of them joined our struggle and displayed heroism no less inspiring than that of black people."

With some exceptions, he claimed, relations between whites and Negroes in the human rights movement "are now on a much healthier basis. In society at large, abrasion between the races is far more evident — but the hostility was always there." The Negroes are just expressing what they long felt, he said. Dr. King challenged the idea of "most white people" that Negroes have made great gains in the passage of national legislation. Racism is still a brutal and daily fact to most Negroes, he said, even if the whites are not aware of it.

Although the late civil rights leader said "the aura of paramilitarism among the black militant groups" speaks "more of fear than of confidence," he rapped white critics of programs adopted after riots had taken place. "Many white people think that we merely 'reward' a rioter by taking positive action to better his situation. What these white people do not realize is that the Negroes who riot have given up on America.

"When nothing is done to alleviate their plight, this merely confirms the Negroes' conviction that America is a hopelessly decadent society. When something positive is done, however, when constructive action follows a riot, a rioter's despair is allayed and he is forced to re-evaluate America and to consider whether some good might eventually come from our society after all. . . .

"It is a paradox that those Negroes who have given up on America are doing more to improve it than are its professional patriots. They are stirring the mass of smug, somnolent citizens, who are neither evil nor good, to an awareness of crisis."

World Perspective

Dr. King saw the crisis not only in national, but in an international perspective. He condemned the Vietnam war as "in one sense, a result of racist decision making." And he suggested that American Negroes can become "a bridge between white civilization and the non-white nations of the world, because we have roots in both."

American Negroes, "if they were in decision-making positions," could give "aid and encouragement to the underprivileged and disenfranchised people in other lands," he suggested.

Dr. King pointed out that America has had a long history of dissent. Today's dissenters, he said, "tell the complacent majority that the time has come when further evasion of social responsibility will court disaster and death. America has not yet changed because so many think it need not change, but this is illusion. America must change because 23 million black citizens will no longer live supinely in a wretched past."

The article, entitled "A Testament of Hope," concludes by pointing out that Jesus had only the poor and despised as his disciples, but changed the course of mankind.

"Naive and unsophisticated though we may be," said Dr. King, "the poor and despised of the 20th Century will revolutionize this era. In our 'arrogance, lawlessness and ingratitude' we will fight for human justice, brotherhood, secure peace and abundance for all.

"When we have won these — in a spirit of unshakable non-violence — then, in luminous splendor, the Christian era will truly begin." ■

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In the Los Angeles Mexican-American community: "People are uptight, afraid to picket or get involved . . ."

THE CASE OF THE CHICANO 13

THE only time that most segments of the Mexican-American community in Los Angeles ever got together on anything was last spring when high school students staged a walkout and parents, politicians, clergymen, teachers and other professionals and non-professionals backed their demands for better education.

These demands ran parallel to many that were then being voiced across the land by blacks and whites on high school and college campuses. They included such things as: revised curriculum to reflect contributions in society of particular ethnic groups; the removal of school personnel who displayed prejudice; smaller classes to increase learning potential; the employment of more teachers who live in the community where they teach; open buildings at all times; and, most important to Mexican-American students, bi-lingual and bi-cultural education.

Now, more than nine months later, the entire Mexican-American community is caught in a political power-play that many feel was designed to snuff out the community spirit that emerged last spring and to quash further organizing efforts of the Chicano community.

At the center of all this are 13 Mexican-Americans who have been indicted by the Los Angeles County Grand Jury on three basic charges of conspiracy to disrupt the schools, conspiracy to disturb the peace, and failure to disperse when ordered by the police to do so. Their trial is tentatively set for sometime in February.

Under California law, a walkout—such as some five to ten thousand students participated in last March — as a misdemeanor. The maximum sentence on a charge of disrupting the schools would be a fine of $10-$100. Conviction on charges of disturbing the peace and failure to disperse would ordinarily bring penalties of up to 90 days in jail and/or a fine of up to $500.

With the charge of conspiracy, however, what is ordinarily a misdemeanor has been converted into a felony, punishable by up to three years in prison. Since 15 counts have been returned against each of the 13 defendants, all — if convicted on each count — could serve prison sentences of up to 45 years.

Though the walkouts staged in four predominantly Mexican-American schools were planned and led by the students themselves, none of the persons arrested are students. Most are recognized leaders in the Chicano community with a history of organizational activities.

For the Chicano community throughout the Southwest, the pending trial has obvious import in that it will test the right of Mexican-Americans to organize and protest against aspects of society that they feel are discriminatory to them. More than that, however, the trial may well prove to be a test-case of any American citizen's right to dissent, as guaranteed in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution:

The Rev. George Cole of the United Presbyterian Synod of Southern California explained: "If this case is made to stick in California, anybody who contributes to the staging of a demonstration is liable for a misdemeanor charge. If the demonstration was planned — and few are not — any contributor could be charged with a felony. If this kind of action is a felony in California, it may very well be a felony elsewhere in the U.S."

Mr. Cole, who is in charge of the synod's work with the Spanish-speaking, noted that California has been the scene of numerous demonstrations by a wide variety of groups, but "this is the first time that a protest has been construed to be preceded by a conspiratorial act."

Oscar Acosta, defense attorney for the "Chicano 13" said that "the idea of conspiracy has been used very sparingly and then only in such instances as gambling and narcotics or political crimes."

In the case at hand, two Grand Jury hearings have been held in the Superior Court chambers of Judge Kathleen Parker, and some significant issues have been raised.

The first hearing took place October 21-November 6 to deal with a defense motion to quash the indictment on grounds that the Grand Jury for the County of Los Angeles "was and is illegally constituted" because of under-representation of Spanish-Surnamed persons.

L.A. Police Try to Restrain Walkout by High School Students.

For the first time, defense attorneys were able to get onto the record three major legal issues:

1. That Spanish-surname is a classification sufficient to identify a group of persons as distinct from the majority population within the county;

2. That there has been a long-standing and continued disparity between the percentage of Spanish surname persons in the total population as compared to the Spanish surname persons nominated for Grand jury duty;

3. That proof of the above "is sufficient to raise a presumption of discrimination with respect to Spanish surname persons."

In subsequent testimony of some 40 witnesses for the defense — many of whom were Superior Court judges — it was brought out that, while Mexican-Americans constitute 12 percent of the population, only 1.99 percent have served on the Grand Jury in the past ten years.

"Over a period of ten years — out of 1,055 nominees — the judges have selected only 30 Spanish surname persons," Acosta said. "And these are not 30 individuals; only 18 individual Mexican-Americans have been nominated."

The motion to quash the indictment, however, was denied. Judge Parker ruled that the defense have not proven "intent to discriminate" on the part of Superior Court judges.

The second hearing was held in mid-November to present a petition for a Writ of Habeas Corpus. That petition stated that the prosecution of the 13 Chicanos was beyond the jurisdiction of the court in that it denies them rights of freedom of speech, press, assembly and redress of grievances, and that the use of the conspiracy statute "constitutes cruel and unusual punishment.'

That motion to dismiss the charges also was denied.

In the meantime, the pending trial "has had a chilling effect on activities on the Mexican-American community," Acosta said. "People are uptight, afraid to picket or get involved in much of anything because of the threat of conspiracy charges if they do."

Others in the city, however, are cognizant of what conviction of the Chicano 13 could mean to their own rights and are moving to help. A Chicano Legal Defense Fund has been set up and its sponsors include members of the brown, black, and white communities. Among them are Paul Schrade, regional director of United Auto Workers; Los Angeles City Councilman Thomas Bradley, a black; Walt Bremond, chairman of the Black Congress, coordinating agency of some 50 black organizations in South Central Los Angeles; Eason Monroe of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Cesar Chavez, founder and director of the United Farm Workers' Organizing Committee. Chairman of the legal defense fund is the Rev. Antonio Medina, a United Presbyterian who is director of the United Neighborhood Association of Los Angeles and director of La Casa Neighborhood House, San Gabriel.

An "Amicus Curiae" (friend of court) brief has been filed by the Southern California Council of Churches, which states in part: "In the case at bar the facts clearly indicate intentional and systematic discrimination without any reasonable justification therefor. Under such circumstances, prosecution of the defendants is patently unconstitutional . . ."

None would deny, however, that much more needs to be done if the rights of all persons are to be protected — not abused — by the law.

Eliezer Risco, one of the defendants, was blunt in his appraisal. "This is a political case. The Los Angeles power structure cannot allow otherwise because there are millions of Mexican-American waiting to see if we get away with it," he said.

"Unless the Church backs the Chicano defendants in a massive way," he added, "the case may be lost." ■

Supporters of community leader Sal Castro carry him on their shoulders at meeting to promote better education for Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles.

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In Pace With The Changing Church

APPALACHIA AND THE RURAL SOUTH

TEMPOsitions . . .

Our Myths And What To Do About Them

by Truman Douglass

THERE are myths that cloud the whole problem of poverty and unemployment and justify a policy of inaction in this realm. Some of these myths are listed in as radical a publication as the *Harvard Business Review:*

"Poverty is the result of indolence; anyone who really *wants* a job can obtain one."

"The poor we will always have with us."

"Businessmen should commit themselves to making money, politicians to saving the cities, do-gooders to saving the disadvantaged, and preachers to saving souls."

Having listed these myths, the *Harvard Business Review* proceeds to demolish them one by one. One of the most ancient and honorable occupations of the Hebrew-Christian community is that of idol-smashing. There was never a time when that activity was more needed than today. Our idols are not graven images. They are the self-justifying mental "images" fashioned by the holders of privilege to replace the demands of the God of justice and mercy.

We must begin to "tell it like it is." This means ceasing to employ euphemisms and circumlocutions.

The second — and perhaps the most important — function of the mission is to find ways of applying the unique therapy of the Christian faith to the disease and madness of our time.

An observer at a conference of white and black churchmen remarked that the white churchmen seemed unable to get beyond a kind of grovelling confession of sin toward their black brethren.

That confession is necessary. The offenses of white men against our black brethren, in which all of us have shared, are equally an offense against the God of all men.

But there is another note in the Gospel message which is left out of the contemporary dialogue. All of us appear before God as sinners. But we also appear before God as *forgiven* sinners. An event occurred on a hill outside a city, in a place called Golgotha, where the Son of God laid down his life for people like you and me.

If we accept this event as part of our own history, it means that man is not obliged to go on forever dragging behind him the accumulated burden of his individual and corporate guilt. We are not bound to the past. We are made free to ask, "What is our duty and what is our opportunity NOW?"

It is possible to compensate a person for

Dr. Douglass

an injury you have done to him, but to resent the compensation in such a way that the gulf of alienation between him and you is widened rather than narrowed. It is precisely at this point where the Christian Gospel can speak with power. For it can introduce the healing and restorative element into the conflict of this tragic but enormously hopeful era in the human story. This can take us beyond remedial action to genuinely therapeutic action; in which the rectification of ancient wrongs is accompanied by the healing of the Gospel; in which the sinned-against and the sinner are both liberated and redeemed.

There are three steps in the process of restoration and redemption according to the Christian pattern.

First, *Confession.* (White America has confessed its sins against our darker brethren — sometimes partially, sometimes reluctantly, sometimes almost pathologically.)

Second, *Restitution.* Pay back the stolen money. Restore the stolen justice and human dignity. (White America has moved at least a little way toward doing this.)

Third, *Receive the Forgiveness* that is offered to those who have confessed and are now making restitution. This we have not yet done. And I would hold that a distinctive service of the Church is to help people learn how, with honesty and humility, to accept the forgiveness which God offers in Jesus Christ. Until we do this we shall go on perpetuating all the hostilities and self-protective devices which a bad conscience generates. At some point there must be a new start. That point is where God's grace intervenes with the assurance of His pardon and His victory over our sins.

I still think that the most characteristic Christian deed is an act of celebration, in which the heart is borne upward by a soaring, rejoicing gratitude for all that God has given to us and done for us out of His boundless love for us and for all His people.

I pray that the whole life of the Church may be such an act of celebration, and that in it we may celebrate the miraculous gifts God has given man to be used in His service and for His glory.

Dr. Douglass retired at the end of 1968 as Executive Vice-President, United Church of Christ Board of Homeland Ministries. He is National Council of Churches Vice-President for the Division of Christian Life and Mission. His editorial is based on a fuller statement appearing in last April's issue of The Journal, *monthly organ of UCC's Council for Higher Education.*

LAST ISSUE'S COVER — When we went to press with the January 15 issue, the identity of the pretty girl holding the "war resister" balloon on the cover was unknown to us. But word has since reached us, to the gratitfication of a number of inquiring readers as well as us, that she is Miss Aminda Stern, guitar-playing sophomore at Nyack, N.Y. High School, and 16 year-old-daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Lee Stern of that town. Mr. Stern is with the Peace and Social Action Program of the New York Yearly Meeting, Religious Society of Friends, and had a major hand in originating and organizing the Celebration of Conscience at Allenwood, Pa., reported on in the same TEMPO issue. Mrs. Stern works at the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Nyack.

In this issue, TEMPO accents in two articles the neglected subject of U.S. poverty rural style, as reported from the scene in Appalachia and the Deep South. Related features include Dr. Douglass's editorial on this page, Reo Christenson's piece on the family allowance scheme, and David Ackerman's report on the Community Development Corp. idea.

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Are Police-Community Relations Worse Than We Dare Think?

THE CHURCHES LOOK AT THE POLICE

A Special TEMPO Report by Harold Schachern

GARY, Ind. — The Joint Strategy and Action Committee (JSAC) met here to discuss "Church, Police and Power" and went away fearing that American police-community relations are worse than they had dared think.

The interdenominational group deals with the planning, experimentation and funding of projects related to critical American social issues.

Speakers and workshop sessions not only criticized police policies, but had some harsh words to say about the unwillingness of the Christian Church to take a firm public stand against the growing belligerency of American police officers.

As the specialists in church-related urban work from across the land traded experiences in disintegrating police-community relations, it became like a television replay of the police in Chicago's Grant Park during the Democratic national convention.

For example, a Presbyterian clergyman from New Jersey reported in a workshop session that weeks before the Chicago police rioted, police in Paterson went on a rampage, raiding the local office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference with tear gas grenades, rocks and rifle butts.

The Rev. Dudley Sartafy described how Paterson police then swept through the ghetto attacking members of minority groups, singly and in groups, clubbing them and leaving them unconscious on the streets without any charges being placed against them. No incident triggered the attack, he said.

A 27-year veteran of the San Francisco Police Department now with the Community Relations Division of the Department of Justice, said he finds this same police attitude and militancy across the entire nation.

Daniel Andreotti described conditions in Los Angeles' Watts section as "a barrel of gun powder waiting for a spark."

"Here as elsewhere," Andreotti said, "reports of police brutality come back marked, 'no merit to the case.' "

A former FBI agent, William Turner, charged that the police of America, particularly the FBI, have lost interest in combatting organized crime.

Rather, he said, they are pre-occupied with attacking unpopular political activity, focusing on minority groups and college students.

Turner, now a senior editor of Ramparts magazine and author of the book, "The Police Establishment," said police officers' associations, by their nature, are precluded from political activity, yet they represent a lobby in Washington comparable to that of the National Rifle Association.

Throughout it all, spokesmen said, churches neglect or refuse to use the power they possess to stand up and say, "stop it, we've had enough."

A Chicago minister, the Rev. Grant Noland, told how he saw a 15-year-old Negro youth shot in the back and trampled to death outside his parsonage by an off-duty policeman as two on-duty policemen stood by and watched.

Mr. Noland, pastor of Drexel Park Presbyterian Church, said that since the murder, one witness has been scared out of town, two boy witnesses have been offered $2,000 each to change their stories, and he and his wife have been harassed over the telephone with threats of violence.

He said a friendly police captain has stationed picked men around his house on a 24-hour basis to protect his family.

"I have even had to apologize to my congregation for daring to be a witness," he said. "Some of my parishioners have asked me what I was doing there when, after all, it was 'only a nigger.' "

After listening to stories of police atrocities, particularly in Chicago, a Catholic priest, Fr. Tracy O'Sullivan, said his principal concern in that city was neither Mayor Richard Daley nor the Chicago police.

"What frightens me is the fact that the vast majority of Chicago whites believe that the police in Grant Park acted in a perfectly proper manner," he said.

"In the all-white Catholic high school in which I teach, 34 out of 35 girls I polled thought police behavior was just fine."

Echoing this, a Chicago civic leader said these conditions will exist all across America so long as church leaders accept them.

William Barry, director of the Chicago Urban League, said in a workshop session that "police will act in exactly the way their superiors demand that they act."

"Police superiors, on the other hand, are not going to demand good performance until our churches insist on it."

Commenting on Mayor Daley and the Chicago police, Barry said the removal of Daley would accomplish nothing.

"Chicago people think Daley is so important that they blame him for rain and snow and give him credit for Lake Michigan," Barry said.

"Mayors aren't as important as we seem to think. Daley is merely the product and the captive of the system.

"The situation in New York is no better, despite the efforts of a reform administration. Mayor Lindsay is merely a nicer guy than Daley, but it makes no difference."

In welcoming the consultation, Gary's black mayor, Richard Hatcher, said police departments with a record of brutality in race relations tend to be corrupt in other areas of law enforcement.

"When there is permissiveness regarding certain laws," he said, "police become lax and corrupt in the enforcement of all laws.

Hatcher, who in a little more than a year has done much to clean up this once vice-ridden city, said crooked police superiors find it is impossible for them to maintain discipline.

He said he had been forced to change almost the entire top echelon of his police department to restore honesty and good community relations.

During 1968, he said, and as a result of the changes, not a single formal charge of police brutality was brought against the department.

In a formal presentation to the group, Androtti said that black ghetto and campus riots are not a new phenomenon in America's national life, merely the seventh in a series.

The former San Francisco policeman said Americans suffer from "historical amnesia" when they consider their traditionally violent nature.

"We are a violent country, with recurring periods of violence," he said, "but we forget Shay's Rebellion when discouraged farmers took over the law and the courts by violent means to win justice.

"We forget the anti-Catholic riots, the Irish riots of 1844 in Philadelphia, and the Civil War draft riots when in five days more than 2,000 people were killed.

"We forget the anti-Chinese riots in California in 1870, which were particularly brutal, and the labor riots of the 19th century. In the Pullman strike alone, 16,000 federal troops had to be called up to restore order.

"Then, there were the anti-Negro riots of 1919-1920, which really weren't riots at all, but simply whites attacking blacks."

In all his travels, he said, he has seen not one instance where police have tried to change white attitudes toward blacks. Instead, he said, they arm themselves with ever more sophisticated and deadly weaponry.

Police refuse to adopt new procedures as recommended by study groups and the continuing breakdown in police-community communications is becoming extremely dangerous.

In a speak-up session, the Rev. Richard Moon, a Presbyterian minister working in Memphis, said Memphis State University had instituted courses in criminology and urged local police officers to attend them. Uneducated police superiors, however, saw the courses as a threat.

"They wanted no educated patrolmen around," Mr. Moon said, "so when a policeman requested a change in shift to permit him to attend classes, he not only was refused, but was moved to an absolutely impossible shift."

Victims of police brutality said here that charges against them inevitably were multiplied when they complained.

Similarly, witnesses to brutal police acts soon became victims or were forced to live in mortal fear.

Religious groups participating in JSAC are the National Council of Churches, the Episcopal, United Methodist, Presbyterian, U.S. and United Presbyterian Churches, the American Baptist Convention and the United Church of Christ.

COMING IN TEMPO'S NEXT ISSUE . . .

THE POLICE AND THE BLACK AMERICAN

WE SHALL HANG IN: THE JOHN FRY STORY

WHY POLICE POLICY IS THE CHURCH'S BUSINESS

The Great Migration

The Rural South Is On The Move—OUT

by Phil Santora

THIS IS the story of the greatest migration in this nation's recent history—a a vast population shift involving mostly poverty-ridden Negroes—and one whose causes and effects have become a national problem.

To get a first-hand picture of the reasons for the migration, this reporter and a **News** photographer traveled two weeks in the South. We couldn't get a complete picture—the canvas is just too huge—but we talked with enough people in Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana to confirm a suspicion frequently voiced.

Needy Millions on the Move

That suspicion, badly stated, is that Negroes, many of them made surplus by labor-saving farm machinery, are being pushed out. Some would say frozen out.

Result: The burden of caring for these people is being transferred, on a gigantic scale, to cities in the North and West.

This story, it must be stated, comes largely from people eager to complain and protest. The others wouldn't talk or weren't available.

Some idea of the proportions of the exodus is provided by U.S. Census Bureau and Department of Labor figures, which reveal that in the years 1960-65 more than two million Negroes left the South.

Of these, one million found their way to New York City. Most of the remainder, following the lead of relatives and friends in the tradition of the migrant and immigrant, went to Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Washington, Philadelphia and other large cities where the opportunities for jobs —and more liberal public assistance—were more plentiful.

Handicapped by Lack of Skills

Seven years ago, 60% of the country's 19 million Negroes were still living in the South—despite the heavy migration of the late 1930s, when Negroes left by trainloads to get lucrative jobs in war industries.

By 1965, there were 21 million American Negroes, but only 53.6% of them were still living in the South. More than half the Negroes now living in the North and West were born in the South—and the migration continues.

The main reason Negroes leave the Southern states is to seek a better life—and the reason they can't find a good life where they are is because they are pressured economically.

Some of them can never hope to make the transition, but this doesn't stop them from trying. For instance, a migrant farmer who has spent his life in cotton, tobacco and peanut fields is poorly equipped to cope with the challenges of an industrial urban area where he lacks the skills to obtain a decent job and where he often winds up on welfare.

Attorney Randolph Blackwell, director of the Southern Rural Action Project, told us in Atlanta: "Human labor is being displaced in agriculture at the rate of 10% per year. The size of the problem, the people being hurt, the calendar of their increasing misery, and the timetable of their increasing despair have all been measured. A glimpse of the resulting consequences has been made clear in our major cities."

They Charge a Deliberate Squeeze

"Families of our Southern region are being driven from their land, homes and communities. They are simply asked to go away—any place. Get lost.

"They eventually arrive in the festering center of some large city—economically and educationally naked. They are homesick. They are culturally crippled. The dream they had suddenly becomes dirty as they battle vermin and see their children using traffic-choked streets as playgrounds."

Blackwell and other leaders—both Negro and white—charge that the continuing migration of

Children call this home, in Crawfordville, Ga.

rural families is part of a deliberate squeeze by the Southern states and there is ample circumstantial evidence to support their contention.

Said a white civil rights worker: "The reasons for the squeeze are simple. The Southern states, particularly those with very large Negro populations, are afraid that the Negro will become a significant factor in politics. I've heard whites down here say, 'We don't get them out, we're going to have a colored boy for governor.'

"The Negro here has become a victim of agricultural technology. That's true. But he is also the victim of an insidious sort of discrimination —the kind that coldly starves him off the land."

Puts Part of Blame in Washington

A spokesman for the National Sharecroppers Fund said: "The Department of Agriculture is partly to blame. It seems to me that it should have foreseen agricultural mechanization years ago and that it should have taken steps to set up training programs and crop diversification to keep these people on their farms.

"The department has always been under the influence of Southern congressmen—and they seek to keep their power. There are numerous instances where a Negro farmer, who has 20 acres, has only three or four in production—with a shaky market at that—while his white neighbor has 18 of his 20 working for him.

"You hear them say that the Negro farmer hasn't the modern tools to work with and that he can't do justice to the land for that reason.

"That sounds logical on the face of it. However, it is also true that the Negro farmer, applying for a loan to buy equipment, is invariably turned down.

"As a result, many of these people have simply given up. They used to think they had a good year when they broke even. Now, they can't even break even. They're starving. When a man is starving he moves on—usually North."

Migration statistics show that those who do move on are in the 20 to 45 age bracket, which leaves the majority of those remaining in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana in the "too young" or "too old" category.

The Charlie Miltons of the South are too old to move on—but the conditions under which they are forced to live are graphic evidence of why others migrate to the nearest cities—be they Atlanta, Birmingham or New Orleans—or farther North or West.

The thing that struck us about the shack in which Charlie and Phoebe Milton live in Taliaferro County, Ga., is that it looks like something out of "Grapes of Wrath." The Miltons still work a "patch" of cotton—which is unusual since cotton has become a mass-produced crop and has moved out to California and Arizona.

Charlie Milton is 65—a slim, wiry man who has bent to toil since he was eight and who seems to straighten up with an effort. He has five grandchildren living with him and steadfastly refuses to move off his land—even to accept his son's invitation to move to Atlanta.

"Lots of people around here gave up," he told us. "They moved to the cities. Whites, too. Most of them moved to Chicago. Me? I don't know if I break even or not this year."

The migration involves not only the Charlie Miltons but Negroes who have good educations

Encountering hostility sometimes, co-ops are on increase in South. Here local white woman teaches sewing to Rosa Swan and Mary Beasley at Crawfordville Enterprises Co-op.

—and loss of these educated people constitutes an intellectual drain on the South.

"Poor whites" have also been leaving the South, but since they are in the minority the emphasis has naturally fallen upon the migrating Negroes.

Scattered throughout the poorer sections of the South, often in the face of bitter opposition from white landowners and politicians, Negroes are banding together in cooperative marketing groups—partly to have a long-delayed voice in their own economic destinies, but mostly to cling to the land instead of fleeing to city slums as so many of their race have done over the past decade.

The "co-op" is an old device, but it is new to the Southern Negro. And while economists do not yet see it as a panacea for the ills that beset the rural South and its people, nevertheless they admit it establishes a healthy pattern of self-help.

This reporter and photographer visited some of the co-ops to see first hand some of the efforts being made to stem the tide of "The Great Migration."

Alabama Black Belt Co-op a Success

In race-torn Selma, Ala., more than 800 Black Belt farmers—all but one of them Negro—are making a huge success of the Southwest Alabama Farmers Co-operative Association.

In Lafayette, La., we found that a Negro Catholic priest, Father Albert J. McKnight of Brooklyn, has — after eight years — built the Southern Consumers Co-operative into a 700-member group that is branching out in several fields.

And in Crawfordville, Ga., the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty in 1967 started a project which members hope will grow into a significant economic factor in Taliaferro County during the coming year.

To a casual observer, it might seem that the areas in which the co-ops operate would welcome them as a means of making the poor Negro element self-supporting and thus taking the load off the public assistance programs, meager though these may be.

However, Selma's cooperative ran into trouble early—partly because its initial promoters were civil rights workers who were active in the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery freedom march.

Local people would not buy the co-op's major crop—cucumbers. White farmers charged unfair competition.

Charge U.S. Is Behind Movement

When the Office of Economic Opportunity stifled its own misgivings about Selma's co-op leadership and gave the group $400,000 to continue its work, Alabama's Governor, the late Lurleen Wallace, promptly rejected the grant. She charged Washington was financing a black power movement in Alabama.

The cooperative has become a model for others. Farmers in the area it serves have never made more than $1,500 a year — but with better prices for their produce they are now making a decent living and are content to remain where they are. It is this last — remaining where they are — that discomfits the white politicians, say its members.

Fr. Albert McKnight, formerly of Brooklyn, N.Y., has helped build consumers cooperative in Lafayette, Louisiana.

By big city standards, the members of the cooperatives would be largely classified as unskilled workers and would find it impossible to obtain any but the most menial of employment. However, they are farmers and they are happily pooling their resources — including knowledge, equipment and hard work — to become independent.

Branching Out Into Bakery Products

Even the boycott of their products is fading — and lately some of the Selma co-op's bigger orders have come from Southern firms.

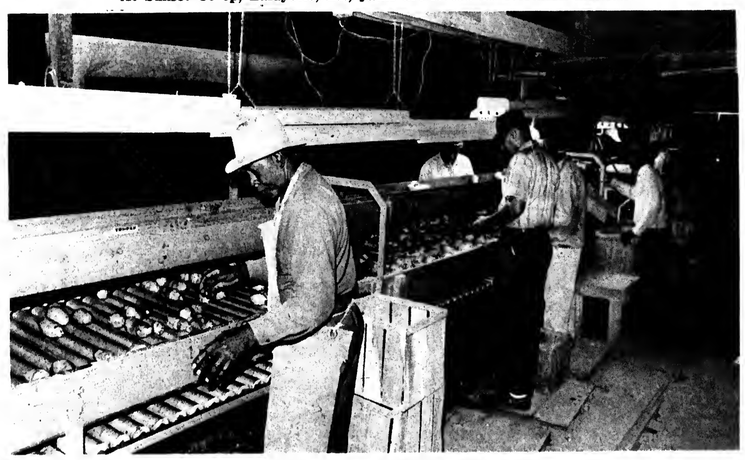
The same cannot be said of Father McKnight's cooperative in Lafayette, La. Last year, 85,000 bushels of sweet potatoes were shipped from the group's sheds in Sunset — and every bushel went to Northern markets.

Father McKnight has also branched out in a bakery co-op, but again this is largely a mail-order business because of local resistance to the co-op's products.

The bakery actually is in Lake Charles, 70 miles away — but the shipping is done from a trailer in Lafayette.

Economic boycotts are an old story to Father McKnight. "Our primary enemy," he said, "is apathy. In this area, though it is bad enough, poverty is not quite the problem it is in other states. Trying to get these people to move in the right direction, to improve themselves and their lot is not an easy task."

At Sunset Co-op, Lafayette, La., yams are sorted for Northern markets.



The Ford Foundation has also given a $578,000 grant to the Southern Consumers' Education Foundation — also governed by Father McKnight —for aid in developing cooperatives among low income groups not only in Louisiana, but in Alabama, Mississippi and southwestern Tennessee.

In Crawfordville, Ga., we visited the newest of a series of cooperatives. This project is in the hills of Taliaferro County, one of the poorest counties in Georgia — an area where a family of four exists on an annual income of $796.

Half of the homes in this area are without piped water and the average education level for a population of 3,370 (of whom 2,096 are Negroes) is only 7½ years of hit-miss schooling.

Calvin Turner is 35 and he was born here. "I went to school in this very building," he said, waving at the log building in which workers made polo shirts and do silk screening. "We don't have many members, but we're growing as people become interested and are trained for the job."

Turner studied agriculture at Fort Valley State College in Georgia and taught for nine years. Like some of the people working on the project, he lost his job because of civil rights activities.

"I was teaching high school and my wife, Florence, was teaching elementary school," said Turner. "We were both fired. But right now we have something they can't take away from us—we have 94 percent of the Negroes in this district registered so they can vote."

White Women Help Train Negro Women

On the day we visited Crawfordville Enterprises, Robert Billingsley, chairman of the board of the co-op, was excited because some white women from Blue Ridge, Ga., had come to help train some of the Negro women in advanced phases of sewing.

"You don't know what a lift that gives our girls," he said. "Usually, the white people do little but throw obstacles in our path."

Visiting homes in this area clearly shows why many Negro families have either left, are planning to leave or are merely wishing they could.

Mrs. Jessie Collins is a widow who lives on $104 a month — $83 from welfare and $21 from social security as a widow's pension.

She has five children and two grandchildren living with her "and I'm getting the hell out of this place first chance I get."

"Maybe I'll go to Atlanta and live with my daughter," said Jessie. "But I'd rather go North. Things are easier there. I don't have many of my old neighbors left anymore. They moved out—and I'm going to follow them."

Their Exodus to Start at 18

Mrs. Emma Harris, two miles down the road, is the mother of nine and she said she would try to stick it out. "But not my children," she said. "As soon as they come of age — 18 — they're going away from here. Next year, maybe, one will leave. Then another. There's nothing to keep them here. My man can't give them what they need on the few dollars he makes at the sawmill."

Has the incentive of these people been destroyed? Leonard E. Smith, Atlanta field director of the **National Sharecroppers Fund**, said, "They haven't lost their incentive; they just never had any."

He added: "There is a definite conspiracy in the South. Call it collusion if you want. They want the Negro out before he learns to exercise his vote. Federal programs that would help the Negro are ignored, or put into operation on a token basis."

A young Negro college graduate said, "The Negro is impatient. And why should he wait? My grandparents waited and my parents waited and they got nothing. They're tired of waiting.

"What you see in the back country around here is one of the reasons why they migrate to the cities — and the fact that they are trying to get all they can through whatever means they can shouldn't surprise anyone."

'Elsewhere' Means N.Y. to Many Negroes

Some things were left unsaid — such as how the South is squeezing the Negro out of his home and forcing him to settle elsewhere.

"Elsewhere" has meant New York City to roughly half the Negroes who have left the South during the last five years — and a great many of them have ended up on welfare.

A few weeks ago, Welfare Commissioner Mitchell I. Ginsberg said: "I think in the Southern

(Continued on page 11)

"The Frightening Facts of Appalachian Poverty Forced Us to Move—Together"

FROM SAVING TO SERVING—THE CHURCH IN APPALACHIA

by Colman McCarthy

This is the story of CORA (Commission on Religion in Appalachia) and the 12-state region it is designed to serve. CORA was established in 1965 by 17 cooperating denominations, the National Council of Churches, eleven state councils of churches and the Council of Southern Mountains, to develop a united approach to church work in an area beset by poverty and largely bypassed by industrial and technological advance.

WHEN I drove into Clairfield, Tennessee on a recent visit, the first sight I saw was a large roadside rock emblazoned with yellow letters. "Prepare to meet thy God," it said. My first reaction, admittedly lighthearted, was "well, this is good news. God is alive and well, and lives in Clairfield." But soon, regardless of where God was, the fiercer reality came through: in Clairfield, very little is alive—and even less well.

Like hundreds of other towns and near-towns in the Appalachian region that spans from lower New York to upper Alabama, Clairfield is a crater of No's: no jobs, no doctors, no sewage system, no growth, no nothing. Except for the heroic stamina of its 200 local people to endure all this, about the only other plus for Clairfield is its 14 churches. Usually, these are one-room, one-light buildings. But the people who worship in them are openly and strongly religious. Even an outsider, no matter the shortness of his visit, quickly notices how the people freely talk about "the ways of the Lord," their sensitive pride in keeping their church buildings clean, the way the Bible is read, honored and quoted, the homes that almost always contain pictures of Jesus.

Yet a dark paradox surrounds all this religious feeling and belief in Clairfield and places like it: the more people heed the "demands of Jesus," the less they seem concerned about the demands of men—in this case, the demands each of them rightly has for health, education, employment, and justice.

In longer form, what this means is that mountain religion, at least as typified by the Clairfield area, is largely a next-world matter. The future life rules out concern for the present life; avoiding the hell of Satan somehow precludes destroying the hell of poverty.

Assuredly, nothing is overly wrong with an other-worldly religion, provided everything is fine in this world. But in Clairfield, and in countless, faceless other Appalachian towns, little is fine.

Right now, this is the great challenge facing the churches in Appalachia. It means that not only must the Christian churches stop fighting the wrong battles, but also instead of trying—often defensively and singly—to save men's souls, they must begin to serve men's needs.

Easily said. And for decades, rhetorical pledges like that have been mass-produced by everyone from high-placed bishops to low-paid missionaries. But presently, a better-than-average hope exists that this shift from saving to serving is finally and seriously taking place. Its source is the Commission on Religion in Appalachia.

CORA, by acronym, is headquartered in Knoxville, Tennessee. Not long ago, I went to see Max Glenn, CORA's dynamic director. Seated in his small office, under his Bachelor of Divinity diploma from the Christian Theological Seminary of Indianapolis, Mr. Glenn, 33, told me about the beginnings of CORA. "About 12 years ago, the failure and weakness of the Church in Appalachia became so glaring that it was obvious something had to be done. In 1956, church leaders from 15 religious communions working in the mountains met in Berea, Kentucky to discuss cooperative programs in religious education and church welfare.

"This conference led to the now-famous Ford Foundation Study — *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey*, edited by Thomas R. Ford and financed by the Ford Foundation. This was the first real attempt to find out about Appalachia, to go beneath all the happy myths conjuring up pictures of easy-living hillbillies of the L'il Abner species. As a result of the information brought to light through the Ford study, the Church began to move. The frightening facts of Appalachian poverty seared its conscience, and forced it to move.

Max Glenn, Director of CORA, points to approximate center of 12-state area embracing Appalachian region.

"But one problem still had to be worked out. Instead of the Baptists moving ahead separately, the Catholics moving separately, the Methodists moving separately, it dawned on everyone that we should move ahead together.

"So in November of 1965, CORA was organized—the Commission on Religion in Appalachia. Its purpose was to deal with the religious, moral and spiritual aspects of the economic, social and cultural conditions in Appalachia."

Mr. Glenn, although a card-carrying idealist, is also a practicing realist. He said that one reason for Appalachia's being a crater of poverty was the Church itself. "We've actually hindered many mountain communities from taking part in America's new economic and social advances. Back in the '30's, Franklin Roosevelt used to talk about 'the forgotten man.' He was saying that some 40 million people had virtually been left homeless and jobless by the Depression and that the Federal government should be remolded to champion the rights of these forgotten Americans. In time, with Federal help, the forgotten man of the '30's became the middle-class man of the '60's. But while all this was going on, the Church in Appalachia was not doing its part. It came on strong as ever with religion that was fatalistic, escapist, emotional and other-worldly. Thus while the rest of America moved forward, much of Appalachia didn't. Going into some towns in the region is almost like being transported in time back to the '30's."

Mr. Glenn is backed up by statistics. Unemployment in Appalachia is 9.2 per cent, against a national average of 5.5 per cent. Appalachia has 92 doctors per 100,000 persons, against 140 for the rest of America. The tuberculosis rate is about 10 times as high as the national average. Over 11 per cent of the adults have less than a 5th grade education, against less than 8 per cent for the rest of America.

I asked Mr. Glenn if he thought CORA was doing today in Appalachia what the Federal Government did in America with the New Deal.

"We're far from being an exact Xerox copy," he said. "But there are similarities and, we hope, equally good results."

Waiting for news at the pithead.

One man working for these results through CORA is Episcopal Bishop William E. Sanders of the diocese of Tennessee. In a lucid and to-the-point speech he gave last year in Knoxville, Bishop Sanders said: "It seems clear that the Church must develop fundamentally new attitudes toward this time and this world if she is going to help the Appalachian people find their place in rapidly changing society."

What Bishop Sanders suggests specifically is, first, "to inform the deep religious feeling and personal concern of mountain people with a real understanding of the Church and God's call to His Israel to be a servant—a people called out and gathered together, but then sent into the world to serve in His love and in His justice."

One example of this is the story of Harry Daly. Four years ago, Daly left a secure job as an insurance agent in Boston to live in Bell County, Kentucky. It meant gathering his wife and five children, selling his house, paying his own expenses to Appalachia and risking an unknown future. For the first two years, the Daly family lived with the people, "just getting to know them." "It's easy," said Daly recently, "to think you can 'help' the poor. But you can't really do anything until you know what they need and how they want to get it. This is something you can't learn in textbooks. You have to be *with* the people before you can work *for* the people."

Today, Daly is working for the Community Action agency in Bell County. He works with the local people to organize a farm cooperative for the adults and a day care center for the children. On top of this, he is gradually letting the people know that they have political power—but that unless they organize and politically threaten the local structure, nothing will come of it.

"There are many people like the Dalys in Appalachia," said Mr. Glenn. "They are the ones CORA depends on."

But this dependency also works the other way. One of the more productive services CORA presently provides is arousing interest among skilled and unskilled people concerning what they can do in Appalachia and where. As anyone who has ever worked for social change knows, often nothing is more bothersome than people eager to be "helpful." Dr. Ernest Nesius, vice president of West Virginia University and chairman of CORA, recently took up this point when he wrote: "Helping people is ticklish business. Perhaps the greatest weakness of all program efforts, in the face of unlimited program services and resources, is the failure to take the hopes, aspirations and wishes of the people — the supposed beneficiaries — into account. The helping hand is overburdened with administration, short-time political objectives, and uncoordinated efforts aimed at fulfilling an agency's or an external society's objectives rather than the objectives of the resident people."

This is why CORA has been emphasizing over and over to its 17 communions, 11 state councils of churches and other member groups that the Church must accept and honor the cultural values of the Appalachians.

For example, CORA believes that more harm than good may be done when an outside minister goes into a community and immediately begins talking up new industry as "the solution." On the surface, he's probably right. But beneath the surface, where culture runs deep, he is likely to be wrong or premature.

In the first place, mountain people are usually distrustful when factories spring up overnight. They have seen organizations come into the Hollows before, say good things and then plunder the mountains and possess the people. They know that if the factory or plant does yield a profit, an outside pocket will get the major share.

The second objection the well-meaning minister might not realize is that when a mountaineer works in a factory he is almost forced to adopt a new style of life, forego his own kinship with the seasons, his closeness to the soil, his inter-family relationships.

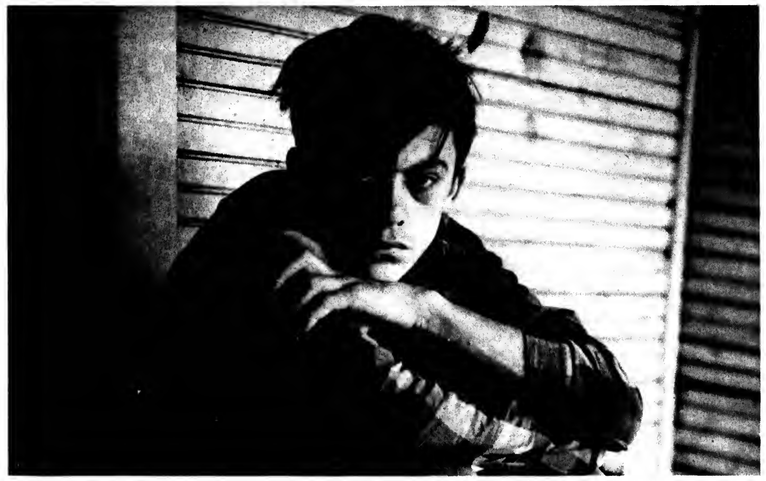
Despite this, in many cases an industry has come into an Appalachian community and actually did benefit it. But as Max Glenn remarked, "The community took an active part in getting the industry to come. It prepared for it — psychologically and culturally. It laid down the conditions. In this way, the people could be sure that both their pride and culture would be left intact."

In strictly adhering to this philosophy of noncultural interference, CORA has already scored a success. As for specific successes, Max Glenn told about the efforts underway within most of the participating communions to develop structures and programs representing each level of the Church — local, judicatory, and national — to work on a regional basis.

What is the future of CORA?

One thing for sure. In trying to get the churches to shift from an apostolate of saving to serving, CORA has already done its job. What remains to be done, though, is the more difficult effort of not only recruiting ministers and laymen to serve in Appalachia, but trying to keep up public interest in the region itself. Much evidence exists that America's middle-class is now bored with Appalachia. Hardly a flicker of protest arose when as far back as April, 1967 the "damn-the-poor" 90th Congress cut the Appalachian Development program from $527.7 million to $354 million. Worse than this, 60 Congressmen from the 12 Appalachian states voted to recommit the bill to the Public Works Committee.

Where lies the promise of life?



How can the rest of America learn to care?

One reason why Congress gets away with murder like this — and it almost is literal murder when you see children dying of worms in the belly —is that unlike the slums and ghettos of the city, Appalachia is almost powerless to strike back. America-at-large knows that although Appalachia is the country's largest ghetto, there is still no chance it will blow up every summer in a riot.

This is why CORA members are concentrating on a mission to middle-class America nearly as much as the people of Appalachia. CORA members are available for speaking and lecture dates to interested civic, school and church groups. Max Glenn himself is a regular visitor to Washington, New York and other large cities in a public relations effort to sell the idea of CORA.

By any standards worth caring for, CORA's idea is not a gimmick. In fact, its approach to Appalachian Christianity doesn't need selling at all — just explaining. Max Glenn refuses to condemn middle - class affluent America for the problem of poverty. "We are not unconcerned about the poor, we're just uninformed. This is why CORA must be explained. Because once we reach the affluent with the truth about what's happening in the mountains, poverty in Appalachia will no longer be an Appalachian problem — but an American problem. That's the only way we can begin to defeat it."

Mr. McCarthy is on the staff of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in Washington, D.C. A professional journalist, he was at one time speech writer for Sargent Shriver.

Family Allowances-

A NEW ATTACK ON POVERTY

by Reo Christenson

(The National Council of Churches is among a number of responsible organizations that have endorsed the principle or concept of the guaranteed annual income as an important way to combat poverty and ensure a measure of economic justice for people most desperately needing it. In this article, political scientist Reo M. Christenson proposes a kindred plan that he feels is, in a number of ways, even more viable.)

WITH Richard Nixon as President, the nation can expect few significant initiatives on the poverty front. He will not junk the poverty program altogether but he will have no appetite for innovations such as a guaranteed annual income or family allowances. Yet the plight of the poor remains one of the nation's most urgent pieces of unfinished business. That business must continue to be among our primary concerns during the years ahead.

Coming to grips with poverty requires a many-pronged attack. A dramatic improvement in the quality and character of education in the ghettos and among the rural poor is a prime necessity—the supreme necessity—if the so-called poverty cycle is to be broken. More and better jobs are urgently needed. So are an adequate housing program and better vocational and retraining programs.

But the most immediate, the most pressing aspect of the poverty scandal is simply the shortage of money needed **now** to maintain minimum standards of health and decency among our thirty million poor, and among millions of others who are in straitened economic circumstances. A program of minimum income maintenance cannot be brushed aside indefinitely.

"Family allowances are now securely established in every industrialized nation in the world except the United States."

Twenty-five years ago the celebrated "cradle to grave" Beveridge Report in England declared that family allowances were an "essential part of any well-rounded system of social security." Family allowances are now securely established in every industrialized nation in the world except the United States — just as the United States lagged behind European countries in establishing old age pensions, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, and health insurance.

Yet family allowances could be as acceptable and as politically invulnerable in the United States as they have proved to be abroad. Programs that benefit children usually get a respectful hearing; where they serve a genuine need in a generally affluent society they are pure political gold—at least after they are passed.

Eloquent Case

One statistic alone makes an eloquent case for family allowances. In 1967 the average unmarried industrial worker had a weekly take-home pay of $81.37; the average breadwinner for a four-member family had take-home pay of only $88.75. It is little wonder the low-income worker with even an average family finds it almost impossible to make ends meet.

Like the guaranteed annual income, a family allowance program could cost as little or as much as the nation decides. Economist Daniel P. Moynihan has estimated that if a program like Canada's, which pays six dollars a month for children under ten, eight dollars for those aged ten to fifteen, and ten dollars for those aged sixteen and seventeen, were upgraded to provide eight dollars monthly for those under six, and twelve dollars for those aged six through seventeen, it would cost $9 billion a year in this country. U.S. income taxes paid on these allowances would reduce the net cost by about one-fourth, he believes.

"Allowances would not banish poverty in the United States, but they would take a healthy stride toward that end."

Allowances would not banish poverty in the United States, but they would take a healthy stride toward that end. Approximately half of the thirty million poor in this country are children; the most serious cases of poverty are usually in large families.

Only ten per cent of families with two or fewer children are poor, but forty-two per cent with six or more children fall into that category. Negro poverty would be particularly affected by family allowances since Negroes, on the average, have larger families than do whites.

Family allowances could be inaugurated without incurring the drawbacks associated with guaranteed income. They would have little adverse effect on incentive. Payments would not be reduced as income rose—or if they were, the adults affected would be those least likely to lose incentive.

Family allowances would not significantly affect the birth rate, on the basis of Canada's experience. Since the introduction of allowances in 1944, Canada's birth rate has almost exactly duplicated that of the United States. The scholarly Christopher Green, in a study for Brookings Institution, declares that ". . . there is little or no statistical evidence that family allowances affect the birth rate. . . ."

Bypassed Families

Allowances would be a godsend to millions of hard-pressed families above the poverty level but below the national median family income of about $7,500. These families, as Moynihan has pointed out, are largely bypassed by the nation's present system of benefit payments. The rich have their tax loopholes and the poor have their poverty and welfare programs while the lower middle class pays a hefty portion of the bill. Lower middle class families constitute an increasingly embittered and conservative force in the nation's political life but they might be less hostile to constructive social welfare programs if a fair slice of the Federal welfare budget came their way.

It is important that benefits and tax adjustments be tailored in such a manner that a clear majority of American families would feel they derive an economic gain from allowances. This is probably essential to insure adequate political support for the program.

Even if allowances were reduced or eliminated for higher income families, full payments would be made to so many families that no charity stigma would be attached. Experience with family allowances in sixty-two countries demonstrates that they are **not** regarded by recipients as a distasteful form of charity.

Finally, if benefits were conditional upon children remaining in school (as in Canada), the high school dropout problem might be modestly improved.

What are the disadvantages of family allowances? Aside from the cost and the promotional work entailed in convincing the public that allowances would not raise the birth rate, it is difficult to think of any.

A family allowance program would not fully meet the income needs of America's poor. But tressed with complementary programs and reforms, it could come close to doing so.

Congress could properly raise Social Security payments to a level which would move a million or more elderly out of the poverty circle. The Brookings Institution recently proposed such higher benefits along with a GAI program for all ages. There is much to be said for the proposal by the Advisory Council on Public Welfare in 1966 that Congress devise a public assistance formula which insures that states pay a share of welfare costs proportionate to their per capita income, with the Federal Government making up the difference between a state's contribution and a respectable minimum figure.

"Honor System" for Welfare

New York City is currently experimenting with a simple but revolutionary plan whereby applicants become eligible for welfare merely by signing an income affidavit and declaring their need. No investigation precedes placement on the rolls, but a warning that spot checks are constantly being made puts applicants on their guard. An early survey revealed that only one of 450 applicants subjected to spot checks was found cheating. This plan would shear away miles of red tape, reduce the indignities of social worker snooping, and prevent long delays in qualifying for relief. It would enable professional social workers to practice their profession instead of being buried in clerical work.

The broadening of Medicare to meet the medical bills of children under ten years of age (beyond that age their medical bills drop sharply) would make a further impact on poverty without creating an incentive problem.

Finally, although unemployment is responsible for less than ten per cent of poverty, assuring jobs for all remains an indispensable ingredient of a well-planned poverty program. Since workers learn better on the job, and costs are less than in institutional vocational training, every reasonable encouragement should be given to employers who are willing to hire and train hard-core unemployed and youthful high school dropouts. Private enterprise cannot satisfactorily do the job—even with tax incentives. But the Government should not hesitate to become an "employer of last resort." There is no shortage of useful things to be done in the metropolis, small town, or countryside.

The entire "package" is substantively preferable and more politically palatable than the guaranteed annual income. The heart of the plan, of course, is the family allowance.

How long it will be before a family allowance program passes the Congressional gauntlet is anyone's guess. But the need is so compelling, and the appeal so fundamental, that it seems sure to come. Friends of the poor, friends of the middle class, and friends of the wealthy should hasten the day that this nation becomes the sixty-third of sixty-three industrialized nations to adopt a family allowance plan.

Dr. Christenson is Professor of political science at Miami University. His article appeared originally in The Progressive, *January, 1969. This condensation is reprinted by permission.*

WASHINGTON COMMENT

THE CDC PROPOSAL– HOW GOOD IS IT?

By David M. Ackerman

LATE in the 90th Congress a number of Republicans and Democrats joined together to introduce legislation proposing the establishment of a community development corporation program as a new approach to dealing with poverty. Though primarily sponsored by the liberal senators Harris (D-Okla.), Javits (R-N.Y.), Percy (R-Ill.), and Nelson (D-Wis.), the proposal has whetted the interest and in many cases gained the endorsement of conservatives as well. It has already become one of the most discussed pieces of legislation in Washington, and there likely will be a major effort to enact it into law in the present Congress.

As a legislative proposal, the community development corporation idea is primarily the product of the combined efforts of three men. They are: black power advocate Roy Innis, director of the Congress of Racial Equality, former congressional staff Gar Alperovitz, now at the Institute for Policy Studies, and John McClaughry, an energetic young conservative recently elected to the Vermont Legislature who served as a part-time staff advisor to Mr. Nixon before his inauguration. The President has not endorsed the proposal as yet, but has encouraged Republican senators Javits and Percy in their efforts to rally support behind the bill. It has been publicly endorsed by 32 senators and 48 representatives.

Purpose of CDC Proposal

A Community Development Corporation (CDC), under the terms of the proposed legislation, is a stock business corporation which could be formed by the residents of any area which is substantially below national norms in either income or employment. Any resident of the area over 16 years of age could become a stockholder, regardless of the number of shares he owns, would have one vote in the corporation and could hold office. Each CDC would have to apply to, and be chartered by a national community corporation certification board, and would be subject to a series of tests to determine that it had substantial community backing before it could be chartered.

The purposes of the CDC would be to create opportunities for the residents of the area to own and manage business enterprises, and to use the subsequent profits to sponsor community self-help projects such as day care, job-training, legal aid, and health care. That is, supported by a new system of community development banks and various tax advantages, the CDC would undertake the economic development of the community and would use the profits *not* to pay dividends to the stockholders but to finance needed social services in the area.

The proposal has a complementary purpose as well — to involve the expertise and resources of private enterprise in improving poverty areas. Tax incentives would be given to private corporations to create "turn-key" enterprises in poverty areas, and to train the residents for the resulting jobs. Under this approach established businesses would find it financially profitable to *build* new enterprises in poverty areas, *train* local people to manage and work in them, and then *sell* them to local ownership after an initial shakedown period. In this way economically deprived areas would gain the benefit of the financial, managerial, and technical expertise of the private business-sector in getting profit-making businesses started, and then the local CDC would take over and control the resources for the benefit of the community. The residents could thus begin to transform their present condition of economic powerlessness and start to acquire the capital which, in our economic system, is essential for the generation of wealth.

The basic idea, in sum, is that community corporations, democratically constituted and controlled, would supplement existing institutions and programs dealing with the economic and social development of poverty areas. Decisions about how to deal with the problems of the community would be made by the residents themselves, and the means to carry out these decisions would be generated by businesses they would own and operate. It is, in short, a community self-help program.

Advantages Over Present Programs

This proposal recognizes, to some extent, three basic problems in the anti-poverty programs developed over the past several years: (1) *Financing* — our largely middle and upper class Congress has not proven generous in funding these programs and may well prove even less generous in the near future; (2) *Management* — many of the hardcore poor have not been reached with the benefits of these programs because outsiders have often made and implemented the decisions; and (3) *Racial discrimination* — many of the poor have been unfairly barred from receiving the benefits due them under these programs for reasons of race.

The CDC would decentralize decision-making. It would begin with the residents of the communities themselves, and provide a structure through which they could own and manage private enterprises not only to improve their economic condition but also to develop the human resources of their communities. Because the CDC would control its own economic resources, it would not be restricted in what it could do by dependence on outside sources for funds as are the present community action programs. Consequently, it could become an authentic spokesman for the interests of the community in public affairs. Operating independently of local government, it could become a channel for pressure on that government.

Problems in the Proposal

As presently written, the proposal has both strengths and weaknesses. Its strengths are, on the one hand, the decentralization of decision-making power in the affairs of poverty communities from the largely white one-resident establishment to the residents themselves, and on the other hand, the creation of means for the poor to own and manage capital. The resulting opportunity to be responsible for the community and to have real economic power would do much to fill the void and stabilize the chaos created by the powerlessness of the poor.

Ackerman

The weaknesses of the proposal are two-fold. First, the requirement that the profits of the CDC be used to provide social services rather than to pay dividends to the shareholders, as is done in a regular corporation carries with it the implication that present anti-povety programs will be dismantled. When Sen. Javits introduced the bill last June, he articulated one of its purposes to be "to create a new source of funding for community service activities . . . which is independent of appropriation." That is, to some (not Sen. Javits) this proposal is seen as a substitute for present anti-poverty programs rather than as a supplement. This is irresponsible. Not only would it take several years before a CDC would generate enough profits to provide even a minimal level of social service, but the crippling effects of poverty make a much higher level of social service necessary in poverty areas than elsewhere. This need demands more federal funds, not less. The nation must yearn that it cannot eradicate the dehumanizing conditions of poverty cheaply. The rehabilitation of people staunted in health, housing, education, and employment skills largely because of the accidents of birth and geography is not an easy task. But it is a task worthy of a humane nation.

The second major weakness of the CDC proposal is that the granting of generous tax incentives to already thriving businesses so that they can make a profit in poverty communities while at the same time denying even minimal dividends to the shareholders in the CDC reeks of the double standard. It says that businesses (and their stockholders) will not work to improve poverty areas unless they have the capitalistic incentive of profit, but the residents of the area will join the CDC without this incentive. But another way, it says that businesses and their stockholders do not have enough sense of social responsibility to go into poverty areas without monetary enticement, but that poor people do have enough responsibility to work together without this enticement. To some extent this may be true: the residents do have a common self-interest in improving their community that a non-resident business does not have. But it still seems unfair to deny to the shareholders in the CDC at least the choice of receiving dividends rather than sponsoring social services.

Nevertheless despite these problems, the proposal deserves extended attention from this Congress. It is one of the few innovative ideas for dealing with the seemingly intractable problems of poverty now in the legislative hopper. Before it is re-introduced (probably in March), the bill will be revised to meet some of the questions that have been raised about it. Whether it can satisfy enough people remains to be seen.

it says here . . .

UNION THEOLOGICAL SELLS ALL HOLDINGS IN DOW

NEW YORK — (RNS) — Union Theological Seminary has sold more than $500,000 of Dow Chemical stock donated the institution in 1964 as part of a large portfolio from the James Foundation of New York.

President John C. Bennett said the trustees sold the stock "out of deference to opinions of students, faculty and administration in relation to Dow Chemical's role in connection with the use of napalm in the war." Dow, the seminary said, is the nation's leading producer of napalm.

At the current rate of $2.40 per share, Union Theological's Dow holdings produced dividends of $15,840 annually.

* * *

TULLER ANSWERS PREDICTION HE WILL BE NCC PRESIDENT

VALLEY FORGE, PA. — (ABNS) — An American Baptist executive said that it is time the National Council of Churches elected a black churchman as president.

The statement was made by the Rev. Dr. Edwin H. Tuller, general secretary of the American Baptist Convention in answer to the prediction of Willman L. Thorkelson, religion editor of the Minneapolis Star, who wrote (in the January *Christian Herald*) that in 1969 "Dr. Tuller will be elected president of the National Council of Churches."

Dr. Tuller, who is currently serving as vice-president of the Council, said the prediction came as "a surprise to me and of course without my knowledge. While anyone would appreciate the opportunity to be of Christian service, yet I feel that the time has come in the life of the National Council of Churches for it to elect a black churchman from one of the predominantly black communions as its next president."

The General Assembly of the National Council meets every three years and will hold its next meeting this year in Detroit, Nov. 30 - Dec. 5. At that time a new president will be elected to succeed Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, president of Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.

* * *

"CHANGE THROUGH INVOLVEMENT" PROJECT REPORTS EARLY SUCCESSES

Last year churchmen in 22 U. S. cities got themselves personally involved in inner-city work through a "Change Through Involvement" Project. The program, which turns "spectator churchmen" into active participants, is funded by the Irwin-Sweeney-Miller Foundation of Columbus, Indiana, working through the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Under the program some 1,000 white suburban church people worked with inner city residents on problems of jobs, housing, education and welfare. This year's grant of $105,000 will be used, a Disciples' spokesman says, for "changing the structures that have caused the problems." Success of the Change Through Involvement Project, he noted, is tested in part by the "changed action patterns and attitudes" of the whites involved. There is no question of "exploiting the ghetto," he explained, because the ghetto residents themselves define the needs to which white churchmen are then related. Project leaders hope to have 1,600 persons involved this year.

* * *

RENEWAL OF TV STATION LICENSE OPPOSED BY NEGRO LEADERS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — (RNS) — A group of predominantly black community leaders in Texarkana, Texas, aided by the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ, have petitioned the Federal Communications Commission to deny a renewal of license to KTAL-TV in Texarkana.

The petitioners charge that the station has not served the interests of its Negro viewers. They claim that KTAL has never consulted any "broadly representative Negro leadership" concerning their tastes, needs and desires.

They further charge that the station "rarely, if ever, presents public service announcements for Negro or integrated groups," and that "black persons are rarely, if ever, presented on local public affairs programs."

About one-third of the population in the viewing area is black.

* * *

NCC LEADERS URGE FOUR-STEP PROGRAM TO EASE MID-EAST TENSIONS

NEW YORK — The president and general secretary of the National Council of Churches today called for "compassion, justice and peace" in the Middle East and urged member churches to support four particular steps which they feel are aimed in that direction.

NCC President Arthur S. Flemming and General Secretary R. H. Edwin Espy, noting recent incidence of violence on both sides, supported the Nov. 27, 1967, UN Security Council resolution concerning a settlement in that area. They called for the return of West Bank refugees to their homes and increased U. S. government contribution to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. Also, "mindful of reports of continued persecution of Jews in some countries of the Middle East," they protested and affirmed the need for adequate legal safeguards for the protection of the rights of each person or association.

NEW YORK — Twenty-six clergymen held an all-night sit-in here, Jan. 12-13 in support of community control of schools in New York City. Shortly after the above photo was taken they were peacefully evicted from the scene — at offices of the N.Y. State Education Department — by police. Since Dec. 13, more than 250 clergymen of all faiths have joined in a daily "Clergy Vigil" at State and City Education Board headquarters, demanding reinstatement of the Brooklyn (Ocean Hill-Brownsville) district's ousted school board of governors. Clergy and numerous other groups seek "stabilization" of the Brooklyn and Harlem districts where decentralization experiments have run up against snags laid to "racism".

MASSIVE MEMORIAL CENTER IN ATLANTA TO HONOR DR. KING

ATLANTA — (RNS) — On the 40th birthday of her late husband, Mrs. Martin Luther King announced creation of a memorial center as a tribute and realistic attempt to carry on the ideas for which the Nobel Peace Prize winner died.

The center of "hope," to be developed in several parts, will be funded by foundation grants and corporation and private gifts. Mrs. King said the cost will be between $25 and $40 million.

Dr. King's body will be moved to a memorial park on Auburn Avenue. A Freedom Exhibition Hall and his restored birthplace will be nearby. At the University center will be an Institute for Non-Violent Social Change, an Institute for Afro-American Studies, a library and archives and a Museum of Afro-American Life and Culture.

* * *

CROP RECEIPTS FOR OVERSEAS RELIEF TAKE BIG LEAP FORWARD

CHICAGO, Ill. — CROP receipts in 1968 took a giant one-million-dollar leap forward, due primarily to increased contributions by U. S. industry. Regular CROP canvass income increased by some $125,000 or 9%, over 1967. This was announced here Jan. 28 at the annual meeting of the National CROP Committee. CROP is the public Community Hunger Appeal of Church World Service of the National Council of Churches.

Valuation of the 1968 CROP Community Hunger Appeal is $3,596,000 — the largest total since CROP's banner year of 1948, when $4½ million was collected in commodities and cash. Not included in this total is a $2,223,000 valuation of the Church World Service Clothing Appeal, now administered by CROP. The combined total (subject to correction and audit) for the 1968 CROP program is $5,820,000.

* * *

CHRISTIAN EDUCATORS TO FACE NEW LEARNING EXPERIENCES IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO — This city's pioneering community programs, in the suburbs and in deprived minority districts, will provide learning experiences for educators from all parts of the country attending this year's annual meeting here of the National Council of Churches' Division of Christian Education, Feb. 10-14.

Unlike former conferences, built around intensive professional seminars, the forthcoming meeting will take churchmen from hotel conference rooms (at the Conrad Hilton) to spend two days with people in the black, Indian, Spanish-speaking communities to learn something from their struggle for justice and opportunity.

Further purposes announced for the conference — "to gain skill in analyzing the city, to discover its structures, systems of communication, and decision-making processes; to understand the forces in social systems which perpetuate poverty and racism and resist change, to see the forces which drive for change and create dynamic tensions; and to examine the strategies by which the Church can help effect social change geared to Christian values."

The stage will be set at the opening session, Monday, Feb. 10, when Chicago urban specialist Archie Hargraves will address the religious educators on "Chicago like it is."

An Interview with Peter Berger

THE RE-DISCOVERY OF TRANSCENDENCE

By Elliott Wright—Religious News Service Writer

CAN religion function in the modern world without being swept away on the bandwagon of every fashionable idea which passes by, or without fleeing to an underground cell in the face of present-day problems?

Dr. Peter Berger, a leading sociologist of religion, says "yes," but the articulate young professor sees a need for theologians to get down to their work with a serious new self-consciousness.

In an interview, the sociologist talked about the place and possibilities of religion in contemporary society. The discussion also covered the substance of his latest book, "A Rumor of Angels" (Doubleday).

Asked the proverbial question, "What next in theology?" he predicted an undramatic swing toward moderate religious conservatism in the U.S., particularly in Protestant thought. He indicated welcome of the swing if it means theologians are going to go about their work with renewed seriousness. He did not speak enthusastically about a swing which might lead to stout traditionalism.

Nor did he foresee any developments in religion which might stand on a news par with recent "secular theology" or the "God-is-dead" movement. Such dramatic theological news may not occur again for years, he said, "but something may be happening quietly — a settling down to serious work, a new morale among theologians."

Few persons will debate the claim that theology, Catholic and Protestant, has undergone upheaval in recent years. Traditions have been challenged, new language sought and many methods for interpretation offered.

Yet, Dr. Berger said, the religious belief and practice in the traditions of the major Christian Churches have declined. Most commentators, he noted, agree that an awareness of the "supernatural" or the transcendent has departed.

While the death of the "supernatural" has been celebrated by some theologians, Dr. Berger does not find joy in the claim that the world is totally secular.

He is not, however, interested in defining "supernatural" in some technically dogmatic manner. He sets forth an everyday meaning of the word — "belief that there is another reality, and one of ultimate significance for man, which transcends the reality within which our everyday experience unfolds."

Speaking as a sociologist, Dr. Berger says there are at least "rumors" of transcendence in man's world. In his view, theology has the responsibility to explore these rumors.

His method is "inductive," that is, he moves from the human condition to theological affirmation. He agrees that many modern theologians have been correct in taking this direction, one which departs from a strong emphasis on divine relevation as the fountainhead of truth.

The professor, Lutheran in background, does not ask theologians to become sociologists. He does feel that the kind of sociological research he represents can be particularly helpful to theologians, many of whom, Dr. Berger said, are "awed" by the modern age.

What is undignified and unproductive, he commented, is the theologian who hooks his thought to fashionable yet "time-bound" ideas which parade through intellectual circles. Communications guru Marshall McLuhan, he said, simply does not represent the whole spirit of the times.

But Dr. Berger does not buy a theology crawling back into what he calls a "program of conservative restoration." Observing that the Second Vatican Council let loose in Catholicism some of the same forces which led to increasing Protestant secularization, he said that, as a sociologist, he sees recent directives of Pope Paul as "running back to conservative cover to fortify the defenses."

It was easier, he said, before the current turmoil in Catholicism to imagine the Catholic community more intact than it turned out to be. Dr. Berger suggested that Church authorities might not be so shocked if they had heeded sociological studies long available, especially in Europe.

A case is made in "A Rumor of Angels" for a theological approach which reckons with the many dimensions of late 20th Century life and which honestly deals with religious traditions. The first stress is on "discovery."

Sociological research discovers "signals of transcendence," he said in his book, adding in the interview that these signals are open to everyone regardless of particular churchly traditions.

He listed five signals or arguments for the reality of transcendence: human desire for order in life, humans engaging in play and joyful experinece, hope, finding situations so horrible that nothng but damnation is fitting, and humor.

These qualities of common life are part of the "natural" reality, he wrote, but "they appear to point beyond that reality," to transcend everyday life, to be identified with the "supernatural."

Human faith in order, according to Dr. Berger, is "closely related to man's fundamental truth in reality." And, "religion is the final vindication of childhood and joy . . . religion vindicates the gestures in which hope and courage are embodied . . . religion provides damnation for the perpetrators of inhumanity . . . religion reinterprets the meaning of the comic and vindicates laughter."

Dr. Berger gave a negative reply when asked if increasing secularization of society leads to greater human cruelty. "The argument which can be made," he responded, "is that the completely secularized . . . view of the world comes out with a kind of triviality in which the human condition is absurd. A religious perspective does not save people from being cruel, but it does save them from being bored."

Religious people — presumably those aware of the "signals of transcendence" — are simply more interesting and less trivial than non-religious people, he stated.

For example, Dr. Berger mentioned the Genesis-reading broadcast from Apollo 8 during the historic moon flight. He said he did not know the process of selection but found it a "completely convincing impulse." He contrasted the biblical message to the technical greeting sent back to earth by the first Russian cosmonaut.

Dr. Berger, a past-president of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, said he liked to think that openness to transcendence, as he understands it, does cause greater human sensitivity and, therefore, lessens cruelty. He would not limit sensitivity to a religious frame of reference.

Religion, he commented, provides a chance to interpret and legitimatize the "signals of transcendence" in such a way that persons can say if they "are saved or damned."

"The damned are in fundamental conflict with reality," said Dr. Berger.

THE GREAT MIGRATION

(Continued from page 5)

states that there are a whole series of factors that operate to drive people out. It has increasingly become clear, apparently, to people down there that if they want to improve their situation they have to get out — and then, of course, the city has to pick them up."

Ginsberg said he felt the city should get much more federal assistance because of its particular kind of problem. On another tack he said a guaranteed annual income could not possibly replace the current welfare system.

Question of Mandatory National Standards

Meanwhile, the Teamsters Union said it had made a study showing that the city's welfare costs will soar to $1.5 billion for the fiscal year 1968-69 and that the number of families getting public assistance would reach 800,000.

Gov. Rockefeller's Conference on Public Welfare discussed items that could, if acted upon, curb migration from the South in the view of some experts.

Among the questions raised: industry's responsibility to provide job opportunities as well as to train unskilled people for employment — which Southern cooperatives are doing in a smaller way; new industry to locate in poverty areas; housing and education.

More important, the question of mandatory national standards also was raised. This would allow the U.S. to set a minimum standard for public assistance payments below which no state could fall and below which no family would be required to live.

Proponents believe this would not only end inequities but also have a stabilizing influence on excessive migration to the states having the most liberal payment policies.

One of those who is staunchly for uniform standards for public assistance throughout the U.S. is Dr. Margaret Mead, the famed anthropologist.

She believes this would choke off migration, since a poor family, receiving the same financial assistance it would get in New York and other large cities, would prefer to stay at home — where living costs are lower.

Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP, has said that if incentives were given rural areas migration would slow down. "If they could get good jobs, and good schools and decent treatment in the South, 60 percent who are thinking of moving would stay there."

He added that if the Negro is given equal opportunity in the South, if he feels he can progress on the basis of his ability, not only will most Negroes stay at home in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and other states, but many of those who migrated to the North will go back.

But Southerners interviewed during a 3,500-mile swing by The News team, said that it was rare when a Negro came back home — that it would take a lot of inducements to make them go back to the farm.

(This article originally appeared as a three-part series in the New York Daily News, *reprinted by permission. Additional copies may be obtained from: National Sharecroppers Fund, 112 E. 19th St., New York, N.Y., 10003.)*

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES

Previewing

THE CINEMA SCENE '69

by Stanford Summers

ANY minister who is alert to the world and interested in his people will give serious attention to the products of the Image Industries — film and television. Their daily bombardment has resulted in an unceasing fallout which, settling deep in the tissues of the psyche, is decisively shaping the modern sensibility.

"The kids of today don't think the way we do," is the complaint. It's true — to an extent. They've been brought up differently. Lawyers, doctors, businessmen, teachers and ministers—the ruling Establishment—went to college and graduate school where the emphasis was on the logical, literary, linear processes—the McLuhan syndrome is familiar. However, the post-TV generation has had a different psychic diet. Its legions have spent as much time in the presence of TV as they have in the classroom (15,000 hours) by the time they have graduated from high school. So it's not exactly that they "think" differently. Rather, for them the "feel" is more important than the "think." So anyone who doesn't have the feel of this truth is not equipped to do the educational job in the only way it can be done.

For today's young people, film and music which play directly upon the sensibilities rather than traveling via the intellect, are the art forms to which they primarily give their time and money, aptly termed their "substance." And so we come to the reason why today we ought to become "cinemate" as well as literate.

The essence of film is expression through the non-verbal—by means of the visual image. Further, film is concrete. It cannot avoid the physical. The problems and situations which are developed have what the theologian calls a "seat in life"—like the parables. And so, for the minister who must express the sacramental, matter-revealing spirit, it would seem that the important arts to which he should give his attention would be architecture and film.

Here are some films coming up in 1969 which promise to be worth attending and evaluating.

LION IN WINTER has just won the New York Film Critics' award. It is a powerfully compressed drama set in the court of King Henry II at Christmastime in the year 1183. The story revolves around the chicanery which results from the king's attempt to choose an heir to the throne. His sons Richard (later The Lion-Hearted) and John (the black-hearted) are involved. The film is largely set in the castle during a 24-hour period and you can be sure that there will be swordplay at the appropriate time. Peter O'Toole and Katherine Hepburn are the king and queen.

Another film which is receiving much favorable recognition from both box office and critics is FACES. Shot in cinema verite style, the film is a highly candid, authentic and engrossing work of John Cassavetes. The theme of the film is the husband-wife relationship. FACES is a film for the middle-aged married to see — not necessarily together.

The new Russian version of WAR AND PEACE is certainly an epic event in film history. The film was shot in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the present Russian government and, at around $100 million, it is by far the most expensive film ever produced. With the facilities of the state at the disposal of the 50 directors, 120,000 troops were used in one battle scene and the French troops were drilled to march 120 steps to the minute just as Napoleon's were. The producer and director is Sergei Bundarchuk who also plays the lead role of Pierre.

Another literary work being brought to the screen this year is Kafka's novel, THE CASTLE. This highly relevant allegory for our times is the story of a man's frustration in attempting directly to confront the powers which crucially affect his life.

For students of the media (and who isn't these days?) there are two other films on the way which will provide an opportunity to make some highly instructive comparisons and evaluations of media styles and artistic sensibilities.

The first is SWEET CHARITY, which will open this spring. Twelve years ago, Fellini filmed NIGHTS OF CABIRIA, his first film after LA STRADA. A Broadway director saw the film, was struck with its possibilities, and sat down to write throughout the night. Two years later, his wife, Gwen Verdon, opened in his musical version of the film on Broadway. The musical was SWEET CHARITY, which Universal has just made into a new movie starring that other great comedienne of our times, Shirley MacLaine.

In the original film, Cabiria is a Rome streetwalker, while in the American version, Charity is a taxi dancer and all that implies.

In the concluding scene, Neil Simon takes an entirely different direction from the Fellini film and its beautifully authentic conclusion is expressed in cinematic terms of visuals and rhythms.

The other project concerns the coming film based on Giraudoux's play, THE MADWOMAN OF CHAILLOT. This particular play is scintillating. What THE TREASURE OF SIERRA MADRE did for greed in the goldmining West, this play does for greed in the City (Paris) where a group of Conspirators (a general, broker, commissioner, computer man and a minister), are brought to the doom they have invited by the "madwoman."

Twentieth-Century Fox, which in the past has been a leading studio in presenting films on social themes (OXBOW INCIDENT, GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT, SNAKE PIT) is coming up with the film CHE, scheduled for summer release. It is in documentary style and deals with the life of Che Guevera from his landing in Cuba with Castro to his death at the hands of the Bolivian army. The narration is drawn from the accounts of persons who had known this fiery revolutionary during his lifetime.

ISADORA, the life of the fabled dancer and non-conformist, Isadora Duncan, is coming up on film. There is just enough time to read ISADORA, her autobiography (Award Paperback, 95c) before the films opens, starring Venessa Redgrave and Jason Robards Jr.

Dustin Hoffman of THE GRADUATE will star in MIDNIGHT COWBOY scheduled for spring release. As Ratso, he is a Bronx-born drifter who teams up with a handsome Texas youth who has come to New York to parlay his sexual skill. Their developing comradeship and consequent growing sense of responsibility is in large part the theme of this film, which gives promise of being a significant treatment of sex and violence in the city.

How will you spend your movie going-time and money in '69? It's entirely up to you.

Stanford Summers, a '53 graduate of the Yale Divinity School, practices a "ministry of the arts" as director of the St. Clement's Film Association, the Arts in Context, in New York City. He has just completed his first book, "Gold Cross and Silver Screen," to be published by Seabury Press.

Reviewing

"BULLITT"

by Harvey Cox

DON'T let anyone tell you *Bullitt* is about cops and robbers. That's what the *story* is about, more or less. But in the today's movies the story is not what the movie is about. *Bullitt* is about man and technology. But don't expect a cerebral discussion about machines, guns and violence. Bullitt is a ritual. It is an *experience* of the terror, fascination, awe, bewilderment and reverence contemporary Americans feel for machines. So forget the story. It's confusing and ambiguous anyway, maybe even banal. But let the color, noise, action and hardware put their hex on you. In *Bullitt* our consciousness swirls back to elemental terror and attraction our Neanderthal forbearers once felt as they cringed before the lightning and thunder, the fire and the night. Only now the objects of our pit-of-the-stomach anxiety and giddy delight are the creations of our own hands, the machines.

In *Bullitt* we watch raptly as the blue light on the respirator in the hospital intensive care room bleeps across a screen. We stare at a picture taking form through a telephone transmitter in a police laboratory. We dig our heels in the floor as two cars plunge and swerve through the steel streets of San Francisco in what is surely one of the hair-raisingest chase sequences ever filmed. We flop down with Steve McQueen as a giant Pan Am jet rolls over us, engines whistling, wing lights flashing. We quiver with the heat on a crowded Southern California throughway. We leave the theatre feeling as though we've been through something.

We have. And what we've been through is a ritual of urban-secular man. Like our savage forefathers dancing before the flame or singing incantations to the sun, we have lived out a magical attempt to humanize our environment—to pull into the web of human feeling and purpose the technological demons that haunt and control our world. Like the invisible powers which bugged St. Paul of the sacred mystery Rudolph Otto analyzed in *The Experience of the Holy*, the machines around us are *not* simply tools by which we get certain things done. They seize us at a much deeper level of our psyches. They hold in their mysterious grasp life and death (the hospital respirator), power and catastrophe (the jets). The film art has moved far beyond mere story telling. It is now involved in mimetic magic, conjuring and incantation. Welcome to the tribal village!

In his historic book *The Social History of Art*, Arnold Hauser says film is "an art evolved from the spiritual foundations of technics. . . . The machine is its origin, its medium and its most suitable subject." In their very early history movies were playthings, toys which enabled people to delight in watching movement. In the twenties movies became "screenplays," narrative stories recorded on celluloid. They lost some of their magical and ritual significance. Oddly enough Walt Disney, with his verve for animating everything achieved success partly because he knew the story is not central to the film art. In the very first Mickey Mouse cartoon ever released, *Plane Crazy* the airplane on which Mickey and Minnie are riding, writhes, hesitates, wiggles and otherwise displays some of the same ambivalent feelings human beings have about planes. Disney not only endowed mice and ducks and skunks with human characteristics he also strove to include machines. Though he often failed his attempt is significant. In *Bullitt* the actors are not only Steve McQueen and Robert Vaughn but the urban and technical objects that constitute their environment. San Francisco, for example, is not just the "background" of *Bullitt*. It is just as much one of the characters as is *Bullitt's* flashy British chick or his tough nasty-nice police boss.

The ultimate machine in *Bullitt* of course is the camera itself. Though we do not see it on the screen as we do for example in Godard's *La Chinoise*, we are somehow aware all the time of its uncanny power. The camera is an entranced shaman, a whirling dervish which can magically alter our location in a flash. The first shot on *Bullitt* is a dive off a skyscraper into a taxi. From then on we are borne by the camera's supernatural powers into endless shifting situations seen from every conceivable angle. We confidently place ourselves in its hands. The camera is our guru and we're off on a good trip.

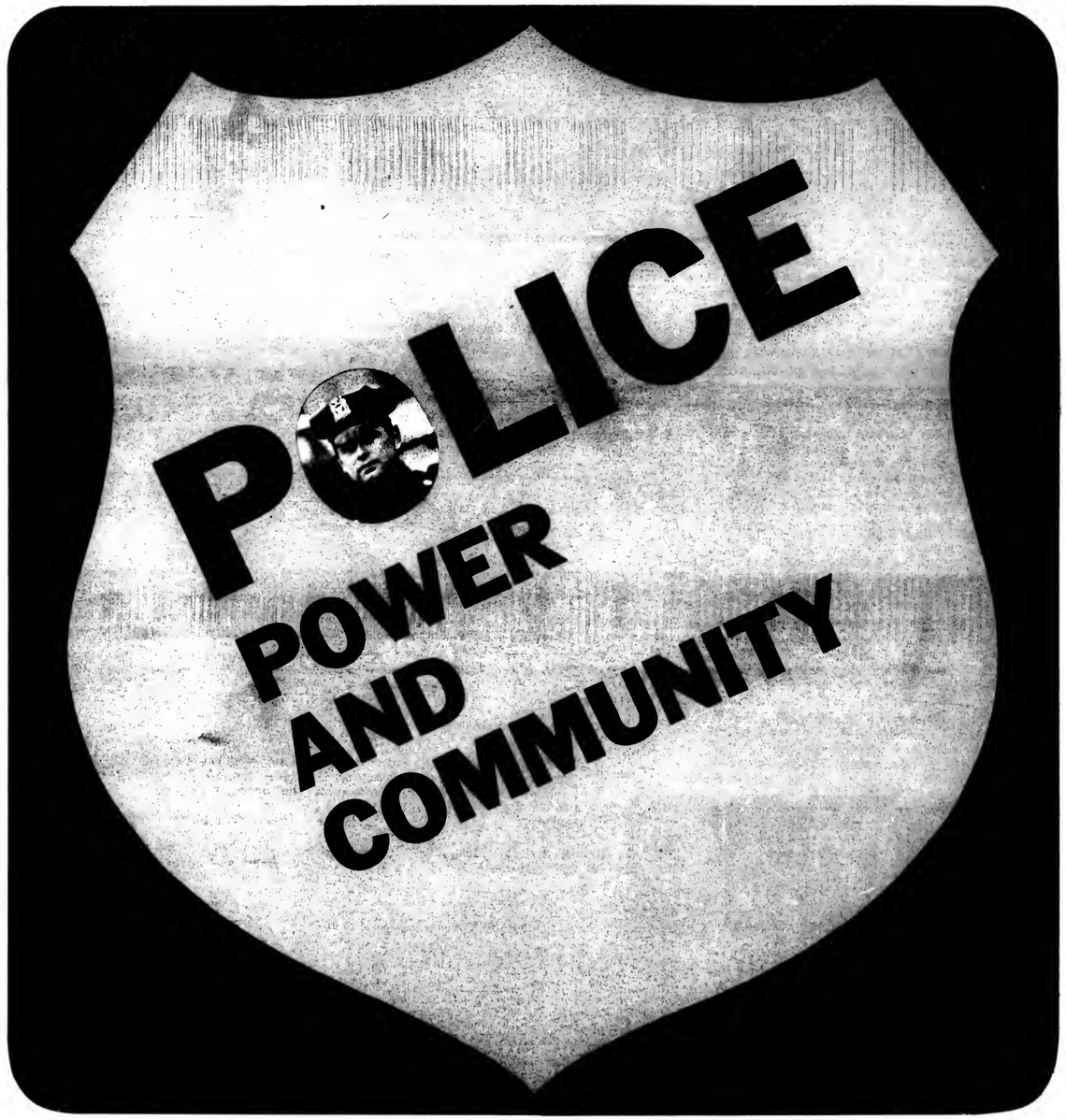
It's eleven o'clock. Do you know where your children are? They may well be at the Bijou watching this extraordinary flick, a movie which proves that once in a while Hollywood can do it. We need not count entirely on Europe or Japan. But even if the kids are not at the movies right now in body, *Bullitt* gives us a sense of where, as one says, they are *at*. They are coping, as we are too but less consciously perhaps, with a supersonic world of steely gadgets, whirring motors and untold power for good or ill. They are trying to tame that world and to live in it with a modicum of style, sport and gusto. That's what this movie is about. ■

Theologian Harvey Cox, who has covered news developments for TEMPO from time to time, contributes here the first of a promised series of film reviews to appear in subsequent issues.

TEMPO

February 15, 1969

In Pace With The Changing Church



TEMPOsitions . . .

LENT—THE DANGEROUS SEASON

by Richard John Neuhaus

THE strange fact is that Lent is popular. Even the free church traditions observe Lent. Their New England or European forebears disdained special celebrations such as Christmas, Easter and Lent because these were remnants of papalism and-or paganism. But the Baptist church down the street now proclaims with a five-foot sign, "Welcome to Special Wednesday Lenten Devotions." Plainly in recent years, there has been a growing awareness that the many-faceted Christian reality is enhanced by special observances.

Perhaps this is related to contemporary theology's emphasis upon the historical character of the Christian faith. Christian life is not a spirituality-in-general but a response to particular events. The observance of festival and penitential days, the celebration of events-in-time, keep us attuned to what God has been up to and is up to in history.

Yet the reasons for the widespread observance of Lent are not complete without noting that people just seem to like Lent. The Lenten season has some magnificent drama. We all know the sermon series on "Characters of the Passion." Here are the players: evasive Pilate, boastful Peter, malicious Caiaphas, beloved John. Then there are the unfolding steps leading to Calvary. It is a poor preacher indeed who is not able to create a few moments of suspense about it all, even though we know well enough how it turns out.

Lent also has, in common with most popular drama, a clearly moral story line. There are the good guys and bad guys, the enemies and allies, the saved and the damned. To be sure, the good guy disciples fall away momentarily, but that only adds a human touch and we know they will soon be reinstated. Even that facile element is rescued from being simplistic because one of them, Judas, is permanently lost.

Oh, it's good theater all right. And not really disturbing, because our rhetoric and prayers make clear beyond doubt that we identify ourselves with the good guys. The worst we are guilty of is the momentary lapse from faithfulness,. Even the disciples were not above that, and, after all, no one is perfect. In any case, the Lenten drama as played in most of our churches never for a second allows the suspicion that we may be more accurately identified with the screaming mob and the scheming officials.

Lent as we observe it is a dangerous season. Dangerous because it encourages a kind of smug self-righteousness. Dangerous because it cushions us from the shattering implications of Christ's commitment unto death. Dangerous because it invites self-indulgently pious fantasy about His suffering, while evading His call for us to lose our lives that we might be saved.

These are the dangers in the aberrations of Lent. It is not surprising, however, that we are attached to our devotional aberrations, for the more honest observance of Lent could be devastating. Lent can be observed honestly only by people who are vulnerable and who know they are vulnerable. Lent is relentless judgment upon the props and securities with which we seek to protect ourselves. Lent is the shattering condemnation of our style of life, a style designed to shield us from the future and therefore a style of hostility to the future. Lent is not so much the familiar comfort of the old time religion as it is a radical call to new dimensions of discipleship.

"Repent, for the Kingdom of God is at hand!" This imperative is at the center of Jesus' message, it is the **raison d'etre** of his own commitment. One fear of the future is to be abandoned, every protective shield is to be demolished. Now in radical freedom we walk toward the future in trust, throwing ourselves without reserve on the promise of God's coming rule. Jesus set aside every counsel to caution and impulse of prudence. His confidence rested alone on God's faithfulness. In disobedience to authority and convention, he walked to Calvary. Not without doubts nor inner anguish; he saw fully the ambiguity of His course. Yet, step upon inexorable step, he moved to the Cross.

His confidence was vindicated. On the third day he was raised from the dead. It is only this vindication that makes it possible for us to reasonably observe, indeed to celebrate, Lent today.

We are saying that we too are prepared to abandon the false securities of the American Way. We too would walk in commitment to the vision of the coming Kingdom. We, as did Jesus, envision this Kingdom as a new order, as the beloved community in which the hungry will be fed, the imprisoned liberated, the disinherited given their place of glory in God's dispensation. Like a surgeon's knife, Lent severs us from the fears and reactionary anxieties that plague our society and institutions. Not the law and order of the present but the possibilities of the future command our loyalty.

Of his slain brother Senator Edward Kennedy said, "Some men see things as they are and ask Why? He dreamed things that never were and said Why not?"

Why not? Because it is impractical, our society says. Because it might not work. Because it is expensive. Because we have never done it that way. Because you can get killed trying. Jesus knew He could get killed trying. He was not deterred. He was killed. He was not deterred. He was vindicated.

Lent is the dangerous season. Dangerous, deathly in its aberrations to those who seek its meaning in nostalgic remembrance of the past. Dangerous and eternally fulfilling to those who walk with Jesus in restless anticipation of the future.

—Mr. Neuhaus is Pastor of St. John The Evangelist (Lutheran Church—Mo. Synod), in Brooklyn, N.Y. He is the widely quoted editor of Una Sancta.

TEMPO'S cover for this issue was conceived by artist Heff Heisler. As it indicates, a number of articles and reports in this issue lift up the much-discussed problem of police, police power and community relations.

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Law And Order—Wilmington Style

CHANGING OF THE GUARD

by L. I. Stell

THE seige of more than 40,000 black Americans for nine months and 13 days was ending.

Governor-elect Russell Peterson was speaking in the Public Building directly across Rodney Square from his recently vacated executive suite in the DuPont building. He concluded the announcement of the forthcoming withdrawal of the National Guard: "What has happened in Wilmington is a warning not only to the citizens of Delaware but to all Americans. The deeply disturbing fact is that many citizens not only favored, but demanded, the military patrols. American tradition says, 'It can't happen here.' Our experience in Delaware tells us that, to an alarming extent, it has happened here. History tells us that when people voluntarily accept military controls, for any reason, they often end up losing their own freedom."

What has happened to warn America against? Every night since the senseless murder of the black prophet Martin Luther King — and a senseless rampage against property the assassination evoked — the National Guard had patrolled the city's two slums from 5 p.m. to 3 a.m. Jeepfuls of armed guardsmen had droned in short convoy behind a police car. More than 800 people were arrested, most during the tumultuous days of early April. Of these about 100 people were held (some under high bail) and charged with various crimes. One arrestee, while being interrogated last summer, was shot to death by an inexperienced clerk-typist in the guard. And perhaps more ominously for First Amendment rights was a bill submitted to the legislature, which if passed, would have freed guardsmen on duty from being accountable to civil courts.

And what couldn't happen here? One floor below the governor-elect's hastily arranged press conference on Jan. 19 (called to take the starch out of an anti-guard demonstration scheduled for two days later, his inauguration day), lay a yellow flyer on the desk of the city's newly appointed ombudsman or complaint official.

"The streets of our country are in turmoil. The universities are filled with students rebelling and rioting. Communists are seeking to destroy our country. Russia is threatening us with her might and the republic is in danger. Yes, danger from within and from without. We need law and order. Yes, without law and order our nation cannot survive. Elect us and we shall restore law and order. We shall, by law and order be respected among the nations of the world. Without law and order our republic shall fail." Attribution was given to a campaign speech in 1932 by Adolph Hitler.

A member of the local press admitted reading the quote three times "because it seemed so similar to the outgoing governor's recent appeals for re-election."

Two other statements on the flyer made an assumption which kept me around Wilmington for two more days, which had brought two national groups interested in social change into the city some four months earlier, and which would later bring about 350 out-of-town demonstrators to town.

The two statements claimed Hitler was kept in power by "Germany's finest and largest corporations" and that therefore, the real issue before Wilmingtonians was not the guard at all but whether the "self-serving multi-billionaire interests" of employers control the community programs, agencies, and elected officials of the good people of Wilmington."

Quickly Wilmington became much more than a landmark for the South end of the New Jersey turnpike. Its chief employer-corporation is DuPont for whom some 30,000 people near Wilmington work directly, if not happily. The family's joint worth, the nation's largest private accumulation of wealth, is estimated at 7.5 billion.

Back upstairs, a few of us learned informally from the new governor the reasons for his strong views against using force to solve social problems. On business trips to Germany, people he met had disavowed any sympathy for Hitler, "but because of a real or imagined fear that Jews were going to take something from them they had been pleased with the buildup of the Gestapo. Then they woke up and found their own freedom gone." Nowadays people's big fear is being clobbered by some criminal.

Called originally to protest continued National Guard presence in Wilmington, demonstrators turned "mobilization" into appeal for greater black role in city affairs. The Guard was withdrawn night before scheduled meeting in Wilmington's Rodney Square.

The governor thought the incoming marchers were outsiders "whose main desire was to provoke disorder," and he was confident that new state and city programs in education, housing, and job training would help the black man break down the final barriers to freedom. "I intend to put black men in policy-making positions," he said. No specifics. After all, he hadn't had a chance yet.

But could he make real policy in Delaware? Was he a mere administrator in "Du Pont's duchy," as some critics charge?

Across the city square, just off a labyrinth of marble paneled hallways, one of the most powerful Du Ponts shared his views on the subject. Irenee du Pont, Jr., is the great-great-grandson of his namesake, the young French chemist who founded the family business with a black gunpowder mill on the Brandywine in 1804. He now sits on the boards of the Du Pont Company, the Wilmington Trust Company and the Christiana Securities Company.

"The Du Pont clan," he said speaking after hours in a spacious but spartan office, "is largely a fiction. Some cousins saw eye to eye and worked together a generation or so ago. And older folks who live here in Wilmington may get together in a social occasionally. But we're just like any other family. We have some who play with race horses, others living in shanties, some in Florida."

The National Guard prepares to leave Wilmington, on the eve of the scheduled demonstration. City Hall in background.

He spoke of himself as a proponent of change and said the Du Pont company alone gave at least $6 million away a year to effect change. (According to **Fortune** it has sales of $3 billion a year, $313 net income. It spends almost $500 million a year on new plants and equipment). For example, he said the Du Pont company gave $2.3 million for education projects last year and contributed about 60 per cent of the corporate gifts to the Greater Wilmington Development Council, a private agency striving to improve the central city.

The reason Du Pont doesn't adopt a pure laissez faire attitude toward government and individuals is because "we plan to stay in business indefinitely. Therefore we must be sure the communities in which we operate are healthy." Toward this end a community relations committee, composed of top company officials, meets at least once a week. It's responsible for more than charitable giving (though most private institutions and agencies in town have grown to expect over half their funding from Du Pont coffers). Under its aegis in the last two years minority representation in the office staff has doubled. Mr. du Pont, singly and with groups, made six pilgrimages to Dover to ask then Governor Charles Terry to remove the guards from the streets of Wilmington.

"I believe you can expect more change by going off in a corner and talking than by confronting people publicly and hardening their position. But a year ago, when we were trying to influence more than just one person, we as a company urged people to vote for open housing."

More important to Mr. du Pont than money-bought "bricks and mortar or stopgap social worker type programs" to fight poverty are efforts to "build up understanding of what makes the human spirit work." His primary way of getting his spirit going is at his desk. "I don't worry when I'm thinking about a problem in chemistry whether it's right or wrong or affecting my relationship with my wife. Long range it's going to develop new products which perhaps will save lives or will inspire somebody else to think up some other application of a way to get to the moon or whatever. . . . So few people accept this concept — all kinds of things wrong with the world today to worry about — but once you accept

(Continued on page 11)

A Seasoned Law Enforcement Man Speaks Out . . .

POLICE-MINORITY RELATIONS— ON A COLLISION COURSE

by Dante Andreotti

WE cannot examine the present problem of police-minority relations without examining the past and continuing history of white racism, which has in turn been the breeding ground for the social and cultural ostracization of people, who happen to be of another skin color.

Today we are reaping the bitter harvest of long years of pervasive discrimination and segregation of black Americans and other minorities. The present problems of police-minority relations are fundamentally related to the historic attitudes and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans and, as long as these attitudes prevail, it is very doubtful whether police relations with minority groups will improve. Let me give you a few illustrations that sharply point out how white racist attitudes affect police-minority relations.

It wasn't very long ago in an American city, that a black soldier, in uniform and recently returned from Vietnam, walked into a public laundromat with his bag of soiled clothing and proceeded to load the washing machine. The white proprietor approached the soldier and ordered him out saying, "No nigger washes his clothing in this place." The soldier refused to leave. The police were summoned, an arrest was made, and the soldier was jailed and convicted of trespassing.

In another incident, as told me by a police officer, a black citizen, lawfully walking in a white neighborhood, was removed from the neighborhood by the police after several complaints had been received from white citizens that they did not want any black man walking in the neighborhood. The policeman was hard put to answer the black man's protestations about being picked up and drove him back to his place of residence. For this the policeman was reprimanded by his superiors.

The Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan concluded, as a result of a study, that segregated white institutions are the fundamental cause of riots. The Institute rejected the "riff-raff theory," (that rioters are criminals, unassimilated immigrants, emotionally disturbed persons with low education achievement and income). It rejected the "relative deprivation theory" (that riots can be attributed to a gap between the rioter's objective economic social situation and his expectations, which the outside observer usually considers unrealistic.) The only theory that the Institute supported was the "blocked opportunity theory," (that riots result from prolonged exclusion of blacks from economic and social life and black people now react violently to their exclusion). The implications of these findings are important to law enforcement people who are seeking to modify and improve archaic procedures.

The first two theories, particularly the first, attributing the cause of riots to "riff-raff," relieve white institutions of most of the blame. The **accepted** theory suggests that it is not black rioters who must be changed, but the white institutions that continue to exclude them.

Look magazine has reported that black Americans continue to be excluded from many unions solely because of color and that most unions have forced blacks into Jim Crow locals of which there are still several hundred, most of them in the menial and low-paying occupations.

What Police Believe

A survey undertaken by the Institute of Government and Public Affairs at UCLA on police attitudes and perceptions of social issues has revealed that 75 percent of the police believe that black people are not discriminated against. Nearly 75 percent of the police believe that black people are not disadvantaged in health and medical care.

The fact is that the infant mortality rate among blacks is twice that of the whites. Illnesses such as diptheria, brucellosis, and food poisoning, all but eliminated in the urban white areas, are still prevalent in the ghetto. More than twice as many blacks as whites are unemployed. Eighty-six million people in this country continue to remain in the $3,600 a year or less income bracket.

Police perceptions on these issues are important in terms of the effect they have had on their approaches to the black, brown, and other poor people of our communities. While many of the sources of police unrest lie in the larger ills of society — a society which for many years prevented many Americans from exercising the right to vote and barred them from equal opportunities — the police cannot escape some of the blame for producing community tensions. The failure to innovate new procedures and policies, as recommended by many studies, continues to produce enormous problems for the police but today we are witnessing a breakdown in communication between the minorities and law enforcement agents. Rather than standing "in relationship to," we find the police in the unfortunate position of being "in confrontation with" many community groups. This is one of the most urgent and dangerous problems facing our cities today; dangerous for the community and dangerous for the police.

Few basic changes in the conditions underlying the outbreaks of the disorders in 1967 have taken place. Actions to ameliorate grievances in education, employment, recreation, and housing have been limited and sporadic. I would like to report that the police have developed an awareness and sensitivity to the serious problems that are dividing our nation and polarizing our people. Unfortunately, this has not been the case. In many cities the principal official response of the police has been to equip themselves with more sophisticated weapons.

As the nation proceeds through the present period of confusion, unrest and uncertainty with domestic and foreign issues plaguing all of our people, both black and white, we find many policemen in a rebellious mood that does not augur well for the peace and security of the cities.

Exploded Myths

The Kerner Commission study exploded several myths concerning the disorders of 1967. There was not, after all, much evidence of black snipers in the 1967 rioting. Most of the shooting came from nervous and scared National Guardsmen and policemen. The shooting of fireworks, in a number of cases, was reported by the police as sniping

activity. Nor did the Commission uncover any evidence of an organized conspiracy by "agitators." As a matter of fact, the rioting and looting was done by 10-15 year residents, born in the Northern cities, who had reached an apex of frustration, despair and anger.

The rioters of 1967 will not go away. They can only be repressed **or** conceded their humanity, and the choice is not theirs to make. They can only force it upon the rest of us. They are presently doing this and intend to continue their civil rights struggle until they share in the American dream, and America must recognize this. The police can assume an important role in this development by intelligent approaches to the problem.

One of the great needs in police administration is training, particularly in the field of the humanities. Hopefully, this kind of enlightened Police Academy training will produce a climate of egalitarianism in law enforcement agencies that emphasizes human equality with respect to social, political, and economic rights and privileges. Unfortunately, we are far removed from that millenium, perhaps more than at any other time in our history.

The police blame today's urban racial problems on "permissiveness" and "coddling the minorities." This view, as they see it, causes urban blacks, who used to submit without much question to police authority, to turn hostile and sometimes violent. What the police fail or refuse to see is that black Americans in local communities all over the country are beginning to do for themselves those things that even the great achievements of the traditional civil rights activities of the '40's, '50's or early '60's did not accomplish for them.

New Peoplehood Among Blacks

Those achievements struck down most of the superficial residual stigmata of slavery. Black Americans are now attempting to throw off the more subtle but clearly more insidiously brutal, residual **mental** stigmata of slavery. In essence, we are witnessing the development of a peoplehood among black Americans. In this process, black Americans are casting off the paralyzing mental fetters of inferiority. They are developing a true and profound belief in the humanity of themselves and of other black individuals.

Perhaps this may explain the policeman's dilemma in not being able to understand why blacks today do not submit docilely to any type of arrest or line of questioning by police authorities. There is no question that the police do have legitimate grievances, but they should not confuse them with a license to remake society in their own image. The majority of citizens are not prepared to trade democracy, with all of its failings, for regimented order.

Just as war policy is too important a matter to be left exclusively to the generals and admirals so the peace and security of the urban setting is too important to leave exclusively to the police. The police cannot afford to be carried away by their sense of moral mission, as recent events have so vividly portrayed, that they try to become judges as well as enforcers of the law. In that case, they will contribute measurably to further deterioration of the civil order that they pursue. The police, by their very visibility, are supposed to be symbols of legal and orderly behavior. When they behave otherwise, all of us, including the police, are in trouble.

The International Association of Chiefs of Police reports that fewer than 10 per cent of the nation's policemen are college graduates and most have no more than a high school diploma. This lack of advanced education deprives policemen of the grounding they need in the social sciences.

Thousands of officers have left their police departments this year through retirement, resignation and other reasons and recruitment efforts have not equalled the attrition rate. Even cities like Los Angeles and San Francisco, which adequately compensate and have the kinds of fringe benefits that make the police position attractive, are experiencing serious recruitment problems. Both are presently operating with a manpower shortage. Salary and other tangible benefits, then, are not the only solutions to solving the recruitment problem. Whether or not college preparation actually helps the police do their work, failure to attract college graduates will limit the force to the bottom third of the manpower pool.

Cause of Failure: White Racism

Police-community relations programs, as presently constituted, are not successful, because the programs do not focus on the primary cause of poor police-minority relations, which is white racism. Typically such programs are characterized by the formation of police-citizen committees in black neighborhoods and the police head of the unit is a black officer who acts as a buffer. Such committees are rarely representative, never have any authority, and are more often than not chosen by the police, which makes them suspect in the eyes of many citizens.

Rarely do police officers in such programs address themselves to attempting to change racial attitudes in white communities on social issues such as housing, employment and education. As a matter of fact, rarely does such a program leave the confines of a black neighborhood. A police-community relations program should, among other functions, be the instrument for unifying people, breaking through physical and social barriers.

Another reason for the failure of police-community relations programs is their belief that social work activities for the police undercut the basic conception of the policeman's role and deviate from standard police practices.

Still another illustration precluding acceptance of such programs by the police is the following: At a regional police-community relations conference sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews in San Francisco in 1967, many members of the San Francisco Police Department believed that the pressures for the establishment of such programs and units within the police departments came from "Communist-inspired" groups.

Victims of Crime

In conclusion, some comments should be made with reference to "crime in the streets," the political slogan used by candidates for political office to good advantage during the recent election.

I always regard statistics with great suspicion predicated upon many years of police service in dealing with them, but so long as some people use them to spread unwarranted fear among our people, let me quote some remarks by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark: "The 'law and order' campaign was directed to people who are least involved, the suburbanites and the whites. They are the most angered but they are the least affected. If you are an average white American, you have one chance in 400 years to become a victim of a violent crime. But if you are black or Mexican-American, the chance is one in 80 years. If you are a member of the white middle class, your chances are once in 2,000 years and if a well-to-do suburbanite once in 10,000 years." The foregoing are facts from the records of the Department of Justice.

Crime in the slums is fifteen times higher than in the suburbs. It is the poor who pay, who suffer, who are the victims. Who are **you** afraid of? If you fear being murdered, then you'd better watch out for your husband, wife, children, mother, father, or other relatives, neighbors or friends because statistics show that 85 per cent of murders are committed by these close associates.

My point is not that we should be complacent about crime but, knowing that there have been frequent crime crises in America may make us a little leary about repealing the Bill of Rights or accusing our Supreme Court justices of being unwitting dupes of the Communists. No anarchist or insurgent can marshal effective support against a unified community that has responded to the needs of all of its people and offers demonstratable proof of that fact. ■

Mr. Andreotti has had long experience in law enforcement. He was a lieutenant in the San Francisco Police Department in charge of community relations work. At present he is Chief of the Municipal Services Section of the U.S. Justice Department's Community Relations Division. His article is based on his speech before a recent church-related consultation on police and power held at Gary, Ind.

Chicago's First Presbyterian, the Blackstone Rangers, Police Harrassment – And After.

by William R. Wineke

Pastor John Fry is center of impromptu press conference held outside First Presbyterian Church.

THE building itself is militarily defensible. A massive grey fortress, it dominates the dingy Woodlawn block, and would seem a fitting staging area for a new crusade against the forces of darkness in Chicago.

Yet, it was not a crusade that pitted the Chicago Police Department against the city's First Presbyterian Church and its pastor, the Rev. John R. Fry. The roots of the controversy sprouted in an innocent decision by the church to allow the Boys Club to use its facilities in 1965. Among the boys trooping into the building were members of a fledgling organization called the Blackstone Rangers.

The subsequent involvement between the Blackstone Rangers and First Presbyterian Church resulted in a continuous harassment and a program of intimidation — first quietly then openly—against the congregation, its pastor, and its supporters, a program which reached peak intensity last summer when Mr. Fry was hauled before the McClellan Committee.

Mr. Fry was accused of, among other things, transmitting a murder assignment message from one Ranger to another. The leader of the Rangers, Jeff Fort, was charged with contempt of Congress when he refused to stand silent in the face of similar nonsense.

That there was no substance in any of the charges made against Mr. Fry was patently obvious. But the publicity served its purpose: an Office of Economic Opportunity grant to The Woodlawn Organization, of which First Church is a member, and which was used to "rehabilitate" the Blackstone Rangers, was not renewed.

That, then, was the worldly reward of a congregation that attempted to seek out and save the young people in its community; a national campaign to smear its pastor and impugn its motives.

Ironically, the involvement of First Church with the Rangers has been beneficial not only to the organization, but to the entire community. Virtually all the young men in Chicago's Woodlawn and Kenwood communities belong to the Rangers and accept the group's discipline.

Violence Decreasing

It is, therefore, significant that acts of violence on the Southside are decreasing, rather than increasing, and that regardless of racial strife in other parts of the city's massive ghetto, there are no riots in Ranger territory.

And that's a lot different than things were when Mr. Fry and the congregation began their involvement in 1966.

"When we began our involvement, we didn't have any idea that we were beginning anything so portentous as we ended up doing," Mr. Fry said in an interview.

"What we did know was that life in Woodlawn was rapidly becoming intolerable, There were gunfights in the streets every day. No one was safe. People lived in continual and justified terror.

"And what was even more appalling was the virtually total breakdown of relationships between the guys who were doing all the violence and the city and private organizations established in the community to deal with youth."

"So," Mr. Fry continued, "we allowed the Boys Clubs of Chicago to run a program using our facilities—and the Rangers started gathering at First Church and we started to get to know them."

At that stage, things were pretty innocent. Then the police arrested 75 Rangers for no more apparent reason than that they were on the streets.

"It was ridiculous," Mr. Fry said. "The young people always gather in the school yards; they have no other place to gather. So about 20 were in a school yard and were arrested. Then the police started to arrest everyone in sight. Some of the guys were walking past the school yard on their way home from work; one fellow had spent all day at home and was on his way to the store to buy groceries for his mother. His mother didn't learn what had happened to him until the next day."

The reason for the mass arrest, Mr. Fry asserted, was that the city's plan for avoiding riots in the summer of 1966 was to arrest all the Rangers and keep them in jail all summer long. The school-yard arrest was the first step.

And that first step was thwarted when First Presbyterian Church popped up with bail money for the 37 who could not furnish their own bail.

It was this action of going to court and freeing the Rangers that really began the relationship between the youth group and the church. The bail money also assured that from that point on the relationships between the church and the city power structure, represented by the police, would be hostile.

"There was no 'communications gap' between us," Mr. Fry says. "We each knew what the other was doing. There were no two sides to that first arrest; the police illegally threw 75 kids in jail in order to get them out of circulation for the summer. When we came in with the bail money, it was the first time the Rangers had received any kind of legal defense against illegal harassment."

In Mr. Fry's view, the succeeding two and one-half years have been characterized by two kinds of relationships: a basic honesty shown by the Rangers toward the church, and a basic deceit shown by the police—especially the Gang Intelligence Unit—toward the church.

The Gun Deal

A case in point was the agreement by the Rangers to place their weapons in the custody of the church. This controversy was one of those argued in the McClellan Committee hearings of last year.

"We were a third party to the gun deal," Mr. Fry recalls. The basic agreement was between the Rangers and the police. The Rangers promised to give up their weapons and the police promised to provide the group with protection against other gangs and to end certain forms of illegal harassment.

"But the Rangers would not trust the police with the guns; so both sides agreed to lock the guns in the church for 30 days. At the end of 30 days, each side would review the agreement.

"The Rangers turned in the weapons, and they were locked in a church safe. The only persons who knew the combination to the safe were two elderly ladies on the church staff. Even I did not know the combination."

At the end of 30 days, Mr. Fry said, "it was palpably clear that the police had not kept even a syllable of their agreement, not a syllable of it. Everything they promised to do, they did not do."

The guns sat in the safe until, three months later, the police, at least one of whom had placed the weapons in the safe, raided the church and confiscated the weapons.

The Rangers, outraged, promptly acquired new weapons and the police intensified their harassment. A last chance for improving relations between the police and the youth group had been blown.

The Blackstone Rangers singing and marching in Chicago's South Side.

By the end of the summer, about 900 Rangers were in jail on a variety of real and trumped charges.

The efforts of the congregation intensified as well. Mr. Fry began to spend virtually full time working with the Rangers, and raising money to help get as many as possible out of jail.

The battle continued through the fall of 1968. The Woodlawn Organization applied for, and received, the OEO grant to develop ways of "rehabilitating" the gang. The city responded through the McClellan hearings. Police frequently searched the church buildings, with warrants and without warrants. Church staff members found themselves subjects of subtle harassments, frequent traffic tickets, "messed up" credit ratings and the like.

In late 1968 a fire caused $15,000 damages to church offices. The Bomb and Arson squad of the police department said it had been ignited by blow torches used by professional arsonists. After it was all over most of the records of the McClellan Committee hearings had disappeared, including the letters from well wishers and critics from throughout the country.

First Presbyterian Church has been nationally branded as a congregation which harbors thugs, murderers and agitators.

Was it worth it?

Mr. Fry obviously believes it was and is. A short, wrily cheerful man who probably has more fun in the pulpit than any other Chicago preacher, John Fry believes that the Gospel is serious when it says that Christians are called to take the side of the poor and the oppressed. His sermons are nearly always based on the Bible, and frequently, after he spends 15 minutes exegeting a text, he needs only a few, short sentences to draw the parallels between that text and the morning headlines.

Three Goals Achieved

At the congregation's annual meeting on January 15, Mr. Fry suggested that when the church initiated its involvement with the Rangers in 1966, it had three goals: "to reduce existing—and very high levels—of violence throughout the area; to establish the possibility for new relationships between the Blackstone Rangers and Southside institutions; and to provide creative options for the Rangers that went beyond automatic and needless violence."

He then reported the following results to the congregation:

"The multifaceted violence that plagued the area has been reduced to a minimum, and by that is meant, virtually to zero . . . attacks on private citizens, once a regular feature of the area's life, scarcely ever occur . . . on every occasion that major violence has broken out in Chicago—the riots of July, 1966, the looting in the midst of the snowstorm in January, 1967, the disorder following the murder of Dr. King, April, 1968, and the disorder during the Democratic National Convention—the Blackstone Rangers have been themselves cool and have used their organization to inhibit any other outbreaks of violence in their area;

"Moreover, the Rangers enjoy new relationships with individual churches, the Chicago Theological Seminary, community organizations, the Black Consortium, Operation Breadbasket, businessmen, and the Firman Neighborhood House.

"Finally, the Rangers now have economic, social and political options that did not exist 30 months ago. They are a famous and promising organization. Despite the considerable efforts made to discredit them in the public eye, the Rangers have maintained an impressive record of responsibility that discredits the attempts to discredit them."

In short, each of the original objectives has been attained, Mr. Fry said.

The result is that the church is moving on to a new style of relationship.

It is establishing a Legal Defense Fund which is attempting to raise $320,000 to provide a variety of legal services, and community-building services. The Church, itself, hopes to raise $100,000 of the total.

A side result of the success of the program is that the Rangers now make relatively little use of the church building. Police harassment has correspondingly decreased.

"You have to realize that First Presbyterian Church was never a primary target of the city," Mr. Fry said. "The primary target is the Blackstone Rangers. Mayor Daley wants to destroy the Rangers and he will use any means at his disposal to do so. Anyone or any institution that gets in his way is going to be the target of the enormous power that that man wields."

So, the Rangers are no longer using the facilities of First Church and the police no longer raid the church. Headstart classes, an excluded child program, choirs, civic groups, all use the building in peace.

City harassment has turned to other institutions dealing with the Rangers. Two buildings owned by the Chicago Theological Seminary have been raided 16 times; numerous arrests have been made; no convictions have been earned. The newspapers printed stories of weapons and narcotics found in the buildings. When the cases came to trial, those charges were dropped. Jeff Fort is continually being jailed on one charge or another.

In Mr. Fry's view, the only way to fight the illegal measures used by a city government which sees a potential political foe in the extremely well-organized Rangers is to use all legal means possible to bail the young men out of jail and provide lawyers to fight their cases in court.

That is where the $320,000 comes in. Checks can be made out to the Legal Defense Fund and sent to the church at 6400 S. Kimbark, Chicago, Illinois, 60637.

Mr. Wineke, a member of First Presbyterian Church, is Public Relations Director of Chicago Theostudies.

MEANWHILE, AT CTS . . .

CHICAGO police have, to date, staged 16 raids on buildings owned by the Chicago Theological Seminary and occupied by members of the Blackstone Rangers.

More than 45 members of the youth organization — and one white CTS student — have been arrested during the raids. The police have not been able to obtain a single conviction from the arrests.

According to Seminary officials, the raids appear to be part of an attempt by the city to destroy the Rangers and to harass any institution which befriends or attempts to understand the young men.

For example, in September police raided one of the houses, located on the city's South Side. They trooped into the building wielding sledge hammers, smashed virtually every piece of furniture in the building, threw a telephone through a window and smashed all of the building's plumbing facilities. Estimates of damage ranged up to $3,000.

The Rangers were arrested, and according to newspaper accounts, were charged with possession of marijuana, the makings of a "zip" gun and a revolver. It later developed that no narcotics charges were actually filed. The zip gun makings turned out to be a television antenna, and only a clip of bullets, not a revolver, was found.

The case against the seminarian, a second year student, was dropped.

One factor in relations between the Seminary and the police — and also between First Presbyterian Church and the police — is that not all policemen engage in illegal harassment. Often the two institutions and the police department, especially the local precinct officers, cooperate to solve legitimate problems.

The problem — and, according to involved seminarians, it is a problem facing all black residents and all white people who work with them — is that when a police officer walks up to the door one can never be sure whether he is there on a legitimate duty or to make an illegal arrest.

One police officer spends hours trying to find the home of a lost boy involved in a church youth program. Another will pick up a teenager on the street and drive him to a neighborhood in which a hostile gang operates, let him out, and leave him alone to the mercies of those he considers his "enemies."

That uncertainty as to the motives of a strange officer does much to intensify the mistrust that South-Side Chicago residents feel for all policemen. **(wmr)**

Law Enforcement And The Church

Beyond Brutality

by Ross Flanagan

ACROSS the country there are signs that the religious community is slowly, if reluctantly, beginning to come to grips with the crisis in law enforcement and its responsibilities therein. In part, this reluctance to get "involved" with the police may stem from the church's desire to work and stand at the "side" of the oppressed; in part from its disposition to work on root causes rather than crises.

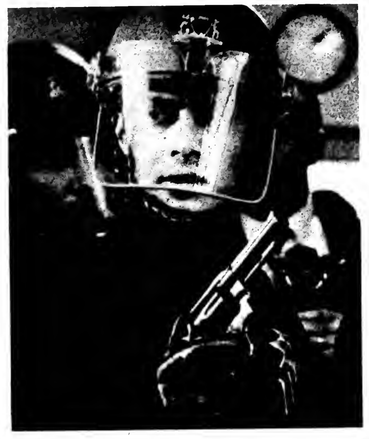
Still, whatever the reasons for initial doubt and delay, the pressures, arguments and appeals for church action in this field have continued to build to the point where several overriding considerations now present themselves:

(1) The problem of violence in American society has grown to such proportions that it now constitutes a threat to the future of the country. Even as the arms race threatens the survival of mankind, so now the spiraling violence of white racism, black rage and state repression threaten to brutalize American society beyond reform and recall. There is the very real danger that if something isn't soon done to short-circuit this brutalization cycle, the people and communities of this nation will be too fearful, too terrorized to hear, let alone work for, any meaningful programs of social change. In the face of this danger the church dare not continue to address merely the causes and consequences of violence; it must challenge the **resort** to violence in this land.

(2) There is little meaning or promise in any effort to curtail the future escalation of violence in America which does not deal with the problem of legal or police violence. For it is how the **police** respond to crisis, whether they practice restraint or excess in their use of deadly force, which is likely to determine the level of social violence in this society. At the same time, the police may constitute the best chance for short-circuiting the brutalization process, inasmuch as they represent an avowedly professional approach to conflict and violence—with all the advantages of training and discipline which that should entail. Then, too, the police have modern science and technology on their side, and thus the option to purchase and employ increasingly less-destructive devices and procedures for intelligence deployment and "combat" functions. Getting them to explore and exercise that option can thus be understood as a most important aim.

(3) There is increasing evidence to suggest that since the slaying of the police in Cleveland and the "police riot" in Chicago last summer, political control and restraint of the police has been substantially weakened across the land. Previously some efforts had been made by the Justice Department and others to persuade police officers that manpower rather than firepower was the better means to deal with civil disorder and avoid the prospect of turning our cities into little Vietnams. It seems clear, however, that such advice and restraint has heretofore been effective primarily because the overwhelming majority of riot victims have been black, and that if and as the proportion of police and white victims increases, political and governmental restraint will be quickly broken, if not removed. All this suggests the urgent need for concerned clergy and laymen to get down to the business of organizing some sort of moral restraint on police firepower even as we act to support and improve police manpower.

How shall the church set about this task? One of the first things we must do is to get clear on our own particular perspective on the crisis in law and order. It should be obvious that we are not the oppressed, the desperate, the revolutionaries of our time. We may seek to identify with them, but the fact is we are not living under a revolutionary imperative. Church people today are for the most part satisfied people. We are not deprived, denied or angry enough to be forcing change upon society, to be defining the conflicts of our day. This does not mean we are without a role—perhaps a very critical role—in the movement for radical social change. It simply means that our role is not necessarily or exclusively to be found in trying to associate as closely as we can with the actions of the poor, the black, and the enraged. Successful revolutionary change depends as much upon the nature of the response it evokes from the "old order," as upon its own initial impact. This suggests that perhaps we need to be doing everything we can to see that the power structure is compelled to make as positive and nonviolent a response as possible.



It means we cannot continue to submit to government injunctions against freedom of worship, assembly and humanitarian service leaving the poor, the young and minority groups to face the repression and challenge the erosion of our civil liberties. It means we cannot continue to send wires of glowing words from past policy statements in response to appeals for "bodies on the line." It means we cannot continue to watch the news coverage of violence between our brothers in the streets as if it were just another TV western. It means we cannot continue to blacklist the bloodstained battle grounds of social conflict as if by that action injustice there would wither away. It means we cannot wash our hands of our responsibility for seeing that the police keep peace with minimal use of force, and due regard for the lives and property of **all** our citizens.

Yet once having clarified our perspective and responsibilities in the law enforcement crisis, we shall need to give equal care to determining the

Ross Flanagan

dimension of the problem we face. It is important, for example, to realize that the police represent only the most obvious aspect of an overall crisis in the administration of justice, involving the courts, prisons, corrections, laws, etc., and that in order for the church to learn how to address this crisis our people must be prepared to monitor the performance of all these inter-related aspects of the problem.

It is important, too, to understand some of the factors contributing to the rising climate of fear which is causing many of our fellow Americans to retreat behind locked doors and "leave it to the cops." For only with this knowledge can we hope to re-engage their attention and assist them in rebuilding and reasserting a sense of community.

Finally it is important to acknowledge that the era of police/community **relations** is passed, overtaken by the brutalizing experience of street confrontations, and that any effort to establish meaningful contact between police and some of the more militant elements of the community must address the real concerns of both groups and recognize the cooperative imperative of community peacekeeping.

Yet even while we are struggling to deal with these problems, we shall probably face the hardest test of all. For given the current state of polarized sentiment concerning the police in our communities, it is quite likely we shall find ourselves having to spend many long hours merely clarifying to both police and militants why we are going out of our way to involve ourselves in the problems of law enforcement. There will be those among the militants who will accuse us of "collaboration" and fronting for the "pigs," as there will be those among the police who will suspect us of being Communist dupes out to undermine the forces of law and order. But somehow we shall have to try to persuade them both that developing new methods of peace-keeping is in everybody's interest, and that order can be achieved with justice even as justice **can** be achieved with order.

There are increasingly disturbing signs abroad in our land that the Federal government, along with many of the nation's politicians and police officials, are running scared of their constituencies when it comes to the question of police power. So the question remains: "Is the American church in general and the National Council of Churches in particular going to run scared of its constituency on "law and order?" Or will it throw the full weight of its moral authority behind an effort to end the rule of violence, promote the way of peace and establish the law of love? ■

Mr. Flanagan is Director, Quaker Project on Community Conflict. A seasoned worker in the field, he has studied police methods in police training courses. Recently he became a part-time consultant on community relations in the National Council of Churches Dept. of Social Justice.

WASHINGTON COMMENT

A Soft Transition of Command

by John W. Turnbull

WE have slipped almost imperceptibly from one political era into another. The smoothness of the transition from the Johnson to the Nixon Administration has been widely noted, and Mr. Nixon took particular pains to commend Mr. Johnson in that connection on Inauguration Day.

For several weeks now everyone has been anticipating the first clear signals of the directions Mr. Nixon intended to take. In striking contrast, however, to previous presidents-elect (especially the one of most recent memory, Kennedy in 1960), Mr. Nixon made himself remarkably inconspicuous during the period between election and inauguration, and the few actions and statements that he did make were very low-key — even non-committal. The Cabinet appointments, out of which it was supposedly going to be possible to read deep significance, were on the whole unrevealing of projected policy directions, and their significance had to be more read into them than out of them. The White House staff appointments, notably that of Mr. Moynihan for Urban Affairs Coordination, were a little more colorful and stirred a little more excitement. By Inauguration Day, a remarkable number of lower- and middle-level presidential appointments still remained to be made, with the result that there is a great deal of at least temporary carry-over in personnel from the previous administration.

John W. Turnbull

The Inaugural Address may have set the tone for the new Administration, but it contained no glimmer of policy. It was probably foolish to expect that it would, for inaugural addresses are by tradition not political in that sense. The tone itself was, however, notably restrained. I would guess that it drew less applause than any such address in recent memory. It was almost a homily: it laid great stress on the old virtues, the quiet virtues, the simple virtues which Mr. Nixon evidently believes, and with some justice, are not sufficiently in evidence in America today. It emphasized continuity — "not turning away from the old, but turning toward the new." It rejected "inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver" (an implied criticism of the Texas-sized rhetoric of Mr. Nixon's predecessor?) and pleaded that we "speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices" (an echo of the Quaker in the President?).

In point of fact, at least two of the prayers sounded more aggressively political than Mr. Nixon did; and especially in the wake of Billy Graham's thundering invocation, the new president seemed almost a mild little man. (Incidentally, it's probably only in the prayer department that Mr. Nixon clearly established a new track record: five prayers at the inauguration itself, in addition to a special service in advance.)

Mr. Nixon has entered his administration much as he conducted his campaign — evidently counting for support less on passionate commitment from some few than on general acceptance by as many as possible of his countrymen. (Perhaps Lyndon Johnson's fatal political error was supposing that he could have it both ways: In the end he apparently had not much of either.) But the new president surely knows that the exercise of his office will entail making some enemies; the only questions are which ones he will make and how he will cope with their enmity. Even more important, it is both politically and morally necessary for the President to capture enough of the imagination of enough of the people to produce the common commitment to more-or-less specific goals which will "bring us together" in something more than a sentimental sense. The options, in short, can be kept entirely open for only so long. We still know very little about what administrative or legislative initiatives are likely to emanate from the White House or from Congress itself. One thing Mr. Nixon has made quite clear is that he will not send up the great barrage of them that has been characteristic of the early days of some administrations. But not many weeks can pass before some pressures will begin to be felt. And at this juncture it can be predicted that among them will be some in the following areas:

Foreign Policy, Defense and Security

It has been customary, especially in recent years, to celebrate bipartisanship in matters to do with our stance, and particularly our military stance, toward the rest of the world. While this tradition has much to commend it, it has the grievous disadvantage of almost entirely removing these vital areas of national concern from the arena of debate and criticism.

The political events of 1968 made it perfectly clear that they cannot be kept out of politics: most of the major political convulsions of last year were directly or indirectly traceable to dissatisfaction with the Johnson Administration's conduct of our most conspicuous venture in international relations, the war in Vietnam.

Both because we have begun to take at least a few tiny steps toward progress in the Paris discussions, and because of the period of good feeling that can be counted on at the beginning of any new administration, Mr. Nixon will doubtless enjoy relative freedom from attack — for a while.

But the new president has inherited a situation which, for reasons of his own political survival if no other, he cannot for long allow to remain unresolved. We appear to be hardly any closer to peace now than we were nearly a year ago when President Johnson made the dramatic gesture which he hoped would help produce peace before he left office. It is inconceivable that the pace of peacemaking can long continue so slow without a new escalation of clamor from both left and right for some kind of end.

Less dramatically, perhaps, other areas of concern in foreign and defense policy will soon demand action which cannot please everyone: the Middle East, weapons development, the asserted needs of defense budget after Vietnam, foreign aid and development. Involved in some or all of these decisions will be long-range implications for America's understanding of its role in the world. Its definition of its own security and the means for assuring it, and its sense of the priorities in its national life over the coming decade.

The Domestic Crisis

This last observation points to another area in which decisions cannot long be postponed: How our national resources, financial and other, are to be allocated to combat the urgent domestic problems of racism, urban decay, poverty, social disorganization, and crime. Mr. Nixon's campaign, and some of his statements since, have suggested that radically new proposals will be forthcoming in these areas particularly for citizens and private-sector involvement and for the streamlining and rationalization of the Federal government's role and that of other levels of government.

No one doubts that these are worthy objectives and ones which could be pursued more vigorously than previous administrations have done. It is certainly an illusion, however, to suppose that there is any cheap way — cheap financially or cheap humanly — to begin the undoing of the injustice done by decades of indifference, stupidity, carelessness and worse. It will not be easy for a president elected by the narrowest of margins and largely by a white middle-class constituency, to resist the pleas of that constituency for some relief in taxes and otherwise, from the large demands they sense government to be making upon them. Notice has already been served that an early end to the income tax surcharge cannot be expected, but this of course is tied to Vietnam and to the effort to stop the inflationary spiral; and it will require the overcoming of a great deal of inertia both in Washington and across the country, to achieve the level of commitment necessary to win the domestic war.

For the time being, the clear indications are that existing Federal programs, largely the creations of the past eight years of Democratic control of the White House, will be subjected to close fiscal and organizational scrutiny. The ways in which the new administration hopes to change them, or the alternatives it plans to introduce in their place, remain largely matters of speculation and rumor. Once again, decisions and commitments cannot be long delayed. The crisis continues and mounts, and the complex discontents of large segments of the population continue to threaten the well-being, not just of those most obviously deprived, but of the whole body of society. ■

Inauguration '69 — An Event in Low Key

it says here . . .

ELSEWHERE AT THE NCC BOARD MEETING . . .

MEMPHIS — Among important developments at the NCC General Board meeting here:

—General Secretary R. H. Edwin Espy told the policy makers that the Church itself is part of the unresolved problem of America. "It has not yet succeeded in reversing habits of thought within its own membership which have helped establish American national and international problems," he charged.

Dr. Espy named six problem areas within the Church; a nationalistic ideology, a traditional Calvinistic concept of work, an anti-intellectual tradition, racism, outmoded methods of communication, and confusion about whether the church should conserve traditional values or become a "change-agent."

—Dr. Robert C. Dodds, the NCC's Director for Ecumenical Affairs, told denominational leaders he thought it entirely possible that the vast majority of Christians around the world may find themselves recognizing Rome as the symbolic center of their faith within two generations.

Dr. Dodds recently returned from a four-month sabbatical stay there and urged intensive study of the Roman Catholic faith by Protestant churchmen, particularly in the area of canon law.

—A new Through-The-Week curriculum was introduced. Due to be published March 1, it will provide Christian educators with a variety of resources for released-time, Saturday, or after-school classes.

—The continuing concern of the churches for peace in Vietnam was reflected in the report of a seven-man delegation just returned from Paris and discussions there with diplomats from all four delegations. They called nationalism the driving force in both parts of Vietnam and said the Saigon government did not adequately represent many important non-Communist segments under its control.

—A task force on alcohol problems reported that the religious community is best equipped to develop new attitudes concerning alcoholism and recommended a comprehensive program of prevention of alcoholism.

—A study commission on social violence, authorized by the General Board last May after the assassinations of Dr. King and Senator Robert Kennedy, made its first progress report. It found that social violence in the U.S. has two faces — noisy and quiet — and obvious violence is usually the result of the quiet violence which is not generally seen.

—In a major address at the Clayborn Temple, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, general secretary of the World Council of Churches, sounded a strong warning that unless Christians drop their differences and unite ecumenically, they and their churches will no longer be taken seriously. The world leader warned churchmen against "denominational straightjackets which are still the most crippling factor in the Church of Jesus Christ."

—Dr. Charles S. Spivey, Jr., who heads the NCC's Department of Social Justice, reported on the Crisis in the Nation. Program initiated by the council to meet social problems and said there was a need for fundamental change in the structures of society. He listed five major concerns of the program for the coming year: police and community problems, education, hunger, economic development, and compliance (securing compliance with the provisions of existing social legislation).

—Dr. David M. Stowe, the NCC's associate general secretary for overseas ministries, told the board that "an interracial, international, primarily non-professional missionary force would characterize Protestant overseas efforts in the future." Dr. Stowe reported on the latest trends in the overseas missions field.

—The board also learned that the $3 million requested from U.S. Protestants by the World Council of Churches for relief in Biafra-Nigeria had been exceeded.

* * * * *

NCC HAS GENERAL FUND DEFICIT OF $110,108

MEMPHIS — Dr. Arthur Flemming, president of the National Council of Churches, has called on the NCC General Board to face the issues — especially financial — that challenge it.

The United Methodist layman, who is president of MacAlester College, St. Paul, Minn., said the executive committee will hold a special meeting in March to discuss a $110,108 general fund deficit. He asked constituent members to meet "head on" the basic issues relating to the Council's functions.

Dr. Carl W. Tiller, chairman of the general administration and finance committee, reported that the NCC's operating expenses in 1968 were $24,394,677, including ocean freight costs for overseas relief work. Receipts were $24,389,888. Expenses and income were both at record highs.

But, he added, general fund income was $831,129, while expenses were $941,235. The deficit will be made up by using operating reserves and capital.

The general fund finances NCC administration, including operations of the General Secretary's office, communication, planning and program, research, state and local church council liaison and other central activities. It also covers costs accruing to three General Board meetings yearly, and the triennial General Assembly.

Vanguard of the churchmen's memorial march enters plaza in front of Memphis' Lorraine Motel where Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated and where the religious leaders held a memorial service. Assassin's vantage point, small roominghouse window, is indicated at top.

GREATER YOUTH ROLE URGED FOR COUNCIL'S ASSEMBLY

MEMPHIS — (RNS) — Before the triennial General Assembly of the National Council of Churches convenes in Detroit next November 30, it will have taken special pains to insure a fuller participation by youth.

In its report to the NCC's General Board, the General Constitution and By-Laws Committee said that at the World Council of Churches' Assembly in Uppsala, Sweden, last summer, "the protesting voice of youth became one of the most important elements to be reckoned with.

"The university campuses around the world give clear evidence that young people will increasingly demand a role in the decision-making which affects their lives so directly," the report said.

To insure greater youth involvement in the upcoming Assembly, a number of steps have been taken, among them:

—"Member denominations have been asked to supply information as to what youth are already in their General Assembly delegations.

—"Vacancies in present delegations are being identified and denominations will be asked to fill these, with youth."

* * * * *

CHURCH LEADER CALLS FOR NATIONAL EFFORT

COLUMBUS, IND. — J. Irwin Miller, chairman of Cummings Engine Company, Inc. and the first layman to serve as president of the National Council of Churches (1960-63), has called for a "specific national effort" to cure America's social ills. Writing in the January issue of Dateline — published by the National Association of Manufacturers — Miller says that present programs of national problem solving are "not keeping us even" with the mounting crisis in American society. Among these he lists growing urban congestion and poverty, deteriorating race relations, and deficient education, transportation and pollution control. Noting America's ability to mobilize against Germany and Japan in World War II and to reach the moon by 1970, the church leader asks a similar "organized systems approach" to get on top of the threatened collapse of society.

* * * * *

NATIONAL COUNCIL TO ALERT CHURCHES ON HUNGER ISSUE

NEW YORK — The new Committee on Hunger of the National Council of Churches held its first working session recently in New York. The commitee plans to inform churches throughout the nation on ways they can promote legislation, raise emergency funds and develop local action groups to alleviate hunger in America. Recent disclosures by investigating groups as well as television documentaries have stirred both concern and controversy over the size of the hunger problem. The new Hunger Committee of the National Council of Churches has as one of its

(Continued on page 11)

Memorial service leaders Arthur S. Fleming, President of the National Council of Churches, and Miss Jean Fairfax of N.A.A.C.P., lay wreath at base of Martin Luther King, Jr. memorial plaque at spot where he was slain.

It says here . . .

(Continued from page 10)

tasks to try to determine the scope of the hot issue. Another goal set for itself by the group is to help local churches guarantee that programs already set up for the poor are actually and fully made use of by local welfare authorities. The new Committee on Hunger expects to have members from each of the 33 member denominations in the NCC. The Rev. Ian McCrae, director of Human Rights of the Disciples of Christ denomination, is chairman of the church anti-hunger agency.

* * * * *

INVADERS, MILITANT GROUP, CALL FOR NCC FUNDS

MEMPHIS — (RNS) — The Invaders, a black militant youth organization here, failed in win immediate action from the National Council of Churches on a request for $51,000 to establish a community action program.

Dr. Charles S. Spivey, Jr., the NCC social justice director, assured a group of local clergy that an NCC involvement in Memphis would be directed through them.

Leaders of The Invaders attended a session of the NCC's General Board and asked for $51,000 to finance a Memphis Leadership Conference for Black and Poor People.

Members of The Invaders went to the board meeting after a march to the ghetto motel where Dr. Martin Luther King was killed. NCC leaders and local church members held a service at the site. Invaders served as parade guards. (See story on p. 12)

* * * * *

ILLINOIS CHURCH COUNCIL EXPANDS SOCIAL ACTION TASK FORCE

CARBONDALE, ILL. — In one of its busiest and at times heated General Assemblies, the Illinois Council of Churches voted to support the California grape boycott, called for additional grounds for therapeutic abortion, expanded its social action task force, and voted a long-range planning program to study the Council's structure and consider a "high level consultation of all Christian bodies in the State."

The 225-member Assembly also passed resolutions calling for a comprehensive housing law and adequate pay for public employees in the State; reconciliation of the races; and opposition to capital punishment in Illinois, a stand the Council has long held.

In an address, Executive Secretary Frederick A. Roblee deplored "the folly of white racism" and said: "Justice is not achieved by turning up the heat under the melting pot" but in joining forces with those with similar goals of equality and dignity for every American.

* * * * *

NCC EXPRESSES 'SADNESS, HORROR' AT INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MEMPHIS — (RNS) — General Board policy makers of the National Council of Churches adopted a resolution here expressing "sadness and horror" at conditions in Czechoslovakia which could produce the desperation of self-immolation.

The policy-making unit also included a provision that "our country itself has been guilty of oppression."

Reaffirmed was a resolution of Sept. 13, 1968, which scored the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and four of its Warsaw Pact allies.

CHANGING OF THE GUARD

(Continued from page 3)

this philosophy your enthusiasm for life improves rapidly."

Outside, later that night other Wilmingtonians didn't share much enthusiasm for life. A trooper ran up to ask me (Bud) gruffly, who was I, and behind the question was, why are you out here taking pictures of on-duty national guardsmen reconnoitering on a U.S. city square.

Afterward a distraught member of a church revealed that a Du Pont had withheld his yearly contribution, "because of some of the things you are doing." The things in question had to do with letting the community run its own affairs.

Next day—the Governor's Inauguration day—the demonstration went on anyway. Communications Network (CN) and People Against Racism (PAR) had called for a demonstration at the end of months of attempts to organize resistance to the siege of the National Guard. The new governor had taken away their symbol of repression. But the guard remained, they said, clothed now in business suits.

They marched, even though "pressure" forced the local Council of Churches and the NAACP to inveigh publicly against the march.

In a chilling drizzle, two knots of people totalling about 400 converged after marching ten blocks into the hub of Wilmington's business district.

Frank Joyce of PAR said that his months in Wilmington had shown him that the people of Delaware had "lost their will to be free. . . . This yearning has been misplaced. Keeping the 'nigger' in his place substitutes for real freedom — not automatically doing what you think Du Pont wants."

Joyce said Delaware is a symbol of corporate control of the whole country. The special tax and legal advantages the state holds out to businesses has been attracting them like flies. In 1968 new corporation charters were granted at the rate of 800 a month, almost double the 1967 record. Now even one-half of the biggest businesses in the U.S. and one-third of those listed on the New York Stock Exchange find it profitable to be incorporated in Delaware.

Facts piled on facts — and would have been hard to take even on a sunny spring day. Is the U.S. a big-businessmen's oligarchy? Abruptly, the loudspeaker went silent. The demonstration was over. Air raid sirens wailed an inauspicious ending for the assembly.

Back to the Brandywine and Trinity Church, a black church — the only one which had opened its doors to the marchers. "Hey, hey, ho, ho — Du Pont's power's got to go," quavered through the practically deserted streets.

After the march disbanded, I visited Bill Hallman, head of the United Council, a newly formed umbrella organization encompassing some 16 black groups in Delaware. Did he agree with some of the leaders of the march that demonstrations were obsolete these days?

"It's hip that some white cats came out. It's late—years late. But it's time white folks try to change it. All of it needs changing—"

"They have it wrong, man, if they think the guard was the problem. We're used to the occupation of our neighborhoods by cops. (A cordon of Guard and police was drawn up — for hours — around Hallman's home one night last summer before a warrant was issued and an abortive search made for a burglary suspect). Or even all those jive agencies that come out here to develop the community. They design things up there to render you helpless to do anything for yourself. They keep you in a jail with walls you can't hit at.

"Oh, they come out here and talk and before long we have some beautiful programs jumping up — but they fail, because black people aren't involved in running them, controlling their own lives.

"What we're talking about is, the man is going to have to make a complete change in attitude. He's going to have to give up some of his power.

"But whether he does it or not we're going to build. We're going to have our own community schools, buy our own land. We're not out to start a race war. All we want is respect and to be able to respect ourselves. Building will be slow, on our own terms — with our own money and the money that comes from people who know we deserve help. One thing we're working on, for example, is scholarships. Last year I went to graduation at the Du Pont public high school, which is 60 percent black — and not one scholarship for a black student. This year it's going to be different."

Out past Hallman's office where the night before I witnessed a gang of black teenage girls curse the exiting convoy of the Guard.

On the way to the railroad station the cabbie told me that lately well over half his colleagues had taken to wearing pistols "slung openly on their hips like TV-cowboys."

The taxi passed Rodney Square. It was deserted. No anti-DuPont placards held bleeding in the rain. No longer flanked by a convoy of jeeps.

The old guard was back in charge.

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with Harvey G. Cox

Reviewing:
"Romeo and Juliet"
Directed by
Franco Zeffirelli
with
Leonard Whiting as Romeo
Olivia Hussey as Juliet

EED a challenge? How about trying to take a story as threadbare and familiar as this one and make it into a two-hour movie that will hold the interest? How many caricatures have we seen of the balcony scene? How hackneyed are the more recent stories of star-crossed lovers unlucky enough to bear the names of warring tribes, families or nations? How utterly improbable the circumstances of potion and poison that lead to the final double death? An unlikely prospect.

Most directors would have resorted to the current trick bag and legerdemain of moviemen. Add five years to Juliet's fourteen and cast a nubile sexpot for the role. Or turn Romeo into an aspiring rock singer. Or make the Capulets Jews and the Montagues Arabs, with Jerusalem substituted for Verona. Mix well with freeze shots and instant flashbacks and lard it with some spurious Social Meaning.

Luckily, Zeffirelli has had more confidence in Shakespeare and in his cast and cameramen. The result is that from the very first moments (a soft contemplative shot of "fair Verona where we lay our scene") we know the bard will be satisfied. Like Romeo on the way to the fateful party at the Capulet's, we feel that "Some consequence yet hanging in the stars—Shall begin his fearful date—With this night's revels . . ." Zeffirelli has given the leads to two exquisite young people, Olivia Hussey and Leonard Whiting who convey such an air of adolescent passion, innocence and charm that we gladly surrender our credulity to them and let things happen.

They do. The ancient grudge sheds more and more civil blood. Tybalt stabs Mercutio in a half-fight, half-frolic, a medieval Veronese equivalent of "chicken." Enraged, Romeo slays Tybalt and is deported from Verona. There is much blood and dust and sword-play. Friar Lawrence gives Juliet a potion . . . but why rehearse the story? We all know it, and that's just the point. Since we don't have to concentrate on it we can let the actors and photographers conspire to lure us into their world of fantasy.

Juliet is pretty in a refreshing way. She is neither a nymphet nor Raquel Welch. Still encased in a layer of baby fat and with eyes that sometimes drift out of focus, she nonetheless does not surprise us when she snags Romeo. Whiting, though astonishingly competent and reserved for a seventeen-year-old, still does not quite manage the metamorphosis from the flower child he appears to be in his first scene to the ferocious tiger he turns out to be when he takes on Tybalt. Both teenagers, however, are superb in the legendary balcony scene. Zeffirelli has saved it from triteness by allowing the zest and impatience of the pubescent lovers to give it a quietly comic edge.

By far the best performance in the film is turned in by John McEnery who plays Romeo's clowning crony, Mercutio. His famous speech about "Queen Mab"—an Elizabethan image for the sandman, the sleep-and-dream dream maker—is one of the best in the film. Shakespeare throughout his life was fascinated by sleep and dreams. He returns to it in nearly every play. Here McEnery as Mercutio helps us see why. Also, Mercutio's death, which his companions at first believe is a bit of harliquinesque put-on, provides the most memorable footage in the whole movie. The fact that we know Mercutio is really dying (having glimpsed the blood on Tybalt's sword) while his buddies do not, gives the scene a grotesque power which Shakespeare would have loved. This is a kind of directorial improvisation we can appreciate, and it reveals Zeffirelli's sound instinct for what film can do that stage cannot.

On the way home from seeing "Romeo and Juliet," I asked my nine year - old daughter whether she thought we should have brought her eight-year-old brother along. She thought for a moment and then said she thought it was better we had not since "Romeo and Juliet" was only "for mature audiences." She thought especially that her brother would not have been mature enough to appreciate the brief nude love scene between Romeo and Juliet. This film is for mature audiences, from nine to ninety. Thank God for Shakespeare, and viva Zeffirelli, the moviemaker who can bring Shakespeare's genius even to a generation of cool, television-conditioned McLuhanite kids. For never was a story of more woe / Than this of Juliet and her Romeo. ■

ON A RECENT DAY IN MEMPHIS

by L. I. Stell

OR one hour on a chilly day late in January, the parking lot fronting room 306 of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis — site of the slaying of Martin Luther King — became an outdoor church. More than 700 people—including church leaders from across the U.S. and many other countries—stood dry-eyed and resolute, to celebrate the life of Dr. King, whom they heard described as "the 20th Century's most stunning anti-establishment Christian."

The service was preceded and followed by a solemn march through Memphis under the banners of the 33 denominational members of the National Council of Churches. The occasion for the memorial walk, as it was called, was the mid - winter meeting of the NCC's policy - making General Board of the National Council of Churches.

Several hundred members of black churches in Memphis joined in the procession and service. Few white Memphians were in evidence. The main speaker, Miss Jean Fairfax, of the N.A.A.C.P. and a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches (which co-sponsored the march), said that the Christian movement had been in Dr. King's hands.

"He built no churches. But he called people to be the Church. Everywhere he went there was excitement about the God who works through history and about the majestic heights men can attain as they proclaim God's justice and fight for the liberation of the oppressed.

"More compelling than his words was his style," she said, speaking from the glass-walled motel balcony, now a shrine to the memory of Dr. King. "He was a free man because he believed God would tell him what to do. He was a free man because he had conquered the fear of death and anxiety about failure. At the height of his popularity he was willing to risk his enormous prestige and lost financial support because of his conviction that the domestic struggle for freedom and the condemnation of the Vietnam war should be joined into one cause."

The Martin Luther King, Jr. memorial Procession makes its way toward the assassination site.

Miss Fairfax said that church life seems drab and dull without Dr. King. More important to her, though, was the loss of his insight needed to bring together two polarized groups of Americans — staunch white church-goers "who call for law and order, a slow-down in racial progress and a cutback in anti-poverty programs" and angry black youth "who are disillusioned with the system and are advocating violence and separatism."

But, Miss Fairfax concluded, "We are not here to look back or to mourn, but to rededicate ourselves to his unfinished work. . . . He was no anarchist. Indeed his mass demonstrations to expose the effects of racism expressed his deep conviction that the nation could be redeemed by black and white Americans. . . . We let him be the church for us. Now that he is gone, and weak though we are, we must be the church to the people he loved — the poor, disinherited, victims of oppression. It is for us to validate his faith in our nation."

In brief remarks that followed, Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, president of the NCC, told the throng: "No man in the history of our nation did more to close the gap between the ideal and reality than Martin Luther King." Members of white society need to "plead guilty to the indictment against the white society contained in the report of the Kerner Commission. We can dedicate our time, our energy, our resources, to the development of programs and to the execution of programs that will correct the conditions that exist because of our sins of omission. May God grant that in the light of the inspiration of Martin Luther King's life the living Christ will provide us with the insight, the vision, the courage and the strength, to travel the sacrificial second mile that his dream may become a reality in our day."

After his remarks, representatives of all denominations present, including the Roman Catholic Bishop of Memphis, added green sprigs to a "wreath of victory," which was affixed by Miss Fairfax and Dr. Flemming to the door Dr. King walked out of to die.

In dedicating the wreath, Bishop Bertram Doyle of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church prayed that "the son of right will arise with healing in his wings."

Then the worshippers sang a hymn and quietly marched out of the courtyard past a small swimming pool and a sign that reads "Swim at your own risk." One marching black churchman, who lives and works in Memphis, noted the stony faces of the police, the same that I saw on our other two marches. And I must say," he added, "I still feel alone." An observer watching the procession pass from a porch near the Lorraine said "It's a great day. It's giving the young people something to live for. It means brothership is still possible." ■

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March 1, 1969

In Pace With The Changing Church

TEMPOsitions . . .

ISAIAH IN THE WHITE HOUSE

by Richard John Neuhaus

2700 years ago he was counselor to kings. Now, in a remarkably durable career, it seems he is counselor to presidents. In the variant LBJ reading, before he stopped speaking with his critics, Isaiah was regularly invoked, "Come let us reason together." Now another President, no doubt in tribute to his residual Quakerism, takes the oath of office on Isaiah's counsel that swords be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks and men learn war no more.

Some of us in the religious community seem to have tastes along more secular lines. We are hoping for Thomas More in the White House, or perhaps for a return of Robert Frost and Aeschylus. But the Democratic Party at Chicago and a bullet in Los Angeles dashed those hopes. So we have Isaiah. We could do worse. Let us hope we have the real Isaiah.

He is the spokesman of a radical tradition. It is our tradition. He walked naked through the streets to expose the nakedness of those who arrogantly trusted in military power. He defied the chauvinism of his time, contending that national interest is an illusion unless tied to the interests of all the children of men. As we now may see the Vietnamese as God's instrument for the humbling of American empire, so Isaiah declared Cyrus and Assyria to be the Lord's appointed agents in bringing Judah to its senses.

He is a restless, independent soul whose lips were touched by a burning coal from the altar of truth. Nothing less than the truth could claim his loyalty.

Isaiah's radical vision of a new earth, of the perfect rule of God within history, makes the most revolutionary of other visions pale by comparison. We can and must devote ourselves to programs of change, of reform and revolution, even dying for whatever signs of the ultimate future they possess. But we can be claimed finally only by the coming Kingdom of God. On that commitment rests the rationale and integrity of religious involvement in social change. The only true realism is radical realism; the radical realism of biblical witness to the ultimate vindication of man's search for a better world.

If Isaiah is indeed in the White House, Sunday mornings must be a trial for him. Perhaps he says again as he said before, "For they are a rebellious people, lying sons, sons who will not hear the instruction of the Lord; who say to the seers, 'See not'; and to the prophets, 'Prophesy not to us what is right; speak to us smooth things, prophesy illusions.' "

Political analysts today are generous to the religious community. They speak frequently of the crucial role religion played in turning public opinion away from the madness of Vietnam. They are too generous.

We know, for instance, that fewer than one out of ten clergymen in this country ever raised their voices to protest or to invoke the judgment of God upon our country's bloodied and blundering course. Over the last several years, in the great majority of churches and synagogues, one could worship God regularly and never be reminded that his children are being defiled and destroyed in South East Asia. In thousands of other places of worship one would hear only blasphemous petitions for victory, designed to recruit God in our unspeakable folly.

But also in our company are those possessed by the radicality of the religious vision. Their lips have been touched. They stand with Isaiah on the watchtower and sound no uncertain trumpet. Thank God for the Brothers Berrigan, for Bill Coffin, for the Milwaukee 14. Thank God for that most undeserved moment of grace in our tortured history, Martin Luther King. These are among the names inscribed on the only real roll of honor issuing from this war.

Effective moral leadership, it should now be clear, does not rest with the leadership of the several religious bodies. Nor — lest we be tempted to self-righteousness — does it find its center in those who are considered the new breed of clergy and laymen. The moral leadership of America is found in a growing public constituency of protest, of noble vision, and of political seriousness. It includes thousands of young men who, without the benefit of theological education — or, perhaps, without its hindrance — have declared themselves for life in a society programmed for death. Within the military, in our universities, in the liberation movements of black and poor, in exile and in resistance, these restless folks have called the bluff of established religion.

What is being tested now and will be more severely tested in days to come is the quality of our hope. Isaiah spoke of a gathering storm, bringing to a head the conflict between man's arrogance and God's purpose. The storm clouds are visible. We hear talk about "sufficiency," but, according to Secretary Laird it is only a smoother word for the madness of superiority-in-death. While profesing peace, programs are drawn to beat plowshares into swords and pruning hooks into spears, and men learn from war only to make new wars in different ways.

Today we return to churches and synagogues, to schools and neighborhoods, to our ghettos of affluence and our ghettos of poverty. Go with these words of Isaiah, for yourselves and for your brothers. They constitute our mandate and our hope:

"Strengthen the weak hands, and make firm the feeble knees. Say to those who are of a fearful heart, 'Be strong, fear not! Behold he comes.' Then the people will live in justice, they will abide in a peaceful habitation, in secure dwellings, and in quiet resting places." And *all* eyes shall see the glory of the Lord.

—From the sermon preached at the closing session of the 3rd Washington Mobilization of Clergy and Laymen Concerned, February, 1969 by the Rev. Richard John Neuhaus. Mr. Neuhaus, Pastor of St. John The Evangelist, Brooklyn, N.Y. and Editor of Una Sancta, reports on the Mobilization beginning on the next page.

In this issue TEMPO attempts to introduce to its readers the story of a significant, neglected minority in American life — the Mexican-Americans. See the articles on Hunger in San Antonio, the Grape Workers of California, and the survey piece on Spanish-Speaking Americans.

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RELIGION IN THE HALLS OF EMPIRE

A Special TEMPO Report by Richard John Neuhaus

The Rev. Thomas Lee Hayes kneels as he receives commission for a ministry of reconciliation among U.S. draft evaders in Sweden. Laying on hands are, from left, the Rev. Richard John Neuhaus (author of article, this page, and editorial, page 2), Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel, Jewish Theological Seminary, and Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. All are leaders of the interreligious Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam. Mr. Hayes, former secretary of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, will go to Sweden under CLC sponsorship.

THE theme of the conference was intended to provoke: "Vietnam and the Future of the American Empire." The word "empire" is offensive to most Americans today, as it was offensive to the founder of the American political experiment. But to the participants in the third Washington Mobilization of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam the word was inescapable.

James Heinemeier, Lutheran pastor from Detroit, expressed the sense of the meeting: "Those first two mobilizations (1967, 1968) were gutsy in their simplicity: *End the war in Vietnam.* This time we're getting to the heart of the matter; *End the system that creates Vietnam wars.* It may be less dramatic and it sure takes a lot more study, but I think what we're doing this year is a more serious undertaking."

The CLC position paper, titled "The Reconciliation We Seek," is clear enough: "Recent developments give reasonable hope for an ending of the Vietnam conflict. The grave miscalculations of the past, however, caution us against euphoria. The war continues. So must our opposition continue unabated. . . . In negotiating a settlement, priority should be given to a halt in the bombing in South Vietnam. The United States can and must take immediate steps toward the disengagement of its forces from Vietnam."

The question of continued hostilities in South Vietnam, while peace negotiations are held in Paris, was also taken up with Henry Kissinger, the President's chief advisor on foreign policy, in our meeting at the White House. (More on that later.) But the fact remains that a "post-Vietnam" atmosphere permeated the Mobilization.

The action centered at the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church in downtown Washington, headquarters for the Mobilization. Twelve other churches in the vicinity hosted simultaneous workshops, seminars and smaller lecture meetings. For three days, the participant was confronted by an embarrassment of riches, forced to choose among the topics and experts most likely to stimulate and inform his social conscience. Each of the three major topics was further subdivided.

"Draft and Amnesty" included workshops dealing with abolition of the draft and creating a volunteer army, techniques for developing support groups for young men resisting the draft, sharing experiences in prison visitations to conscientious objectors, and a host of related matters. "Intervention and American Foreign Policy," the second major topic, was addressed by political scientists and activists with particular emphasis on Vietnam and Latin America. The most intensive discussion centered on the third major topic, "America's National Priorities."

Senator George McGovern, Democrat of South Dakota, criticized the increasing militarism in American society, reflected in the Pentagon's more than 60 per cent slice of the Federal budget, and launched a specific attack on the "thin ABM" (anti-ballistic missile) system now being constructed by the military. "A thin ABM is as unlikely as a thin pregnancy," McGovern said. He predicted that the proposed $5 billion system will quickly grow to a $25 and then a $100 billion project.

The next day, Tuesday, Sen. McGovern continued his attack on the Senate floor, joined by a surprising number of colleagues from both sides of the aisle. (On Thursday, Secretary of Defense Laird announced a freeze on construction until the ABM proposal is "thoroughly reviewed.")

President Nixon's stated preference for "sufficiency" rather than "parity" or "superiority" in describing America's defense aim was described by several speakers as a "significant breakthrough." But "sufficiency," said William Sloane Coffin, "immediately suggests the question 'sufficiency for what?' "

"Who wants to talk about national priorities when we got a revolution going?" The comment came from one of the younger participants deeply involved in the resistance movement.

The breadth of viewpoints, represented by a range from denominational leaders to student "revolutionists," was one of the remarkable features of the Mobilization. The presence of polarities which would have precluded rational discussion in some other meetings, here provided "a lively and, for the most part, civil exchange."

Amnesty for political prisoners and Americans who have gone into exile or hiding in opposition to the draft was a major focus of the Mobilization. The final day of the meeting included a "visible witness" on the steps of the Justice Department. After a concluding service at Metropolitan Church, Mrs. Coretta King, Rabbi Abraham Heschel and others led the participants in procession to the Justice Department. There Rabbi Heschel declared that amnesty is essential "more for the country's sake than for the sake of these young men (in prison and exile)."

In his remarks, Rabbi Heschel dealt sensitively with the Resistance's misgivings about the word "amnesty," which literally means to forgive and forget, as though resisters to the draft and the Vietnam war had committed a wrong that needed forgiveness.

"We as a country must forgive," asserted Heschel, "in order that we may be forgiven for the horrors we have inflicted on the poor of the world."

Also on the steps of the Justice Department, crowded by all the paraphernalia of the mass media, Mrs. King described her determination to continue the work of her martyred husband with CLC in the cause of peace. "The country must choose," she said, "between the works of life and the works of death. The experts can debate about whether we should have guns *or* butter, or guns *and* butter. For my part, I don't want guns."

The Rev. Thomas Lee Hayes, former director of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, was inducted at the Justice Department. Rabbi Heschel read the "charge" and then he, Mrs. King and I laid on hands with a prayer that Fr. Hayes would be given "courage and wisdom in this ministry of reconciliation."

At the initiative of CLC, and with the support of several denominational offices and the cooperation of the Swedish Church, Hayes is being sent to Stockholm as chaplain to the American deserters' community there.

Coretta King led the singing as the approximately two thousand participants at the Justice Department joined hands in "We Shall Overcome." At this most moving moment of the Mobilization, there were tears of joy, nostalgia and hope.

Black participation in the conference was not impressive. Of course, there was Mrs. King and Franklin Reid, the pastor of Metropolitan A.M.E., which is the church where Frederick Douglas, the former slave and abolitionist leader, had his membership. There were about 30 teenage Black registrants and perhaps an equal number of Black youth who took part in the plenary sessions. But CLC efforts to obtain Black academic and activist leaders for workshops and lecture sessions were largely unsuccessful.

More purposeful exchange occurred on Tuesday evening when Mr. David Harris addressed the plenary. Harris is a founder and organizer of the West Coast Resistance, former student body president at Stanford University and, it is inevitably mentioned, the husband of singer Joan Baez. What he said sounds almost banal when put into print. He believes in "the brotherhood of man," "that we all really are brothers," that the only true realist is the man who acts on the premise of the "sacredness of life." But it was not banal that night, not in the context of his own record of resistance and the urgent simplicity of his statement and person.

Harris was warmly supported by his wife in word and song. The message is contained in the title of one of the pamphlets distributed at the gathering, "What if they gave a war and nobody came?"

The part of the Mobilization with greatest political impact is the visitation on Capitol Hill when Congressmen and Senators are confronted by community leaders within their own constituencies. No doubt some politicians have an unrealistic idea of how much influence a clergyman has. But even those politicians who know that many clergymen are more vocal in Washington than they

(Continued on page 11)

The Ten Million Who Speak Spanish

America's Second Largest Minority

by Jorge Lara-Braud

HISPANIC-AMERICANS constitute the second largest ethnic minority in the U.S.A. Altogether they number some 10,000,000. About 6,000,000 are Mexican-Americans located primarily in the Southwest — California and Texas have more than 2,000,000 each, with considerable concentrations in the states of Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico — and in cities like New York, Chicago, Lansing, and Kansas City.

Spanish-Americans who are direct descendants of the original Spanish settlers, are found mostly in northern New Mexico, southern Colorado, northern California, and parts of Nevada and Utah. They account for some 200,000. There are approximately one-and-a-half million Puerto Ricans, located mostly in New York City, but also clustered in the metropolitan areas of New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and a sizable number in Chicago. Cubans number about 400,000, two-thirds of whom are situated in Miami with the rest scattered throughout the country.

"Freedom Flights" from Cuba bring about 1,000 more a week. Most are immediately relocated outside of the Miami area but eventually many of them will resettle in this most Cuban of U.S. cities. The remaining million and a half represent every other Latin American country. It is doubtful whether *any* U.S. city larger than 100,000 does not have a recognizable Spanish-speaking enclave.

For more reasons than one it would be inaccurate to regard these 10,000,000 Hispanic-Americans as an immigrant community. Close to 90 per cent are U.S. citizens. Contrary to popular belief, immigration from Latin America, except for the exceptional case of the Cubans, may now have reached an all-time low. As of July 1, 1968 the new U.S. Immigration law puts a limit of 20,000 immigrants from any single independent country in one year, with a total allowable of 120,000 for the Western Hemisphere. They were formerly under non-quota classification with no numerical limit.

Plain Historical Fact

By far the most significant factor in the non-immigrant character of Spanish-speaking people in this country is the plain historical fact that they were here first, long before the Pilgrims made their appearance. Robert Frost's famous line may legitimately be reversed by Hispanic-Americans: "The land was ours before we were the land's."

Unfortunately, it was by military conquest that the first Spanish-speaking U.S. citizens became the land's. Former Mexican and Spanish citizens were left no choice by their defeat in the Texas War of Independence of 1836, the Mexican War of 1846-48, and the Spanish-American War of 1898. History teaches us that conquered people have a way of gradually being reduced to humble hewers of wood and drawers of water. Eventually, a convenient stereotype builds around them: simple, childlike, indolent folk requiring no more than the bare essentials of life, a periodic fiesta or two, and the timely application of legal and economic force by the wielders of power when the assertion of cultural deviancy transcends the restraints of a society committed to melting differences away.

Their ranks were later swelled by several waves of refugee immigration as early as 1910-1925 when Mexicans fled the Revolution and its aftermath, and as late as 1959-68 when Cubans abandoned their island to Castro's Marxist experiment. Other waves of poor Mexican and Puerto Rican immigrants have come and gone since the 1920's, according to the U.S. demand for cheap agricultural and factory labor.

"Prestige" immigration from Latin America has been minimal. Even when immigrants have previously held skilled professional and managerial positions, as has been the experience of Cubans, of necessity their first few years here are heavy with the psychology of displacement and as welfare recipients. The combined legacy of military conquest, cheap foreign labor, and exile immigration created an image of people in dire need of social and cultural "rehabilitation" if they were to qualify for full-fledged citizenship.

Hispanic-Americans, however, have repudiated the idea of rehabilitation as a condition for their share in the American dream. In fact, it may be truthfully said that no other group has more generously amplified the principle on which that dream is based, "from the many one" (*e pluribus unum*). As an ethnic family, it encompasses the whole gamut of the racial strains known to man, Indianhood being its most basic component, and Spanish the language of its soul. What it pleads for is the same acceptance of its difference by the larger society, while it pledges its unconditional loyalty to a free, democratic, and *pluralistic* United States of America. The disproportionate record of heroism and casualties of the Spanish-speaking in the last three major U.S. wars will forever stand as a memorial to their unwavering allegiance to this country.

Whether it is racism, or intolerance to difference, or repressive tolerance, the fact remains that this country has proven actually hostile to the way in which Hispanic-Americans have chosen non-assimilation or selective assimilation. Harold Howe II, immediate past U.S. Commissioner of Education, is quite correct in deploring this "Cowboy vs. Indians" mentality.

School, churches, employers, government and law enforcement agencies seem to have been guided by the assumption of rehabilitation, i.e., "Americanization" in an attempt to incorporate Spanish-speaking citizens within the homogenized national mainstream. The argument was simple: other "language" minorities had been able to do it within the so-called American melting pot. Why not they?

The Cultural Homogenizers

What apparently escaped these well-intentioned cultural homogenizers was that *the parallel between Hispanic-Americans and other language minorities in the U.S.A. turns out to be no parallel at all.* The living organism of Hispanic-American culture was already deeply rooted in U.S. soil a good many years before the arrival of the *Mayflower*. Despite the traumas of military conquest, of dispossession of lands by legal chicanery, of prejudicial treatment of cheap labor, and condescending acceptance of bewildered exiles, the blood stream of the Spanish-speaking organism has never ceased to be replenished.

Meanwhile, Latin America has been rediscovered south and *north* of the Rio Grande following the tremors of the Cuban revolution. Being a Spanish-English bilingual is no longer quaint or un-American. Practically all major institutions of higher learning have initiated programs of Latin American studies and, in the new climate of hemispheric interaction, it is not surprising that in 1967, there were 62 million border crossings made by Mexicans into the U.S.A., 57 million by U.S. citizens into Mexico, and 386 weekly flights from Latin America to Miami, exclusive of the "freedom flights" from Cuba. Even if new immigration from Latin American countries may be reaching an all-time low, the marvels of modern transportation have greatly accelerated an intense bicultural and bilingual traffic between the Americas.

The question is whether the United States will continue its policy of cultural genocide, mostly unwitting, towards its Hispanic-Americans or whether it will live up for *the first time* to its cherished ideal of pluralism by providing the conditions allowing this important community to enrich itself and the country through the renaissance of its rich cultural traditions. Nothing would make more sense in a nation rent assunder by the ugly legacy of racism. A true Hispanic-American knows no racial prejudice, holds sacred human life over "humane" causes, puts honor before gain, defers to the wisdom of the old over the fads of the young, struggles against the machine's tyranny over human existence and values freedom more than life when his native or adopted country is threatened with aggression.

Tragically, the day of renaissance has not dawned. Their destitution in a country enjoying unprecedented prosperity bespeaks both their endurance and the insensitivity of their would-be rehabilitators.

It is no oversimplification to state that this destitution is directly related to an institutionalized system of rewards and punishments based on the relative success or failure with which one can abandon his "foreign" ways and adopt those more typical of the homogenized mainstream. Even then, those who so "succeed" more often than not discover that they have not quite "arrived." Their physical features, the remnants of an accent, their Spanish surname, still identify them with the vast "unrehabilitated" mass of the blood kin they mistakenly thought they had divorced themselves from. The results are frequently pathological.

Much regret has been expressed about the lack of leaders among Hispanic-Americans. If by "leaders" we mean those rewarded with positions of power for rejecting or suppressing their ethnic family, then we should all rejoice in the shortage.

Mexican-American musicians sing for an El Paso audience

New Mexico — a mother and child

Hereford, Texas — Organizing a literacy class

Genuine leadership, nevertheless, has come to the fore in individuals possessing undeniable charisma, and profiting from the fall-out of more than a decade of struggle by blacks for their human rights. The most celebrated and revered is Cesar Chavez, 41, an unusual blend of saintliness and sagacity. A devout Roman Catholic, he is unalterably committed to non-violence. Trained in the Alinsky-style of community organization, Chavez attained national renown when in the fall of 1965 he began the as yet unended strike of Filipino and Mexican-American farm workers against grape growers in the San Joaquin Valley of California. After a bitter struggle, his fledgling United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, has successfully negotiated eleven contracts with major winegrape growers.

Widespread Support

He faces, however, a much tougher challenge with table grape growers in the same area, who raise 90 per cent of the U.S. crop. The growers have traded more than one hundred brands among themselves in an attempt to keep any of them from being singled out for a boycott effort. Chavez has seen no recourse but to declare a national boycott against *all* California table grapes.

An indication of his popularity is the endorsement he has received from the overwhelming majority of Hispanic-Americans throughout the country, the General Board of the National Council of Churches (but not of the National Conference of Roman Catholic Bishops), many individual Roman Catholic bishops, a number of large municipalities (among them New York City, Boston, Minneapolis), and scores of students and clergymen of all ethnic groups on picket lines in every major U.S. city.

Just as the boycott was beginning seriously to hurt the sales of table grapes, however, it was discovered that the Armed Services had multiplied their grape requisitions for Vietnam from $32,438 in 1965 to an estimated $500,000 in 1968. Meanwhile, the workers are harassed by the growers and the police, and face the continual threat of court action.

Chavez' struggle as a symbol of redress for the Spanish-speaking cannot be overestimated. He has challenged practically every U.S. power and principality inimical to their self-determination. Hence, his name, picture, union banner and slogans make their appearance in every other struggle of the Spanish-speaking: efforts to secure collective bargaining, demands for bilingual education, voter registration drives, restraint of biased law enforcement agencies, proportional representation in juries, draft and school boards, exclusion of cheap (legal) "commuter" labor from Mexico, coverage of farm workers under the 1935 National Labor Relations Act (from which they have been specifically excluded), non-discriminatory practices in employment and promotions, and an end to the excessively large numbers of Spanish-speaking youth drafted for service in Vietnam.

A quite different charismatic, with a growing following of militants, is the fiery spell-binder and former Pentecostal preacher, 42-year-old Reies Lopez Tijerina. Called variously "God's angry man," the "Robin Hood of New Mexico," or a "self-seeking demagogue," Tijerina has founded the Alianza Federal de Mercedes (Federal Alliance of Free City States) in an attempt to reclaim the millions of acres of communally-owned land in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado allegedly taken away from Spanish-Americans by the "Anglos" and by the U.S. government in violation of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo of 1848, which protected their ownership of such lands in perpetuity.

Violence Rejected

No group among the Spanish-speaking has felt more bitterly the sense of military conquest and dispossession. Understandably, Tijerina has touched a responsive chord. His following, however, is not as large as one might suppose. Many recoil from the insinuation of violence that colors his potent diatribes against Uncle Sam and "Anglo institutions." He was recently acquitted of the charge of having led Alianza members in a raid of the Tierra Amarilla, N.M., court house, resulting in the shooting and wounding of two officers, a citizens' arrest of a deputy sheriff, a newsman held hostage, and several persons beaten. This spectacular court victory, the first of its kind in Southwest history, will likely strengthen the ailing Alianza, and propel its leader to a much larger leadership role among young Mexican American militants.

One of these is Rodolfo ("Corky") Gonzalez of Denver, Colorado, founder of the 1,800 member Crusade for Justice, an organization mainly devoted to the protection of Mexican-Americans and other minorities from the excesses of law enforcement agencies. Tijerina and Gonzalez, with Bert Corona of San Francisco, head of the 20,000-member Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA), are the architects of a coalition with militant black organizations on the West Coast.

Presumably, there is a united front made up of their three Mexican-American organizations and chapters of CORE, SNCC, and other black militants. We say "presumably" because the coalition is at times more verbal than actual, more mutually protective than jointly decisive, more crisis-oriented than strategic. The black and Mexican-American rank and file considers the arrangement a tactical necessity for situations of special duress. Of course, the truly disaffected, in their relentless struggle against overly zealous police, exist in permanent duress. For them the coalition is a *de facto* reality.

This is particularly true in Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay area, and Denver, but with no noticeable projections to other parts of the Southwest. Their numbers in sustained concerted action are modest by any account. The fact is that blacks and Mexican-Americans barely know each other. A system insensitive to minorities has made them virtual opponents in the fight for status. Gang killings between the two minorities were not unknown until the word began to spread that their respective elders were uniting. Still, it will be a long time before the majority in each community will give top priority to alliance with the other. The blacks are generally of the opinion that Mexican-Americans lag at least a decade behind them in civil rights. Mexican-Americans would have to heal their many divisions and define their style of self-determination before they are ready for inter-ethnic alliances or are welcomed by a more aggressive ethnic group as an asset.

By far the most satisfactory solution for the future of the Spanish-speaking in the U.S. is to work hard and together at obtaining redress in all the areas where they have been deprived not only of basic rights but of the more fundamental right of being a rich bilingual and bicultural community. As with individuals, a community becomes destructive of itself and others when it looks alone for its survival. Of all ethnic families in the U.S.A., the Spanish-speaking are by virtue of their variety in the unique position of exemplifying the fraternity of all men.

Happily, countless men of good will in every other ethnic group are ready to lend their support in making the dream come true. Witness the nation-wide endorsement of Chavez' boycott, the creation of the Ford Foundation-funded $2,200,000 Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund in May of 1968 (already winning significant test cases in education and law endorcement) and the training of a new generation of civil rights lawyers.

Another heartening event was the series of hearings on Mexican-Americans last December in San Antonio conducted by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. They revealed rank injustices in inferior education, biased administration of justice, exploitation of farm laborers and inhuman mismanagement of welfare programs. Legal action and corrective legislation are bound to result.

Not the least encouraging feature of these hearings was the courageous testimony and the growing evidence of affirmative programs already underway, presented by prominent Anglos and Blacks, along with Mexican-Americans, in response to the many indignities still endured by the Spanish-speaking. The dream begins to come true. When it is fully realized, it will add a large measure of sanity to the whole of U.S. society and, by extension, to the rest of the world.

(Dr. Lara-Braud is director of the Hispanic-American Institute in Austin, Texas. (This article will also appear in the 1969 spring issue of Migration Today *publication of the Division of Inter-Church Aid, Refugee and World Service of the World Council of Churches.)*

The Call to Christian Servanthood Can Be a Call to Boycott

THE MEXICAN AMERICAN FARMWORKER FIGHTS FOR A FUTURE

by The Rev. Wayne C. Hartmire, Jr.

LIBERATION is going on among farm workers but the going is rough. To get some idea of how rough it is you only have to look at the forces that are opposing César Chavez and the farm workers who are with him. California agriculture is big business! Gross agricultural income tops four (4) billion dollars. Among the giant landowners who dominate the industry and the politics of the state are So. Pacific Railroad (201,851 acres), Standard Oil (218,485 acres), J. G, Boswell (69,919 acres), Anderson-Clayton (52,000 acres), Tejon Ranch (controlled by the Los Angeles *Times*) (168,531 acres), Giumarra Vineyards Corporation (12,459 acres), Kern County Land Co. (348,026 acres).

Allied with these large landowners are banking interests like the Bank of America, the pesticide industry, which includes such giants as Shell Oil Co., farm machinery manufacturers, Governor Ronald Reagan and his administration, agricultural labor users and state Chambers of Commerce across the land, candidate Richard Nixon (who publicly ate grapes on a swing through the state) and perhaps President Richard Nixon.

Along with these mainstream opponents go the John Birch Society and a vast array of publications and groups on the right wing. Bringing self-determination to the fields of California and the nation is an ambitious undertaking which impinges on the economic self-interest of some of our nation's most powerful individuals and groups.

This article has a simple thesis: the Delano strikers are pioneering for all farm workers in the nation. They represent one form of the servant activity of Jesus in our time, and they need help. They need specific fleshly help in strengthening an already precedent-setting world-wide boycott of California table grapes. They do not need understanding and sympathy nor do they need "mediators" and "reconcilers". They don't even need workshops on legislation. What they need is an out-pouring of specific support for the boycott. Many of its supporters will be called on to sacrifice, to work, to give of themselves so that a disciplined, non-violent organizing drive will succeed in bringing growers to the bargaining table.

If the boycott fails, the fields of our nation may explode with chaos and violence. If it succeeds, energy, money and hope will be released for the organization of farm workers in other parts of California and the nation. The grape boycott is the testing ground for a national farm worker's movement that holds out the possibility of opening up a new future of dignity for seasonal farm workers and their families, and a new future of justice and accepted interdependence for the whole agricultural community.

A Difficult Road

It is hard to say where it all got started. In California alone there have been 500 farm labor strikes since the turn of the century. The lessons of those struggles have been added to the resources of the present effort. Brave men like Ernesto Galarza and Norman Smith poured out much of their lifeblood in earlier attempts at organization. But always the growers were stronger. Beatings and repressive arrests were common.

The press used its power to isolate the cause of the workers from potential sympathizers. The strikes usually died before sustaining help could be molized. Many of these strikes caused a temporary increase in wages but no pattern of collective bargaining and contract protections was ever established. And so farm workers remained unorganized and unprotected, excluded from basic legislation (like NLRA and unemployment insurance) while working under conditions that would be considered criminal in industry.

The Delano strike was different. It survived long enough to attract national attention and dependable support. In one sense it all began with the decision of one man. In 1962, César Chavez decided to build a farm worker's organization that would in time change the conditions under which farm workers lived and worked. César Chavez had been a migrant farm worker as a child. He and his family used to stop in Delano to work in

the grapes. It was there that he met his wife, Helen. After World War II, the Chavez' settled in San José, California where César became active in the Community Service Organization (CSO), an organization of Mexican-Americans targeted on social change and pioneered by Fred Ross, one of our nation's most successful organizers among the poor. César learned organizing from Fred Ross and in time became the national director of CSO.

In 1962, César Chavez left the CSO and settled in Delano with his wife and their eight children. Together they began to build an organization that would be composed of farm workers, paid for by farm workers and thus controlled by farm workers. By the fall of 1965 there were nearly 2,000 family members in the National Farm Workers' Association (NFWA). They had a credit union, an office, a couple of staff, including Chavez and Dolores Huerta, and a death benefit insurance plan tied to the $3.50 monthly dues.

The strike in Delano was begun by the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) under the leadership of Larry Itliong. Two weeks later, the membership of the NFWA voted to join the strike. The Delano Grape Strike began as a dispute over wages but it has now become a national symbol of the aspirations of farm workers to sit as equals with their employers to bargain for wages and working conditions and for a written contract that will guarantee the agreements that are reached.

As a result of the Delano strike and the several boycotts that have accompanied the strike, there have been union representation elections, bargaining and contracts with ten wine-grape growers. The aspirations and the organizational energies of the workers are now focussed on table-grape growers.

In May and June of 1967, UFWOC carried on an organizing campaign among the workers of Giumarra Vineyards Corporation (12,500 acres, approximately half of the acreage in table grapes). In June, UFWOC sent a registered letter to Giumarra stating that the union represented Giumarra's workers and asking for a meeting to discuss a union representation election. The company did not respond. The union then sent a telegram, asked the State Conciliation Service to arrange a meeting, and through other independent parties tried to get a meeting with the company. The company refused. *Note* that the workers were not asking for recognition or for immediate bargaining. They were only asking for a meeting to discuss fair procedures for a secret ballot election that would determine the will of the workers. The company would not even discuss such an election and, since that time, has resisted all mediation efforts by church groups and others.

This same offer for elections has been made to all table grape growers in California—large and small. Without a single exception (so far) table grape growers have refused to meet with representatives of the organized workers to discuss elections or other issues having to do with representation and bargaining.

Grower Resistance Grows

On August 3, 1967, after two months of trying to meet with Giumarra, a strike was called by UFWOC. I watched 80-90 per cent of the field workers leave their jobs to join the strike. The company began recruiting strikebreakers from Mexico and elsewhere, and the struggle was on. The boycott against Giumarra's grapes began in the fall of 1967. Other growers loaned their labels to Giumarra to help him minimize the pressure of the boycott. By the end of the season, Giumarra was marketing grapes under his own labels plus nearly 100 others.

In the spring and summer of 1968, the strike spread to the Coachella Valley and southern Kern County. There are now over 40 strikes certified by the U.S. Dept. of Labor. Also in the spring and summer of 1968, the offer for elections was made to all table grape growers. In the face of the unified resistance of the industry to any conversations with organized workers, the boycott was expanded to include all California table grapes. Church groups, unions and public officials all over the country have given their support to this boycott.

The hard reality is that farm workers need and want organizational strength and collective bargaining and their employers are resisting unionization with all the considerable power at their command. The boycott of California table grapes has become the battleground for these opposing forces. Those who believe that justice for farm workers is dependent upon the presence of a strong, independent union must confront the fact that supporting the boycott is the relevant servant deed. The boycott *is* the place of struggle; it is where farm workers need and are calling for our support.

Agricultural employers seldom come out and say that they oppose unionization. They are more likely to say that they believe in unions for their workers but they oppose this particular union and its leadership (and every other specific union and specific leader that has come along in the past 50 years). They claim that César Chavez is out for money and power and does not care about the human needs of the workers. Everything in César's background contradicts this "grower illusion." César Chavez is an experienced and skilled organizer. He is also a dedicated Christian who is pouring out the substance of his life in an effort to achieve a new kind of dignity for workers.

After 16 years as an organizer, he and Helen and their eight children live in a small, four room frame house in Delano (the same house he moved to in 1962 when he started organizing the NFWA). He does not own a car. Since the strike began he has received no salary. He and his family live like all of the Delano strikers: $5.00 per week spending money, food from the strike kitchen or store and basic bills (e.g., rent and utilities) paid by the union.

Growers claim that workers do not want to be represented by Chavez' union (UFWOC) and that the boycott is an act of frustration. If it is so obvious that the workers oppose Chavez, why don't growers agree to elections to prove their point? Prior to every strike and boycott, UFWOC has offered to join the grower involved in setting up fair elections to determine the will of the workers. In every case the grower has refused even to discuss such an election.

After having closed the door on the only democratic method available to convince the public that their workers are content (and thus to get the boycott off their backs), growers then ask us to accept their word about the feelings of their workers. Whenever the union has forced an election by strike and boycott, *the workers have voted overwhelmingly to be represented by César Chavez' United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.* These elections (two at DiGiorgio and one at Goldberg plus card checks at six other ranches) are the only hard evidence we have as to the will of the workers.

But what of the smaller landowners, those that are now caught in a cost-price squeeze and are the most likely to be hurt by the boycott? Most farm workers have considerable empathy for small farmers, many of whom are themselves laborers under pressure from large commercial farms. But the workers are now saying to these farmers: "We will not tolerate any longer a situation where your survival in business is purchased by our poverty and the poverty of our children."

It is also important to remember that most farm workers in California are employed by the larger commercial farms that dominate the industry. In California 7 per cent of the farms employ 75 per cent of the workers. Forty-nine thousand of California's 81,000 farms (1964 census) hire no outside labor. Sixty per cent of California's farms average less than 50 acres but the total acreage of these small farms is 5 per cent of the state's agricultural land.

Small Farmers Have Status

It must also be said that even the hard pressed small farmer is not in the same economic position as the worker. The American farm worker is often a member of a minority group; he works seasonally for poverty wages and lives in fringe communities and labor camps separated from the established community and its institutions. In California, where farm labor wages are relatively high, the average seasonal farm worker earns *$2,024 per year.*

SOME FACTS ABOUT SEASONAL FARM WORKERS

Compiled by the California Migrant Ministry from statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor, U.S. Department of Agriculture, California Department of Employment, and the Annual Report of the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor of the U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

1. **Life expectancy for migrants: 49 years**
2. **Death rate of migrant farm workers as a percent of the national rates (1967)**
   - a. **Infant mortality** — **125% higher than national**
   - b. **Maternal mortality** — **125%**
   - c. **Influenza & Pneumonia** — **200%**
   - d. **Tuberculosis & other infectious diseases** — **260%**
   - e. **Accidents** — **300%**
3. **Average annual earnings for migrant workers in the U.S. (1967): $1,307.**
4. **Wages in agriculture as compared to unskilled jobs in other industries (1965):**

	Farm Workers	Unskilled—Other Ind.
U.S.A.	$1.14	$2.61
Califonria	1.42	3.05
Oregon	1.34	2.94
Texas	.98	2.48

California's Welfare Study Commission made this cryptic observation about seasonal farm workers: "One occupational group in California is so deeply locked in poverty that it is set off from all others." In commenting on the scandalous condition of farm labor housing in California, the Governor's Advisory Commission on Housing concluded the following: "These (housing) conditions . . . offer little evidence of improvement in the relative economic and social position of the agricultural worker in California. He remains, as he has since the state's early transition to intensive labor use farming, among the most poorly paid, poorly fed and poorly housed of California's citizens."

In contrast to the position of the worker, the average small farmer owns land and can sell it. He has credit at the bank and an established place in the community life. He has access to the decision-making process of the community. His children look forward to higher education and to a future full of options.

It is difficult to oppose on economic grounds the provisions of the present contracts between UFWOC and the wine grape growers because the protections in the contract are so basic to dignified labor. And yet these simple protections are unknown to the vast majority of farm workers in our country. The contracts provide for overtime pay, paid holidays and paid vacations based on longevity; the most recent contracts raise wages to a minimum of $1.90 per hour (the going hourly rate in California is $1.40 to $1.50 per hour); the contracts provide for a health and welfare plan, for rest periods and safety provisions; for sanitary drinking water and for toilets in the fields; they set up a grievance procedure and require the employer to show cause when he fires a worker.

All of the existing contracts have *no strike* and *no lockout* clauses. In commenting on their companies' experience with UFWOC and the contract, "representatives of Schenley Industries and Di Giorgio Fruit Corporation said that relations with the union have been remarkably good." Attorneys Sidney Korshak, who represents Schenley Industries, made the following comment: "While wages have gone up upwards of 50 per cent, it is not causing us any real economic problems. Wages were so low before that we felt the workers were certainly entitled to the additional money and fringe benefits."

But what about mediation and reconciliation; aren't these the more appropriate roles for the Church? Wouldn't it be better to stand in the middle in order to get the two sides together rather than to take one side in an economic power struggle? The workers have been exploited for generations. They are seeking reasonable and legitimate change. *They want to get together with their employers* — not as individuals or in crews, but as an organized body with bargaining power. The employers won't even discuss the subject. How does a person concerned with justice stand in the middle of that situation? Reconciliation depends on a balancing of power so that equal communication can take place. The workers must be strong enough to force bargaining. Those who believe in justice and reconciliation are obliged to help them be strong enough. This doesn't mean denying the humanity of employers; but it does mean calling on those employers to demonstrate their best humanity by taking their workers seriously at the bargaining table.

The Church and Justice

This approach doesn't deny the value of mediation. Mediation is just irrelevant at the present. One side (the growers) doesn't want mediation. When the pressure of the boycott is great enough, they will decide they do want mediation. At that point there are literally dozens of individuals and groups who can serve as mediators. It is a little absurd for the Church to stand aside from a basic justice struggle in order to hold itself pure for the day of mediation. Chances are great that the parties will not want amateur mediators doing the mediating.

Many Christians argue that the goals of the farm workers' movement are just but that the boycott tactic is cruel and unfair. What alternative do they offer? Shall we who are affluent ask farm workers to sit around and wait for an essentially indifferent society to pass protective legislation? And how will strong legislation ever be possible if the organizing pressure does not continue? Why does the boycott tactic seem so unfair to so many churchmen? Is the continued suffering of farm workers and their children a more acceptable state of affairs? Haven't most Christians justified strong means, including mass killing and destruction, for the sake of certain ends? In the face of employer intransigence isn't non-violent economic pressure a reasonable and legitimate means for bringing an end to the unjust treatment of farm workers and their families?

If men of good will (especially Jesus' men) fail to support the farm worker's *non-violent* efforts, what does the future hold for the relationship between the rural poor and affluent America? The call to Christian servanthood is not a call to ease or to ethical purity; it is often a call to do specific deeds that will in fact help real men who are struggling for a measure of freedom.

It is so easy for us to assume that someone else will do what is necessary to gain victory for the farm workers. But like all movements for social progress the farm workers' movement is up against tremendous odds. If it is to succeed, people who care must get off the seat of their pants and *do some deeds* for justice. Why can't more of us set aside some of our consumerism and some of our personal and bureaucratic priorities in order to help concretely that servant community of farm workers that is struggling to break open a new future for all farm workers? Every man's decision about the boycott is important to the shape of the new future.

—Mr. Hartmire is director of the California Migrant Ministry, supported by the Northern California Council of Churches and the Council of Churches in Southern California.

The Father Ruiz Story

HUNGER IN SAN ANTONIO

by Kay Longcope

Fr. Ralph Ruiz

IT'S very hard to ask for food. It takes guts. But day after day, my people come with their kids, stuttering in embarrassment, asking for food. It is inhuman to push our people to beg for food. This has got to stop!"

The speaker was Fr. Ralph Ruiz, a Roman Catholic priest who, with a colleague, runs the Inner-City Apostolate in the heart of San Antonio's worst Mexican-American ghetto.

There, on the Near West Side of Texas' most historic city, the day after Christmas showed little evidence that December 25 had been anything more than another day in the year. School-age kids on holiday played in unpaved, rutty roads. Several men were bent over the hood of an old-model car, shaking their heads in exasperation as they tried to make it run again. Mothers sat on porch steps, visiting with each other in the warm, sunny weather.

For Fr. Ruiz, however, the sunshine outside did not invade his small bedroom-office where he talked with a visitor. And the hope that fills most hearts at the beginning of a new year had ebbed a bit from his. As the stocky, bespectacled priest looked toward 1969, the same question of how to ease hunger pangs in the bellies of his people still stood unanswered.

"I spend sleepless nights thinking 'What is the next step?' " he said.

In recent months, the young priest — a native of San Antonio — has waged a spirited fight against local, state and federal authorities to bring the plight of his people into the open. He contends that the figure of an estimated 100,000 hungry persons in the city is low. Some experts put the figure at 114,000.

The claim that there *are* 100,000 hungry persons in their midst, made in a CBS television documentary aired last May, touched off wave upon wave of controversy among San Antonians. Though that figure was first contained in a 1967 survey of the Citizens Crusade Against Hunger, it wasn't noticed on a widespread basis until cited in the CBS "Hunger in America" documentary. Understandably, the documentary was embarrassing to city officials. But public statements by such persons as Burton Hackney, Texas State Commissioner of Welfare, and Bexar Country Commissioner A. J. Ploch, should have caused even more embarrassment.

Immediately prior to the Congressional hearings on hunger, held in May in Washington, D.C., Hackney told reporters that "there is malnutrition not because of poverty but because of ignorance." His remarks were based on a survey he made in preparation for the hearings.

He also said that a doctor had told him "there is widespread ignorance among Mexican-American women in the area about proper nutrition" and that "if a Mexican woman had a bushel of money, she would still feed those kids tortillas and beans."

"That's what I'm finding all over the state," Hackney said.

In the wake of ripples caused by that statement, Dr. Hector Garcia of Corpus Christi, a key witness at the Congressional hearings, called for Hackney's resignation because "he has no compassion, understanding and love for mothers and their children whom he is supposed to serve."

Bexar County Commissioner Ploch, whose steadfast opposition to welfare and anti-poverty programs is a matter of record in San Antonio, was quoted on the CBS documentary as saying that if any family in the county goes hungry, it's due to breadwinners who won't work. He also said that an eighth grade education is all a Mexican-American needs.

People involved in the problems of welfare and poverty deplored the attitudes reflected in those public statements and have challenged their accuracy.

Fr. Ruiz was one. He told a press conference: "The nation can now see that these two men—Mr. Hackney and Mr. Ploch—represent the forces that have been contributing to the poverty and lack of education of a beautiful and able people. . . . I only hope that the kind, generous and open heart of the American people will not be obscured by petty arguments and baseless denials."

THE latest development in the continuing controversy came in December when the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held hearings on the problems of Mexican-Americans in San Antonio. There, Fr. Ruiz charged that FBI agents, on assignment by the House Committee on Appropriations, had "invaded the privacy of the poor" in an attempt to disprove reports of hunger and malnutrition in the San Antonio area.

"What do FBI agents know about hunger?" he asked. "What purpose can they have-except to frighten, intimidate, harass and bother the poor and hungry who thought the government was their friend? I can take care of myself; these Federal police do not frighten or intimidate me. But what of the poor families who are suddenly faced with two FBI agents asking questions about whether they are hungry, about how much money they make, about what they do eat, about why don't they eat better. It is not their fault that they are hungry, that they are poor, that they must depend upon a paternalistic and inadequate system for their daily bread.

"It is very hard for these people to tell their story of deprivation and hunger. They have told it often here—to the Citizens' Board of Inquiry, to the CBS-TV crews and, therefore, to the nation, and to me and those who work here every day. They shouldn't be forced to tell it again to Federal agents, to agents of the FBI."

The condition of the poor in San Antonio—in the main, one of the nation's loveliest cities with spacious tree-lined boulevards and a scenic river that cuts through the center city—was set forth in a 1967 application for participation in the U.S. Government's Model Cities Program. The application, which has been accepted, stated in part: "In the city, 28 per cent of the families (38,444) made less than $3,000 per year, and over six per cent of the families had an income of less than $1,000. . . . Although the economic picture appears optimistic and growth seems to be certain, it is still true that San Antonio has more area of blight today than ever before. . . ."

That blight touches the everyday lives of an even larger number of people. It is not restricted to the estimated 100,000 hungry San Antonians, as a recent survey conducted by the U.S. Public Health Service points out. Survey conclusions tend to support contentions of the Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition, which was set up last year by the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. That privately-sponsored survey stated that 10 million Americans are hungry.

—Miss Longcope is director of public relations of IFCO, the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization and reporter for "Presbyterian Life."

WASHINGTON COMMENT

LAW-MAKING AND CONGRESSIONAL PROCEDURE

By David M. Ackerman

THE Congress is an unwieldly structure for the making of laws. It is made up of 535 diverse men and women organized into two separate and jealous houses, 40 standing and special committees and 260 standing and special subcommittees. It is governed by inviolable traditions of seniority and individual prerogative, and by complex sets of parliamentary rules.

To help define and carry out its will, it has individual and committee staffs consisting of literally thousands of political and professional appointees. For any bill to become law, it must receive the attention and loving care of a variety of staffs and Congressmen; serve, reconcile or, at least, not offend the varied interests of the members, parties, committees and houses; and survive the gantlet of parliamentary rules.

In short, the procedure through which public policy is established in law is complex and arduous and often the most critical decisions are hidden from the public eye. In the 90th Congress, 29,133 bills were introduced in the House and Senate. Of these, only 640 were passed into law. The rest were not acted upon or were killed at some point in the legislative process. An understanding of the process which governs this decision-making is vital to anyone interested in Congress. Here are the basics of that process and the critical points where the fateful decisions are actually made.

Ackerman

Basic Ground Rules

Several generalities about the basic ground rules governing Congressional law-making should be stated at the outset. First, and most obvious, Congress is divided into two houses — the House and the Senate. Each has its own leadership, its own committee and subcommittee structure and its own rules of procedure. For a bill to become law, it must go through separate, though similar, legislative processes in both houses. It must be introduced separately and voted on in separate floor actions.

Furthermore, both houses must pass not just similar versions of a bill before it can be sent to the President for his signature; both houses must pass identical measures.

Second, each Congress begins with a clean legislative slate. None of the bills introduced in previous Congresses carries over. Any bill not acted on or rejected by previous Congresses must be reintroduced in the new Congress to be considered. This is true regardless of how far a bill has progrssed in the legislative process.

Even if it was passed by one house but not the other, or if differing versions were passed by both houses but were not reconciled by a conference committee before adjournment, the bill must start at the beginning once more. However, all bills introduced in the first session of a Congress remain eligible for consideration through the second session as well.

A third generality that needs to be kept in mind is that many of the programs passed by Congress must be considered twice in order to be implemented: a program must first be established, i.e. authorized, by Congress. It must then, in a separate and later action, be funded before it can begin operating. Authorization legislation for a program usually establishes a program for a set number of years (rarely more than four), defines its nature, and sets a maximum limit on the amount of funds that Congress may later appropriate for that program in any given fiscal year.

Funds for the program must then be sought and appropriated in a separate Congressional action, usually on an annual basis. The appropriations cannot be in excess of the amount authorized for that year in the authorization legislation and are often far less than the authorized amount. Both of these steps — authorization and appropriation — are equally important. It is all too easy for the public to be deceived when Congress authorizes a bold new program but then underfunds it or fails to fund it at all.

The committees of Congress are structures to accomplish these separate purposes. Most of the commitees (Banking and Currency, Education and Labor, Ways and Means, etc..) consider only authorization bills. The appropiation bills to fund the programs reported by the committees and passed by Congress are considered only by the appropriations committees of the two houses. Consequently, the responsibility for revising programs or launching new ones lies with the authorization committees. The responsibility for funding them adequately lies with the appropriations committees.

Several other comments should be made about the committee structure of Congress. The committee is central to the legislative process. It is here that most of the work is actually done. More than 90 per cent of the bills passed by Congress are approved in virtually the same form as that in which they are reported from committee. Most bills, however, die or are killed in committee.

Membership on the various committees is divided between the two major political parties in proportion to their total membership in the House or Senate. Each party in each house determines who from its own ranks will serve on what committee. Each representative serves on just one or, at most, two committees; each senator because of the smaller size of the Senate, must serve on several.

Members rank in seniority on each committee in accordance with the order of their appointment to the committee. The ranking majority member of each committee is automatically the chairman (unless he doesn't want to be). One consequence of this seniority system is that the chairmen often are the older members of Congress who come from one-party districts. Currently the average age of the chairmen is 67.

Each committee chairman has great power over the bills that come before his committee. He determines which bills his committee will and will not consider among those referred to it, designates who will serve on what subcommittees, appoints the subcommittee chairmen and decides which subcommittee will consider what bills.

As a result, members of Congress find it very difficult to oppose the will of any committee chairman and often must curry the chairman's favor if they hope to get a particular bill acted upon. In short, it is almost impossible to obtain favorable action on a bill without the cooperation of the chairman of the committee having jurisdiction in the relevant area.

Outline of Congressional Procedure

With two exceptions, bills on all subjects may arise in either the House or the Senate. Revenue bills, by the Constitution, and appropriation bills, by custom, arise in the House. Most important bills must run a procedural gantlet before becoming law. A bill is introduced by a member in either the House or Senate; referred to committee; re-referred to subcommittee; transmitted to executive departments for comment; subjected to public hearings; "marked up" and either tabled or reported favorably by committee; granted or refused permission by the Rules Committee to be considered immediatly on the floor (in the House only); debated; amended and voted up or down on the floor and, if passed, sent to the other house, where it is subject to the same procedure again. Even after a bill passes both houses, a conference committee must ordinarily be chosen to reconcile any difference in the two versions to be passed. A bill is sent to the President for his signature only after both the House and Senate have passed identical versions.

A bill can be killed at almost any step in this process. For it to run this gantlet successfully, it must either be non-controversial, have broad support, or be continually compromised. Particularly critical to the content of bills that do get considered are, first, the mark-up sessions in subcommittee and committee. In these (hidden from the public view) the bills receive their most thorough consideration and most important revisions.

Another critical point of decision is the Rules Committee in the House. Its power stems not from any power to rewrite a bill but from its capacity to act as a procedural roadblock.

However, the Rules Committee often uses this procedural power to block consideration of bills it does not like (such as Civil Rights bills) or to extract compromising promises from the bill's managers as the condition for granting a rule.

Very important also are the debate and amending sessions on the House and Senate floors. These often provide the only glimpse the public gets of where a given Congressman stands on a particular bill or amendment, for it is here that he must cast a public vote (although there are parliamentary means through which Congressmen often circumvent the record vote).

The Senate has more flexible rules governing debate than the House, so that often groups of Senators can attempt to prevent or defeat action simply by "filibustering." Also, in the Senate, there is no requirement, as there is in the House, that proposed amendments to the pending bill be germane to the subject matter of that bill. Consequently, senators have the freedom to force floor consideration of controversial legislation, or legislation that has not been acted upon by committee, by proposing such legislation as amendments to pending bills.

In sum, the organization of Congress and the procedures that govern its operations not only set the stage for the drama of legislative politics but also makes the legislative task, in large part, one of overcoming inertia. They put the burden of proof on those who would alter the status quo, not on those who would continue it. Whether they make Congress too rigid and to unresponsive for a truly democratic society is a matter for conjecture.

it says here . . .

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP GAINS ARE SLOWING DOWN

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Church membership in the United States registered a less than one-half of one percent gain in the last year, reaching a total of 126,445,110, according to the latest figures compiled by the National Council of Churches. This compares with 125,778,656 last year or a gain of 666,454.

In 1967 some 64.4 percent of the population were church members. This fell to 63.2 percent in 1968, a difference of 1.2 percent.

In issuing the annual figures in its *1969 Yearbook of the American Churches* to be published Wednesday Feb. 12, the Council voices an immediate warning. Its statistics are the best available and come from official church records, it points out, but not all of them are current and the churches do not follow uniform procedures in collecting them.

The new Yearbook separates current and non-current data. Of 238 religious bodies listed, 123 reported their most recent statistics. Their total inclusive membership is 107,782,322, whereas non-current reports, some going back as far as 1936 and others only a year or two, total their inclusive membership at 18,676,788. The combined figure of 126,445,110 is published only so that comparison with former years may be made, the Yearbook editors affirm.

Roman Catholics in the 50 states are increasing, according to the *Official Catholic Directory* for 1968, quoted by the Yearbook. The new total of 47,468,333 represents an increase over last year of 603,423 and a 10-year increase of 11,444,356 or 31.7 percent over the 1958 figures of 36,023,977.

Protestant Sunday School enrollment for the year is reported at a figure of 37,370,435, reflecting the total enrollment of only those Protestant church bodies contributing statistics for 1966 or later. The Yearbook does not report Sunday School figures for those churches failing to report as recently as 1966, and thus the nation's total in this category is incomplete.

Members of 59 Protestant denominations reported contributions to their churches in 1967 of $3,612,671,698. This is $346,138,438 more than was reported for 1966.

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NEW STYLE CONFERENCE TAKES THE 'PLUNGE'

CHICAGO, Ill. — The city of Chicago has seen all sorts of conventions, some of them quite unconventional indeed. In February a major church conference came to Chicago and took "the plunge." The *plunge* — a concept developed some years ago by the Training Center for Urban Mission — is a scheme to immerse newcomers deeply in the social issues of the inner city. More than 1,000 religious educators from all over America got out of the isolated hotel ballroom-and-lecture routine. According to the Rev. Eli Wismer of the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches, the religious education conferees "jumped" into tension areas of Chicago as well as to suburbs of the city, to "learn by seeing, smelling, hearing and touching as well as by thinking." To help the delegates do all this, planners called on people who are making social change happen among Chicago's Appalachian poor, Spanish-speaking groups, Blacks and suburbanites. There were discussions and some lectures, however, as key leaders in church education "took the plunge" and reflected on what they experienced at the Chicago conference of the division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches. (NOTE: Full coverage of the annual meeting of the NCC Division of Christian Education will be given in TEMPO, March 15 issue.)

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HIGHER EDUCATION STUDY PROJECT GETS FUNDING

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The National Council of Churches Department of Higher Education has been given a grant of $88,000 by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation for a two-year action-study project on higher education and urban society, Dr. Hubert C. Noble, department executive director, has announced.

The project's budget will also include an additional $40,000 from related boards and agencies. New models for community-based urban colleges will be explored and tested and new ways for the churches to cooperate with those university groups seeking to overcome patterns of institutional racism will be sought.

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COUNCIL'S POVERTY PROJECT SELF-SUPPORTING, HIRES 71

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M. — (RNS) — The New Mexico Council of Churches' "war on poverty" has produced a profit-making organization — Del Sol, Inc.

Now self-supporting, Del Sol was established last June by the council's Home Education Livelihood Program (HELP), an Office of Economic Opportunity agency. The firm provides full-time employment for 71 persons.

It recently was awarded a $610,500 contract to build wooden boxes used for shipping merchandise to Vietnam. The boxes will be built at Del Sol's plant in Tierra Amarilla, an area hard hit by poverty.

INTERNATIONAL DISCONTENT: Student unrest is not confined to one country or one continent. It has flared in Europe, Asia, South America, the United States and now in Africa. A student at the only university in Kenya posts a sign near a residence hall proclaiming: "Majority decision. No lectures. Comply. Our cause is right and just." The protest followed a university decision not to allow the leader of the Opposition Party to address students. The Kenya government closed the university which draws students from all over Africa.

Not all of Del Sol's employes are engaged in box making. There are also weavers in Truchas, furniture makers in Clovis, seamstresses in Taos, and woodworkers in Ojo Caliente. Company officials are now negotiating for a contract involving manufacture of furniture.

"Our purpose is to create industry and market the products these people make. Del Sol makes good use of the crafts and skills of New Mexicans, many of them Spanish-speaking, who live in the northern counties," an official said.

The Council of Churches' poverty work is funded in part by the O.E.O. but the majority of its support comes from the Ford Foundation.

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'68 RECORD YEAR IN DONATIONS TO COMMUNITY HUNGER APPEAL

CHICAGO — (RNS) — The combined value of 1968 hunger and clothing appeals conducted by the Community Hunger Appeal of Church World Service was $5,820,000, it was announced here.

Of the total, $3.6 million was devoted to the drive on hunger — the largest income of cash and commodities since the banner year of 1948 when $4.5 million was contributed.

Valuation for clothing was $2.2 million for the year. The Church World Service Clothing Appeal is now administered by the Community Hunger Appeal (CROP). It is a part of Church World Service, relief arm of the National Council of Churches.

The statistics were released at CROP's annual meeting which has headquarters in Elkhart, Ind.

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CHURCH WOMEN URGE COMPASSIONATE GOALS ON NIXON

NEW YORK, N.Y. — A message of congratulation which promised support for the "goals we believe are priorities" has been sent by Mrs. James M. Dolbey to President Richard M. Nixon this week, on behalf of Church Women United.

Outlining major concerns of this nation-wide group with a constituency of more than 20 million Protestant, Orthodox and individual Roman Catholic women, its president urged the new chief executive to "help create a healing climate of understanding and education that will enable our people to become the great nation that we can be."

On the domestic scene, Mrs. Dolbey called for implementation of the legislation that has been enacted for racial justice.

Mrs. Dolbey reminded President Nixon of Church Women United's support for the Poor People's Campaign last year. "We support a universal free lunch program in the public schools, compensatory job training and employment, extension of adult basic education, nutrition education, and health care programs. We urge you to recommend legislation to extend the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act to include farm workers."

Peace and peacekeeping was another major concern the national church women's leader discussed.

Also Mrs. Dolbey asked the President to give a larger role to women in public life by increasing their numbers in key positions of government.

FUTURE OF TEXAS TEAM MINISTRY HELD IN BALANCE

Special Report by Kay Longcope

A UNITED Church of Christ minister who has spent nearly two years organizing Mexican-Americans in Texas' Rio Grande Valley has been dismissed from the staff of the Texas Council of Churches.

The action was taken against the Rev. Edgar A. Krueger, director of the Council's Valley Team Ministry, because "he made a lot of trouble," explained Dr. Harold Kilpatrick, executive secretary of the statewide cooperative body.

"No one accused Ed of not diligently doing his job with the disadvantaged," Dr. Kilpatrick said. "But he didn't relate to the staff or to the churches of the Valley. We saw after two years that we just couldn't get him to do it and that we'd have to change our methods, not our goal."

The goal of the Valley Team Ministry, which began in March 1967, the Council executive said, is "to help the disadvantaged and work with them for improving their conditions—housing, education, jobs; you name it, they need it."

Krueger, 38, was hired at the inception of the Valley ministry to work with farmworkers, then conducting a prolonged strike against the growers. When the campaign of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee lost its steam a year or so ago, he turned to organizing activities which have resulted in the formation of 23 indigenously-based community groups scattered throughout the Valley.

In addition, he has helped VISTA minority mobilization workers organize about 12 other groups in four counties of the lower Rio Grande Valley. Some 16,000 persons are now involved in the 35 community organizations working to obtain better roads, running water, jobs, educational and political reforms in their communities.

"I've been criticized for working so much with the poor and the powerless," said Mr. Krueger, who was reached for comment at his home in Pharr, Texas.

"The pressures have built up because we rejected paternalistic patterns which tend to keep people in servitude. We have tried to build leadership among the poor so that they can speak and act for themselves.

Dr. Kilpatrick, in a telephone interview, admitted that pressures had built up.

"Ed and the VISTA volunteers just went too far out in planning things," he said. "They made a lot of trouble" in conducting protests at city council and school board meetings.

"We're tired of fighting city hall, courthouses, school boards and things that look like the establishment," Dr. Kilpatrick said. "We want to make use of those people. Ed was unwilling to change his strategy so all we could do was let him go."

The Rev. Ned Garcia, who worked alongside Krueger in the Valley Team Ministry, has been asked to stay on, Dr. Kilpatrick said, adding:

"We've told him to assure the colonias (rural communities) that the Council is ready to serve them and that we hope to do more, not less. There is a potential army (in Council-related Valley churches) ready to carry out a big campaign. If we are to get anywhere we have to enlist their help and that of the power structure."

Krueger's dismissal became effective on February 24, the date set for dissolvement of the Texas Council of Churches when it merged the next day with the Texas Catholic Conference and the Eastern Orthodox diocese.

At the same time the council announced Krueger's dismissal, it also made public its intent to drop a suit filed against the Texas Rangers. Council officials also said they were cancelling sponsorship of a controversial VISTA "minority mobilization" program in Hidalgo County because they had no control over activities of VISTA workers.

The suit against the Rangers was filed in the summer of 1967 on behalf of Krueger and his wife, who were arrested during union demonstrations. The Rangers were charged with false arrest and violating the civil rights of the Kruegers, who were not participating in the demonstrations.

Council officials, including TCC president United Methodist Bishop Kenneth Pope of Dallas, reached a compromise agreement with the state's Department of Public Safety to settle the case out of court. Krueger was asked to sign the statement, but refused to do so, claiming that it "exonerates the Rangers from any blame" and "prejudges the filing of future suits against the Rangers."

After the council announced its intent to cancel sponsorship of the VISTA program, officials of the OEO southwestern regional office met with Dr. Kilpatrick. An agreement was reached in which the council was given full authority over program, personnel and policy of the indigenous VISTA project.

RELIGION IN THE HALLS OF EMPIRE

(Continued from page 3)

would dare be in their own pulpits do not want to take any chances.

There is little doubt about the importance of the Congressional visitation. This year, the meetings were more like dialogues than confrontations, since very few politicians are still defending the Vietnam war itself, and there was an opportunity to dig into larger questions about American Foreign policy and national priorities. On the question of amnesty, most Congressmen were totally unprepared and many expressed surprise at learning that there are more than 800 young Americans in jail for demonstrably conscientious reasons.

The Pentagon was not quite taken off guard by the issue of political persecution. In the days previous to the Mobilization, the media had focused attention on 27 young men in the Presidio stockade near San Francisco who had been charged with mutiny for sitting down and singing "America the Beautiful" and "We Shall Overcome" in protest against a guard's unjustifiable killing of a fellow prisoner. On Monday an unofficial delegation from the conference sat in at a Pentagon office after failing to get an appointment with Stanley Reasor, Secretary of the Army. The group offered no resistance to being removed that evening, but returned the next day and the next. Finally they spoke with Secretary Reasor, who promised that the Department of the Army would review the entire question and offer recommendations if injustices are discovered.

A similar ambiguity ("Everything is under review") marked the outcome of a meeting at the White House with Henry Kissinger. Mrs. King, Rabbi Heschel, Bill Coffin, Richard Fernandez, director of CLC, Gerhard Elston from the Vietnam desk of the National Council of Churches, and I spent about an hour with Kissinger. The meeting was, by mutual agreement, off the record, and will be followed up by further consultations, but it was in itself a sign of hope, perhaps. As the New York *Times* pointed out, it is the first time in three years that a peace or civil rights protest group has been received publicly at the White House.

Slighted in this report are other important contributions but two general concluding comments are possible.

The number of participants was smaller than at previous Mobilizations, but not disturbingly so. The reason for the decrease is most obviously attributable to a current, perhaps illusory, sense of relief at the foreseeable ending of the Vietnam war. Another factor is that the Mobilization was longer this year, aimed more at intensive education rather than dramatic demonstrations or rallies.

The Washington *Post* described CLC as the country's "most influential" peace organization. Whether or not that is true, CLC is clearly the chief ecumenical agency to provoke and voice the American religious community's conscience on issues of military power and world peace. Formed in January of 1966 as an "Emergency Committee," it expanded quickly in the national revulsion against the moral and political disaster of the Vietnam war. Whether the sense of emergency can be sustained to confront the "far deeper malady" seen by the late Dr. Martin Luther King, poses a question about the vitality of American religion. The third Mobilization of Clergy and Laymen Concerned supplies reason for hope. ■

—Mr. Neuhaus is pastor of St. John the Evangelist Church (Lutheran) in Brooklyn, N.Y. Editor of the Lutheran Journal, Una Sancta, *he is a member of the Steering Committee of Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam.*

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES

with Harvey G. Cox

Reviewing:

"GREETINGS"

Directed by Brian De Palma
Produced by Charles Hirsch
Screenplay by
Hirsch and De Palma

IN THE GRADUATE we saw a flick about the younger generation made by over-thirtyers. In GREETINGS the kids themselves get equal time. It is a film by and about kids, in this case young men living in New York, whose minds are filled with movies, girls and the horrible prospect of having to go to Vietnam. Brian De Palma, who made this picture, is only 28. The total cost of the film is supposed to have been under $40,000, one per cent of what often goes down the drain for a Hollywood star vehicle.

Though it falls noticeably short of technical perfection, GREETINGS is fun to see. More than that. It is poignant, sad, hilarious and, at points, even moving. I doubt that it will get to many neighborhood theaters, which is too bad. It is fascinating to take in an occasional movie made by the younger set so that we can get some ideas on where film-making may be going. If GREETINGS is any example, we movie fanatics should have no worries: the liveliest art is alive and well on 34th street.

GREETINGS has no real story (do any movies nowadays?) It is a series of episodes relating the escapades of three footloose musketeers in New York. Like many modern movies, it is self-consciously cinematic, a movie movie. It includes caricatures of recent widely seen films (such as the notorious mini-orgy in BLOW UP), a long sequence in which we watch a film made on the screen, and several movies within movies.

The whole thing conspires to lure the audience into a cinematic frame of mind. We hardly notice when the actors are acting, or acting as actors or just enjoying themselves. At times, this planned chaos results in some really mediocre acting but one gets the impression that the makers of GREETINGS couldn't care less. The whole fracas conveys a stunt night atmosphere in which you don't really mind if the principals titter in the middle of a line.

But all the while something else is happening, too. Because De Palma knows so well how to pick his targets and how to juxtapose his material, an air of pathos hovers over GREETINGS. Like the way the word "Greetings" itself is used in that fateful letter from the Draft Board, the film resounds with a certain false gaiety and anxious bravado. One gets the impression that these three young men are trying to fight terror with laughter, to frolic in the face of the absurdities of conscription, confidence men and computer dating.

De Palma, in the course of his carnival, puts some very serious questions to us. What really is obscenity? He asks this by juxtaposing a girl being filmed for a "porny" movie with a shot of a GI holding his gun on a Vietnamese peasant girl. The answer is all too clear. Incidentally, although this film carries an "X" rating, its treatment of sex, as in many new generation films, is hardly titillating to the prurient interest. There are no long, breathy love scenes. No teasing the technical limits. Sex in GREETINGS is treated very lightly indeed, perhaps too lightly. It is seen as part of the play and frolic with which today we ward off the evil spirits the way our forebears once used spells and crucifixes. But all with tongue in cheek.

I found two scenes in the film particularly rich in their mixture of pathos and hilarity. In the first, Paul, played by Jonathan Warden, tries computer dating and in a ludicrously inept matching finds himself at the apartment of a Bronx secretary. She loathes him at first sight, or at least that's what she claims. She has dolled herself up in an overpriced sequined dress, a towering bouffant, "living nails," pastel stockings, the works. She accuses Paul of thinking of nothing but sex. But it is she who slips into the bedroom and doffs all her expensive duds. Paul flies to a phone and calls one of his buddies who is, he thinks, ready for this sort of thing. The scene has a Rabelaisian funniness but the laugh sticks a bit in the throat. How many Bronx secretaries are there resorting to the computer these days, and spending their salaries on clothes that are put on just to take off?

In a later, even funnier scene, a TV cameraman follows one of Paul's friends, Jon, literally into the jungles of Vietnam. The living color and the mellifluent voice of the sport-coated TV-caster are all too real as he interviews the soldier in the very act of aiming his M-1 at an "enemy." Peep shows? Voyeurism? What could possibly be more obscene than watching the mutilation of Vietnam while sipping daiquiries in front of a TV? De Palma is suggesting that we are becoming a nation of Peeping Toms and that the real violation of persons occurs not in nudie movies but in newsreels. He may be right.

GREETINGS will not get an Academy Award. It probably will not appear on anybody's "ten best" list. But it is an important and worthwhile film, nonetheless. It demonstrates what a filmmaker, who revels in the media and who has strong beliefs about what is worthwhile in life, can do if he also has a cinematic eye. And it also proves that you can mix politics, protest and pretty girls without blotting out one with the other. We will be hearing from De Palma and Hirsch soon again I hope. Look out, Bergman and Kubrick, the kids are coming! ■

THE WORLD COUNCIL MEETS IN TULSA

by Harold Schachern
Religion Editor,
The **Detroit News**
Special to TEMPO

TULSA — This oil capitol of the world became America's heartland of ecumenism and liturgical hoopla during the four-day meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches.

The liturgical histrionics grew out of a coincidental meeting, a block away, of the Roman Catholic Southwest Liturgical Conference which drew 300 nuns, priests and laity from five surrounding states.

Both were quartered in the Mayo Hotel, however, and in the ever-mingling throng, priests in turtle necks and nuns in fashionable hair-dos looked far less ecclesiastical than the dark-suited Protestant types representing the World Council.

The World Council committee members and staff were prominent among liturgical conference speakers and, in this function, created the only controversy to arise during the week.

Addressing a liturgical conference session on "Celebration," Dr. Albert van den Heuvel, director of communications for the World Council, lamented that modern Christians have lost a sense of true celebration centered in the Eucharist.

Instead, they erect national idols, including flags, that divide rather than unite mankind. Thus, he said, the national flag in any Christian church belongs near the door — as a doormat.

He then spent the next 24 hours explaining to shocked and conservative Tulsans that he meant no dishonor to the American flag.

"We will not throw them (flags) away," he said. "We will accept that God has placed us in a specific nation, but we will exorcise the demon of nationalism in order to become world Christians who serve our nation as we should."

In the fun department, the Tulsa Council of Churches feted the World Council representatives to a gala dinner at First Methodist Church where M. M. Thomas of India, chairman of the World Council's Central Committee, was inducted into and made a chief of the Ponca Indian tribe, complete with feathers.

Genuine Oklahoma Indians, in war bonnets and paint, performed authentic tribal dances. Addressing Thomas, Chief Roughface, the Ponca master of ceremonies, said:

"All my life I have looked forward to meeting a real Indian."

"I almost feel like a counterfeit," Mr. Thomas replied, bowing and folding his hands in the traditional East Indian greeting.

In the serious department, the WCC Executive Committee spent four days behind closed doors apparently discussing a great deal but saying little about it.

The most newsworthy announcement coming out of the meetings concerned plans for a five-day international Consultation on Racism which the World Council will sponsor next May 19-23 in London under the chairmanship of Senator George McGovern, South Dakota Democrat and active lay leader in the United Methodist Church.

The consultation, which will place special emphasis on white racism, will carry out a mandate of the Fourth General Assembly of the World Council at Uppsala last July which ordered that such a conference be held.

Perhaps the most significant step taken here was the naming of a 16-member Structure Committee under the chairmanship of United Methodist Bishop James K. Mathews of Boston, which will re-study the entire make-up and function of the World Council.

Taking immediate action, five members of the Structure Committee were each named to prepare a document "pinpointing World Council priorities and suggesting structures to meet them."

The combined report will form the basis of discussions at the Structure Committee's first meeting early in May in Switzerland, a spokesman said. The committee also will consult with the World Council's Central Committee when that body meets at Canterbury, England, August 12-23.

The Executive Committee also named 45 members of the 120-member Central Committee to be the consultative, advisory and reacting group on structure, thereby keeping that body fully involved. These appointees included nine Americans.

The possibility of an "international consortium" for development projects came with the announcement by the Executive Committee of a consultation on the best use of new church money for development, to take place in October at a site yet to be selected.

Churches in Europe (principally Germany) and in Canada have set apart over $10 million a year for development in Latin America and the new nations of Africa and Asia, a spokesman for the Executive Committee said.

"If we could get the churches of the United States to undertake such a plan," Dr. van den Heuvel told newsmen, "we would not be dealing in astronomical numbers, but the churches would have available, for instance, more money than the World Bank has for development loans."

If there was one disturbing element in Tulsa, it was the amount of time the World Council had to spend defending itself.

In this center of oil money and conservatism, the Council's international and ecumenical endeavors appeared more in question than the issues of poverty, racism and Christian unity which the church leaders came here to discuss.

Bearded Russian priests and archbishops are a strange and exotic sight in Billy James Hargis country, and those who follow the Hargis radio and television warnings against the world Communist plot were hard-pressed to accept this potpourri of international churchmen.

The church leaders from six continents expressed concern for protagonists on both sides of the Nigerian-Biafran conflict, and said they were considering an international discussion, including representatives of the nuclear powers, to consider the disarmament of warring nations who buy their arms from the major countries. ■

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March 15, 1969

In Pace With The Changing Church

TEMPOsitions . . .

A New Thing Came to Pass in Chicago

by Paul B. Maves

THE 1969 Chicago Conference on Man and the City marked a significant turn in Christian education. It reflected a new concept. It pointed the way to a new strategy. Future conferences within the church will be different because of it or they will ignore it at their peril.

Early in the 1950's Christian education conferences began to break away from platform-centered lecturers, inspirational speakers, and personality cult formats. Attempting to become more educational and to make a difference, they involved participants in small group discussions. In the 1960's multi-media became the order of the day and nonverbal expressions crowded the spoken word to one side. Persons began to encounter each other physically and to experiment with artistic expressions in happenings and love-ins. The environment was enriched with a kaleidoscope of sights and sounds. McLuhan grabbed the planners and the medium was made the message.

The 1969 conference was new. It involved the community deeply in the planning of the program. More than a hundred community organizations were related to the conference. Chicago provided almost all of the resource leadership. The Division of Christian Education's Program Board's mandate to go to Chicago with a new kind of conference which would address itself to the problems of Chicago, as these were blindingly revealed during the Democratic Convention of August, was taken seriously by the staff. Two years' planning was telescoped into three months. The willingness of the community to receive and to support the conference was tested in a series of consultations. Local leadership was drawn into setting the objectives and designing the conference. A Chicago-based task force with community organization skills and familiarity with the Chicago scene was hired to consult, contact, and confer.

The Chicago conference was new because the Christian education establishment, represented by about eight hundred directors and ministers of education, board executives, field staff, editors, and publishers listened to voices from "the basement" of the city, as Professor Hargraves put it in an opening address. Leaders of the black communities, the Spanish communities, the communities of the original Americans, and poor whites were prominent in public roles. Roman Catholics participated more significantly than ever before. Members of these communities sat with the learning teams and entered into dialogue. Black and brown faces made this one of the most "colorful" conferences Christian education has yet held.

Into the City

The conference was new because the delegates, instead of staying in the hotel, went out into the communities and met the people there on their own turf. The conference was open to the community from the beginning. So it experienced the turbulence, the conflicts, the suspicions, and the struggles for power and a place in the sun characteristic of life in the city today. Seminary students concerned with racial justice invaded a meeting to demonstrate on behalf of Project Equality. Conferences had to be held late at night to iron out tensions and clear understandings. Leaders of welfare rights organizations waited upon the steering committee, influencing them to scrap the planned program for one afternoon so delegates could participate in a welfare rights rally in the Packinghouse Workers Union Hall. Delegates experienced the feelings of helpless minorities when stated programs were suddenly changed from "on high" with little explanation. Even the Program Board meeting was enlivened by the intrusion of groups from the city with challenges and demands.

Perhaps most significant of all is the dawning realization that not only does Christian education exist to prepare persons for mission but that it actually takes place through mission. The only way to become fully human, that is, to experience eternal life, is to become Christ's man for others. The only way to learn how to be for others is to be involved with them in ministry. We learn only by what we do. The response we make to our world is what we learn.

Listening and Learning

The first impulse of the planners was to go to Chicago to witness to the establishment's concern for the oppressed and its commitment to justice. They explored the role of a conference as a massive intervention in the life of a city and what it would mean to become change agents as third parties in Chicago. Conversations with the people of Chicago convinced them that Christian educators should go instead to learn, to be ministered to for a time, to engage in a mutual quest for meaning, to listen to what God may be trying to tell us through the "signs of the times." It is possible that as Chicago people ministered to their visitors they too learned. It is hoped they did not learn to mistrust the church.

If there is no change in behavior on the part of the Christian education establishment the conference will have failed. Seminary students, black churchmen, and leaders in the Spanish communities now ask what the delegates, the denominations, and the councils of churches intend to do about what they saw and heard.

Dr. Maves

The passing of resolutions will not meet the issues. They believe that it is not that Christian education is defective in methods but that Christians may lack the will to decide and to act. Lectures on theology, the study of church history, and pastoral counseling will not fill the bellies of those who live on allotments of twenty-three cents for a meal nor restore a sense of manhood to those who have been psychologically castrated.

The Chicago Conference on Man and the City may have given a number of persons a new image of how it is in the basement of the city. It may have failed to have helped them clarify strategies or to transfer what they have learned to the communities in which they live. But it does remind us that the power of Christian education and of the church itself rests primarily not upon greater skills, better organization, or more attractive curriculum resources but upon a new life in the congregation; not in better media of communication but in the creation of a community embracing all those for whom Christ died; not in the manipulation of words and symbols but in doing justice and loving mercy. All that happens or fails to happen in the congregation is the curriculum.

Whether the conference was worth the cost is yet to be seen and may never be known. At least it started to frame the right questions and make the problems interesting. Best of all, it cut to the quick of the living tissue of the Body of Christ. If the cut was painful it at least reminds us that we are yet alive. ■

Dr. Maves is Associate Executive Director of the Department of Educational Development, NCC's Division of Christian Education. A former professor of religious education at Drew University Theological School, he is the author of several books on the subject.

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause

ART AND LAYOUT: Heff Heisler

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbot, David M. Ackerman, John Fisler, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, David Poindexter, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell, Maxa Tilghman, Albert Tippit, Glen Trimble, John W. Turnbull.

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The Conference on Man and The City—a radically new kind of annual meeting on Christian education—was held in Chicago, Feb. 10-14. It is reported fully in this issue of TEMPO. One of its main public-speaking figures was Ivan Illich (see cover portrait), whose ideas are dealt with in some depth in the interview on Pages 6 and 7. A further elaboration on the Illich theme of education as a kind of secular religion is presented on Page 12 by Professor Joseph Fitzpatrick, of Fordham University. Conference news coverage starts on Page 3, while Paul Maves gives an editorial assessment on this page.

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A Report on a New Kind of Conference

CHICAGO: Training Lab for Christian Educators

By Jaime Fonseca
Dorothy Rensenbrink
William R. Wineke

FOR four days last month, one thousand local directors of religious education from all parts of the nation, denominational executives, curriculum writers and staff members of the National Council of Churches' Division of Christian Education held a "Man and the City" conference in Chicago. They were joined by students, Roman Catholic educators and members of the Jewish faith involved in social action programs. For 46 years this annual meeting had been devoted to the advancement of professional knowledge in 16 related but distinct Christian education disciplines, each maintaining a separate program during the week. This year, however, professionally integrated groups together faced the issues presented by minority groups, which are increasingly becoming the dominant factors in urban life. Purpose: to determine what poor people have to say to the church in 1969, to identify the basic urban issues confronting society, and to find ways of making religious education more relevant. Three writers pooled their reportorial skills to supply the following highlights of the conference to TEMPO.

A Chicago area seminarians' protest procession was held during a conference session, led by a mock priest holding cross, followed by two others with lighted candles.

CHICAGO — The Christian education conference on Man and the City held here (Feb. 10-14) drew one important lesson: matching the Gospel with deeds is painful, but it is the only way to make religion work for social justice and bring man closer to God.

In the process, over 1,000 delegates showed compassion, understanding and involvement with the city's people and their problems.

No longer questioning whether the Church should become involved in social action, the educators concentrated on the ways it was in Chicago and which of these ways they could use when they returned to their communities all over the nation.

At one point they scrapped their scheduled program to attend en masse a meeting of Southside welfare recipients held in a Meat Packers' union hall.

An emotional confrontation came earlier when a group of seminarians and drama students combined religion and theatre to interrupt a hotel plenary session and attempted to make the point that church money shouldn't go to racists or exploiters. In the shock wave that followed, a prominent Negro minister walked out of the conference saying, "I agree with them. I do not belong here; you do not belong here."

He was the Rev. C. T. Vivian, associate director of the Urban Training Center of Chicago. His speech had been interrupted by the young demonstrators, members of Seminarians Organized for Racial Justice, and of the Guerrilla Theatre. Mr. Vivian agreed with the seminarians that the churches are not doing enough for the poor.

That the protesting seminarians made their point was later reflected in a resolution passed by the conference saying that "we challenge all religious bodies—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and Orthodox—to establish a chapter of Project Equality in their respective communities," and particularly in Chicago.

Plea for Charity

Offense at both the words and action of Mr. Vivian was expressed by the next speaker, Nisson N. Gross, Chicago lawyer and worker for civic betterment.

"To sit here and listen to words of emotion spoken by one who discusses in such devastating language the 'most corrupt political system in this country' without knowing about the bloodshed" to change that system, was difficult to bear as a resident of Chicago, and one who felt deeply about the city, Mr. Gross said.

He urged conference members to "weigh the pros and cons and come away from the conference with a program of action to bring about even greater progress. I plead with you to exercise that kind of patience and charity which is the backbone of both Judaic and Christian faiths, to face problems realistically and not be swayed by a demonstration by a group that was offered a chance to come and present its program."

Anthony Machukay, American Indian, spoke of the unique problems of his race. In describing that uniqueness, he related that the Apache called the Caucasian settlers white men and later he identified the black man as "the white man who is black."

While the conference was designed to lift up the situation—both the problems and resources mustered to meet these problems—of the Black, Appalachian White, Spanish-speaking and "Original American" (Indian) groups in Chicago, the latter group claimed to be the most invisible.

The Rev. "Ma" Houston, pastoral counsellor to inmates of Cook County (Ill.) jail, gave a "washerwoman's" prayer at a conference hearing for welfare mothers.

And indeed, at the welfare hearing, speakers repeatedly claimed their oneness with Spanish-speaking and poor white residents of the city—but no one mentioned the Indians—an omission not lost on Indian delegates present.

Speakers during the week ranged from internationally known Monsignor Ivan Illich, founder and head of the Center for Intercultural Documentation, Cuernavaca, Mexico, to some 100 others, famous or obscure—all of whom had one thing in common—they had organized others to successfully make some change in power structures.

Msgr. Illich told the churchmen that school systems are the "new religion" of Western society and promote division between poor and rich. "We need not take for granted that the only means of educating people are schools. There are many ways of educating people that we never even contemplate."

He suggested that in underdeveloped nations, people might be sent to school for a month a year, for 30 years, rather than for three years straight.

Another speaker, the Rev. Dr. J. Archie Hargraves, associate professor of urban mission at the Chicago Theological Seminary, asserted "the popular idea that German, Polish, Irish and Jewish immigrants to America earned their way in society because of hard work and conformity is a myth."

Virtually all minority groups in the United States have "battled their way up, swimming through a sea of violence," he said.

Bishop Joseph Johnson, Jr., of the Shreveport, Louisiana, diocese of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, who was prevented from attending the conference because of a racial crisis in his city, said during a telephoned speech that the outlook for early racial integration in the United States "is dim indeed."

White racism still pervades American society, he stressed, under the lingering influence of the Dred Scott Decision. "The black man has no right that a white man is compelled to respect," he stated. This has fostered the attitude among many Negroes that integration does little for racial equality.

"The black power movement has expressed a determination to achieve racial equality through a rapid gain of political power," Bishop Johnson said, and once power leads to equality with the whites, "meaningful integration can take place."

(Continued on page 11)

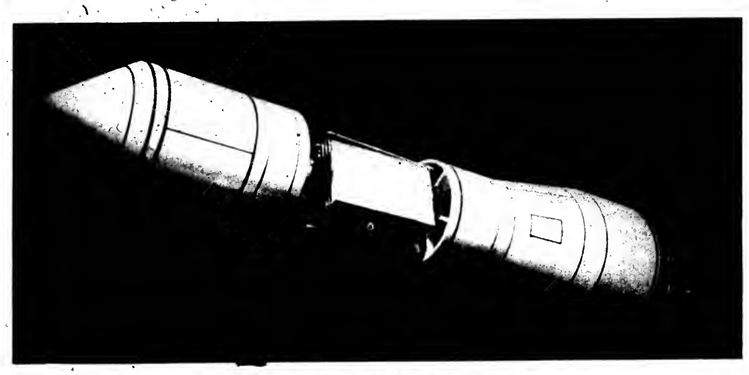
"The Shadow of Fear Across All Mankind Has Gone Beyond Extermination . . ."

MAN'S SPACE-HAUNTED FUTURE:

The Options Before Us

by Harriet B. Kurtz and Howard G. Kurtz

(The Reverend Harriet B. Kurtz back in 1964 was commissioned by the Board for Homeland Ministries, United Church of Christ, as a pioneering missionary into the jungles of self-interest and power surrounding the open-ended global arms race. As one engaged in church-and-world dialogue, Mrs. Kurtz has worked for years with her husband, Howard G. Kurtz, a former Lt. Col. in the Air Force, an engineer by training and a management consultant by profession. Their concern for oncoming global crisis began when they undertook two years' graduate study of Russian-American problems at The Russian Institute at Columbia University (1946-48). Their conceptual studies are not related to reactions to any immediate war, such as Vietnam or the Middle East, but a search for the controllable dynamic of war itself, through the ages.)



One of America's heaviest satellites—Spacecraft "Pegasus"

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Are America's alliances and security commitments abroad still relevant in the space age? This and related questions lie at the heart of hearings which will open in mid-March before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on National Security Policy, Rep. Clement J. Zablocki (Dem.-Wis.) chairman. . . .

IN times of historic crisis scholars tend to *look backwards* into the past for reassurance and guidance. Social and political action groups and journalists tend to *look at the anguish of the immediate moment*, such as the ugliness of a war today in Vietnam. Men of power and military strategists, in contrast, *focus their attention on the distant future.*

A war is not lost on the battlefield where men die and reporters find dead "facts" to report. It is lost months or years in advance, in the limited or stunted vision in the minds of those in supreme strategic command, far from the battlefield. There has been a long time lag between President Roosevelt's decision to activate the Manhattan Project to develop the prototype atomic bomb, and the character of world civilization today in a climate of global anxiety or dread generated by nuclear power. What kind of future world are we creating by the unpublicized decisions to be made in the coming weeks and months as the new Administration crystalizes American global strategy and long-range purpose, for the next four or eight years?

The role of the scholar is important. The role of the activist or militant is important. The role of the *prophet*, or in modern terms the *long-range strategic planner* or, in most modern terms, the *futurist*, is not well recognized by the public.

The public in America has a vital interest in the future. In the new era of exploding progress in technology, and management skill, and general knowledge, for the first time in history man can create any kind of future global climate that he is determined to create. Through the exponential increase in research and development man, for the first time in history, has become a kind of Creator. If sufficient investment is made today in the disciplines of pollution-prevention, coming generations can have air and water free from pollution. If sufficient investment is made today in the disciplines of war prevention, coming generations can have global protective systems capable of maintaining new rituals for inter-nation conflict, supplanting the present primitive rites of human sacrifice called "war".

American power has become self-generating. Already commanding force sufficient to destroy mankind in the twinkling of an eye (a force it superstitiously has been assumed could be commanded by God alone) American power escalates each year at an increasing rate. The U.S. can afford more engineering and management education . . . more research and development . . . more capital investment . . . more exploitation of resources . . . more production of the hardware of power, than even the most powerful of the other nations. Each year the expansion runs its course to increase the "gap" between American runaway power, and the weakness of the underdeveloped nations. The magnitude of strategic power in the hands of the President of the United States by the elections of 1972 and 1976 are beyond human experience or imagination. It is as if God had called man's bluff and said "Here take my power" as a parent might finally decide to allow a growing child to have his own gun.

Three Options

Looking a generation into the future, it is possible to see three options for the utilization of this runaway American power. The power expansion cannot be stopped. It cannot be put back into the bottle in a laboratory. Other nations also are becoming drawn up into this expansion dynamic that is like the self-expanding character of a summer thundercloud. Soviet global power is expanding only a short distance behind the racing American power expansion, and gaining fast. The slight area of choice may be the selection of the long range goal or purpose for American future power as follows:

I. Future American power can destroy world civilization, for all practical purposes. We move blindly toward this objective with each justified escalation of the anti-ballistic missile or other aspects of the global arms confrontation.

II. Future American power can support *private* foreign economic empires as they gain dominion over all the resources of the earth and the oceans, protected by escalating American taxes to maintain expanding American global military domination, operated by an openended number of American youth on world military duty. There are men of power who direct American global strategy toward this objective today.

III. Future American power can serve mankind by developing and testing and demonstrating the next generation global war prevention systems required to create a new world security organization, or a reconstituted United Nations, capable of maintaining a climate of safety in all inter-nation relations. The United States Government is NOT today investing large-scale research and development commitments toward this long-range purpose, as it today IS investing in powers to accomplish the first two alternatives.

If there still is a democratic factor in the American society, the strategic decisions choosing among these three long-range objectives will be a reflection of the character of the American people. The character of the American people is a factor of the concern, or the absence of concern, of the Churches of all faiths and denominations, the schools and colleges, the civic organizations professing moral objectives. Within the churches and temples it is a concern of the Youth Ministries, the Campus Ministries, the Education Ministries, the Women's Societies, the Social Action groups, and above all the local priests, ministers, rabbis and leaders. Because the United States is the most powerful nation in history, the American *people* are creating the character of future world civilization, or human vacuum.

U.S. Space Goals

To look at one immediate strategic decision which is being crystalized by the new Administration, in the name of the American people, but without very much awareness of the American public—President Nixon created a Task Force to clarify U.S. space goals. It is headed by Dr. Charles Townes, chairman, who is a highly respected scientist on the faculty of the University of California at Berkley.

In the following we will mention a small fraction of American present capability or development leading to capability in the short-range future. *It should be remembered that Soviet capabilities in space are roughly equal to the American.*

The shadow of fear across all mankind has gone beyond the dread of extermination by nuclear war, advertent or inadvertent. There are additional dreads related to *living* in the future. The United States today has in being and under development earth resources and related surveillance satellites with the following capabilities—The U.S. will be able to take inventory of all agricultural crops in all nations in any week desired by scientific systems on the orbiting satellites connected directly to the American intelligence command center. It also can evaluate the chemical content of the surrounding soil, and the moisture content of this soil, making it possible to project the quality of crops sixty and ninety days in the future. It will become possible eventually to gain a corner on the agricultural markets of the world with this advance information on crop successes and failures and prices. Similarly, the U.S. will be able to take inventory of all grazing cattle in all nations. With the ability to evaluate soil conditions and therefore future market prices for cattle, the U.S. will in time be able to corner the world meat markets.

Harriet and Howard Kurtz

U.S. satellites will be able to locate the large schools of fish in the oceans of the world and U.S. fishing fleets can be directed by radio to these schools, eventually moving toward cornering the fish markets of the world. U.S. meteorological satellites making it possible to forecast weather in all parts of the earth will give added advantage . . . but they also play into the dread future when some men of power will be able to change the flow of cloud systems and make selected sections of the world suffer from drought or flood, at will. These same weather forecasting satellites also will make it possible for the U.S. intelligence center to maintain constant awareness of the location of every surface vessel on the oceans, and every airplane along the skyways of the world, at all times. Devices under development now will extend this "eye in the sky" to the depths of the oceans to maintain cognizance of underwater traffic movement.

U.S. surveillance satellites can monitor all factors required for forest management in every nation, and can trace the movement of blight and disease and insects destroying forests. The U.S. will have better forest management capabilities over the world's woodlands than most of the national government will have in the nations where the trees are located.

Global Umbrellas

The U.S. already has in being and under development the capabilities to map every nation of the world in three-dimensional topographic projections. Television cameras from outer space can detect and recognize items on earth down to twenty feet in dimension, with systems now being developed and tested. Three-dimensional maps are of great strategic value to a world power sustaining the threat to move in militarily without notice to stop any nation's activity which the major power does not like. These maps also are of value to any world power planning economic projects in the territory of foreign nations. It is now quite possible for a major power to "not have any territorial ambitions" to conquer any other nation, but to provide a global umbrella of "deterrent threat" over all nations, as a protection for *private* foreign economic empires gaining eventual dominion over the resources of the world (as it would be possible for the Kremlin to maintain an umbrella of global military protection over the operations of supernational Communists operating in foreign nations across the globe).

U.S. satellites now are under development which will make it possible for the U.S. to detect and recognize natural resources beneath the surface of the earth, in all nations. . . . long before the national government of that territory knows of its own wealth. This is a distinct advantage in competition to gain dominion over the resources of the earth.

The U.S. could own the synchronous satellites in orbit which appear to remain motionless over India, for example. These can be used for the Indian Government to beam radio and television directly into every home in that country, without the expense and delay of laying telephone lines. It will make possible an explosion of public education in a generally illiterate country. It will make possible intimate broadcasts of birth control information right into the privacy of homes and huts and tents. This is not science fiction. An American company today has a contract to build such a communications satellite system for India. With the satellite in possession of American powers, at any future moment the Americans can pull the switch and stop any communications to the Indian people which it does not like. In its place, American propaganda messages can be broadcast directly into the intimate atmosphere of all Indian homes. This can happen for all nations in time.

The synchronous satellite today could be put in orbit by the United States, to remain apparently motionless directly over the Kremlin in Moscow. Intelligence surveillance cameras can record all surface and air activity in Moscow, including all traffic into and out of the Kremlin walls. This information can be projected, as it happens (in "real time" to use the modern engineering expression) on the giant lighted walls of the situation room in the Pentagon . . . or . . . for some propaganda purpose can be projected in real time onto the home screen of every television set in the United States . . . or for some world propaganda purpose, on occasion, through further communications satellites these movements in and out of the Kremlin can be shown on the television screens of sets all over the non-Soviet world.

The Soviet Union today has the capability to place a similar surveillance satellite apparently motionless over the White House, to play the game in reverse.

Recent news stories indicate that the Soviet Union is developing satellites with the capability to go into outer space to destroy any orbiting satellite it chooses. American activity in developing such *kill-satellites* is going on behind barriers of military secrecy. . . . or else the U.S. is losing the global arms confrontation race.

The American propaganda myth of the "good" space development by civilian NASA and the "bad" space development by military services is just that . . . it is a propaganda phantom to widen the credibility gap with the American people at home. The Kremlin knows that all American space development . . . as all Soviet space development . . . is aimed at the goal of dominion over the resources of the earth WITHOUT DESTRUCTIVE WAR. What good would it be for either side to gain dominion over the world which has been obliterated by nuclear war?

For the first time in history, in the coming generation it will be possible to create a global armed forces management system. This will then maintain "peace" in the world. No nation will be allowed to produce military hardware to threaten any other nation . . . or to threaten the central military safety authority . . . in war. The central authority will have the strength and the authority to put out any fire of war which does ignite, as a fire department is empowered to put out fires in a city. The escalating $200,000,000,000 a year investment in the arms race will be ended, and the earth's resources can be redirected toward pro-human purposes. The remaining *unanswered* question is threefold:

I. Will the future global armed forces management authority in turn be controlled by supranational Communists, making Communist satellites of all nations? It might be predicted that the people of all nations will be in a state of constant rebellion.

II. Will the future global armed forces management authority in turn be controlled by supranational financial powers, making capitalist satellites of all nations? It might be predicted that the people of all nations will be in a state of constant rebellion.

III. Will the future global armed forces management authority in turn be controlled by an unprecedented new system of checks and balances and controls of a new world security organization, or reconstituted United Nations, capable of maintaining a climate of safety in all inter-nation relations and capable of guarding the political-economic independence of all nations, and managing the supranational corporations and the resources of the oceans and outerspace, for the well being of the people of ALL nations. . . . and not for the people of one or the other world powers which may win the global competition for dominion over the earth?

Isn't someone else supposed to have dominion over the resources of the earth? Is there a moral question here of intense concern to the churches and temples of all faiths and denominations, worldwide?

New American Purpose

In search for *safe initiatives* which can be taken to lead toward this third option of a future world without war, with man himself gaining dominion over the resources of the earth, a group of military - business - professional - religious leaders constituted the Citizens Committee for Global Safety. They have released a document NEW AMERICAN PURPOSE* clarifying a hundred bold *safe initiatives* the U.S. could launch to begin to move into the jungle of self-interest and power . . . among the unfriendly tribes of the military-industrial - scientific - financial power communities which find escalating well being from escalating national danger, and find protracted prosperity from protracted conflict and expanding global arms confrontations . . . in search for the new road into the future, leading toward lasting world peace and order.

Speaking as individuals, and not officially for their organizations, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and Ethical Culture leaders are experimenting in a new form of moral involvement in the power community which controls the future destiny of mankind through its decisions on long-range strategic investment in research and development of future power. These religious leaders have joined with military and business and the technical and legal and public opinion and political leaders in a "systems" relationship, attempting to clarify the long-range purpose of exploding American future power, and attempting to clarify *safe initiatives* the U.S. could launch to provide world leadership in the long and difficult transition into an era of safety and well being for mankind, in a strong and effective United Nations capable of maintaining a climate of safety in all inter-nation relations.

*Copies of the document *NEW AMERICAN PURPOSE* may be obtained by writing to Box 35, Chappaqua, N.Y. 10514

"Every New Dollar Invested for Schooling Today Leads to More Privilege for The Very Few—at The Cost of All" . . . Ivan Illich

SCHOOLING: THE FIVE MOST WASTED DAYS OF THE WEEK?

An Interview with Ivan Illich by L. I. Stell

Unlike many of the priests who love the Catholic Church enough to rebel rather than leave, Msgr. Ivan Illich "defrocked" himself. For all practical purposes he has vanished as a priest and reappeared as a revolutionary educator. "I meticulously abstained from all priestly duties once I realized I did not have the confidence of my ecclesiastical superiors. My only vows are now reading the holy office and remaining celibate." Illich shuns performing Mass and avoids publishing, preaching or offering advice on solely priestly actvities. Indeed, rather than ever "refrocking" himself he feels bound to stay outside the active priesthood in order to knock over the golden calf of another church — the universal "church" of schooling. Fanatically, humorously, rigorously, he says idealizing schools is actually idolatrizing them. Like an ancient seer, he too lives on a mountain, at Cuernavaca, Mexico. From this idyllic Sinai, which has been described as a secular monastery, comes an ever more clarion call for the reeducation of educators. At CIDOC, Centro Intercultural de Documentacion, Illich commands a language industry (which gives it financial independence), a school in the Socratic seminar tradition, and a documentation center of contemporary Latin American social, political and religious issues.

During the seven years of its existence CIDOC has trained for weeks or months, some 5,000 people. Half have been Latin American and the rest mainly from Canada, U.S., or France. Most are college graduates and the vast majority are college students. Some 20 percent this year were priests, pastors or rabbis. Illich does not fear that the recent informal condemnation of CIDOC by the Holy See threatens the existence or independence of "our island where people can go for free conversation and encounter to get rid of their hangups and become more sensitive — aware of the person and the impact upon him of contemporary social myths." Illich's three rules for the center are likely to decree its further popularity and guarantee it against becoming suspect by government. "First, don't speak for more than ten minutes without letting yourself be interrupted. Second, don't preach, proselytize or brainwash. And third, don't organize or plan direct action programs whether they be social, religious or political. (Even if you believe in the need for Molotov cocktails, don't plan how to make them or where to fling them on these premises)." Illich briefly descended from his Mexican heights to issue a challenge to rethink and revamp education to leading church educators. The group, 1000 strong and from all 50 states, met last month in Chicago under the sponsorship of the National Council of Churches' Division of Christian Education.

Why Do You Advocate The Disappearance of Schools?

Schooling is a craze, a mad religion, an initiation rite to power which is inaccessible to 95% of humanity, but which is being preached to them as their only way to salvation. Yet when they accept this salvation, they must acquiesce in their own inferiority. Schooling is the universal established church of our time—more evil than any before. Christians once shuddered at the thought of unbaptized babies going to hell. But today, in the U.S., it is a dogma that high school dropouts are condemned to the ghetto. This school system—that children's crusade which became a world religion—suffered a double blow in 1968. Teachers began to accept what many students have long felt, that schools stultify those who manage to pass through them. Economists have begun to see that the system is much too expensive to become universal—once we begin to think of giving each child at least 16 years of schooling.

After studying the situation for the last year at CIDOC, our seminar concluded that two-thirds of the world's population cannot afford education at present unit costs of the strange ritual of schooling. In the United States the average cost of giving a poor man a high school education is $15,000. Even when you tell me that it's $8,000 for some and $25,000 for others, it doesn't make too much difference to me. The reason is the same figures correspond to the maximum available for the median Latin American to eat, clothe and house himself for his entire life.

But Aren't Latin American Countries Trying Hard to Educate Their Citizens?

They make intensive propaganda in favor of massive schooling and spend between 20 and 30% of all their tax-derived government incomes on education (which 95% of the time means schooling). This enormous amount of public funds does not anywhere buy more than fifth grade education for only one-third of our children. It doesn't bring one full per cent to college graduation. Nor can any improvement on these figures be expected in this century—except by manipulation of statistics.

Gymnastics With Numbers Can Be Both Comforting And Frightening.

You know it's a funny thing. The population explosion has produced a scare, but the explosion of school expectancies has not yet begun to produce a similar scare among really thinking people. This is incredible to those of us that know about it. What happens to a child who attends school for three to five years? (And half of our children do get through three years of schooling.) One thing you can be sure they learn: If you have more schooling than three years you have more rights to live in a technological society. You have more access to power and wealth. A little bit of schooling teaches dropouts—the poor—that there is a good reason why for the rest of their lives they should be discriminated against. And with a schooling pyramid as steep as exists in all underdeveloped countries, every new dollar invested in schooling at this moment leads to more privilege for the very few—at the cost of all.

Is There Any Other Reason For The Coming Death of The School Besides Its Cost And The Spiraling Expectation Explosion Built Into It?

Yes. Another reason is that in the third of the world which can afford schools, most students—particularly those in the lower classes-drop out. Either a child leaves the ritual process of school completely or he simply withdraws into himself and sits through the rest of his classes and years—feeling less and less that he belongs in this huge established church which we call school. But it is particularly difficult at this point for people concerned with the improvement of schooling to say that we don't need to stay with this system which we call schools. Yet think of experimenting pioneers — Castro's Isle of Pines. There are concrete alternatives available to school education. In fact Castro, in a graduation speech at the University of Oriente only two months ago, said to the students, "We have to eliminate universities. We are not rich enough to make them available to everybody. We will have to establish lifelong ongoing institutions to which every Cuban will have a right, but they will be of an entirely different form than those we have inherited from bourgeois society."

Should Castro Come to Cuernavaca?

No. I'm not offering any futuristic schemes. But neither am I saying go to the Isle of Pines. I do not know certainly in the United States if such a change of religion — if you will — is possible. I do know, however, that Latin America, or any society which increasingly accepts the dogma — common among learned men — that children belong in schools, will be a polarized society. It will be an unjust society, where a very few who in their youth for 10 to 15 successive years participate in the sacramental ritual of school will have a good reason — provable to all—to claim they are superior. For example, a boy I worked with in New York City some years back just earned his high school equivalent. This makes him very happy for he can now work for the sanitation department — twelve years of school needed for that purpose. You see what a strange religion we believe in. Twelve years of schooling are out of the question for the majority of the world's people. Can you tell me how a schooled society and a non-schooled society can conceivably live side by side? We have no evidence that ever before two societies belonging to entirely distinct ritual religious systems can intercommunicate in peaceful coexistence.

Is Peaceful Coexistence What You Are Striving For At Cuernavaca?

We are trying to develop a language in which one can discuss fundamental alternatives for institutionalized education, because working for the mere improvement of schooling seems shortsightedly political. This requires that we define schools in ways that in no way implies education—which is easy to do. For example, a society has schools when it accepts the school age—a rather recent invention. No more than 120 years ago people didn't know that children must go to school. Huck Finn, for instance, never found out that there was between infancy and work age a period during which a citizen has special claims on public funds and his participation in a strange ritual is mandatory. In other words in school you don't have somehow to learn, but you have to learn by attendance. And attendance is a very funny thing indeed when you think of it. Several hours a day, several days of the week, most of the months of the year and always in an uninterrupted sequence of years—if you lose one year, you never get back into a state of original grace. And its purpose, supposedly, was to abolish social barriers. Yet perhaps since there is no historical parallel for a child-rearing institution becoming a church, there seem to be no barriers to its spreading out horizontally and vertically.

Do You Mean In New Directions?

Yes, to incorporate more types of people for a longer time span. The fact that new groups are shepherded under the aegis of the school — the sick, the retarded, the mentally disturbed—make it broader based. And if the vertical directions,

the length of study time, continues to increase for the next twenty years at the rate of the last thirty, before the year 2000 the undertaker will be awarding degrees — life expectancy isn't going up as fast as school expectancy. In some ways I think the concept of Purgatory was invented in the Middle Ages for similar reasons.

It's Strange to Learn How Medieval We Moderns Are.

Schools are strikingly medieval. Shanker and his New York teacher clergy remind me of Pope Gregory VII at Canossa letting King Henry (the Lindsay) wait in the cold until the interdict (the old name for hierarchic strikes) was lifted and the clergy could again say the Mass. SDS and Ocean Hill parents are demanding a say in the "investitures" of their school authorities, who in the 11th Century would have worn the mantle of bishop. The forays of city police on campus recall to mind the Crusades, sponsored jointly by Pope and princes, to exterminate the heretical dropouts of the day within and outside Europe.

What Other Language Have You Developed To Describe The Modern School System?

We found that we could define the present educational system as performing four social functions: providing babysitting; grading and shading — leading to the selection of social roles and status within society; teaching socially approved ideals and values: and, last and least, offering a usually kindergarten variety of cognitive education — teaching the codes stored in and by the community.

Can These Functions Really Be Separated?

Perhaps never wholly. But it's precisely because these functions are united under one roof that we believe the system has such grave shortcomings. More specifically, these functions are given priority in the order I've mentioned them. Cognitive education takes shortest shrift, so its no wonder most schools have high costs, but yield low student achievement. Our research also revealed that all the functions performed by schools are available independently, and in almost any combination, either commercially or as functions of non-educational institutions, somewhere in the world if not in each country. I do definitely believe in order to render education less expensive, we have to unpackage this four-fold purpose.

Schools Will Definitely Have To Go?

Yes. The teaching of ideals can be taken over by churches, parties, clubs like the Boy Scouts—or those of the new left and new right. Teaching will be concerned with code teaching, memory accesses. Babysitting could be handled by parents, clubs, perhaps by chutes, where you could parachute your child from the apartment to a childsafe environment — I don't know what. A national testing service can certainly take over the grading and shading. And let industry select people by what they can do, rather than what schools say they can do as a result of a lot of time sitting on their behinds. I don't see why people should be protected against business selecting them for the usefulness they have for business.

Speaking of The Future, What Proposals Have You at Cueravaca Come up With Which Will Lead Education Out of The Quagmire Or At Least Labyrinth That Schools Have Placed It In?

To serve the economic and power interests of lower-class parents an educational account—a new GI bill—could be established for each child at birth, which parents could draw on for educational goals and services of their own choosing. Also, this would, of course, appeal to those who want to open schools for profit—providing direct professional educational services to parents. Most learning could be contracted from such independent operators. And why not redistribute the tax receipts given to education—which in Latin America will soon average about 50 months per citizen over a five-year period — over a longer span of time and make it a part of Social Security? For example, the same amount of education over 25 years would provide a yearly two-month "education." Bonuses could be paid to students for specific learning achievements and then they themselves could become teachers. Training should be in the hands of factories, professions, guilds, labor unions, parties. Informal groupings such as families should be strengthened through the use of educational games, mass-libraries and the use of media. And most importantly, as I

mentioned earlier, the integration of learning with non-cognitive forms of development would be left mainly to voluntary, religious or political agencies.

These Ideas All Fit Into Your Prerequisite Of Being Cheaper Than Present Schooling?

Of course they'd be cheaper. If factories or business trained workers — at night maybe — there would be no need for separate facilities, for separate equipment. And even for more basic tasks like reading, why not estimate the present cost and offer, say, 20% of the amount to anybody who could prove he taught another to read at a minimum speed and comprehension. Perhaps you could give someone an educational premium for every book he could prove he read.

Who Would Become Teachers After The Splitup Of The School?

Anybody. Some parents will be able to teach literacy and logic to their children and others who want to learn. Teachers may even pay for the privilege of teaching much in the same way a doctor pays for the privilege of using the hospital — and like a doctor, they'll be well paid if they can prove their ability to teach. Most people, however, will have to learn more quickly how to become their own teacher. The timing of when a student changes his role into self-teacher is obviously one of the critical problems of education.

If Adopted Won't Your Ideas Be Creating A New Orthodoxy, A New Kind of Bureaucratic System?

I don't claim to be anything else but orthodox. Even in the church I have said I will be totally willing to recant and retract any of my actions or viewpoints if this should ever be asked of me for well-founded provable reasons. This is old orthodoxy in the worse sense. I think of the church as a huge container — one of the most valuable ones. The Lutheran Church, Anglican churches and others are in that parcel somewhere, too. I know my Roman container pretty well, its a marvelous container. It contains so many contributions all through history to beauty through to the development of self-awareness. Now the container is awfully dirty. It's rent here and there and spills all over — some of the beauty and some of the goo. But I am rooted in the Church. I love it. Even if I lost my faith, I would remain a Roman Catholic. Beyond this great tradition, I also do see in it the sign of the Kingdom coming. I see the sign also in other alive churches such as the Lutheran in an analogous way. At this moment we have to save the channels which transmit the great traditions. The churches have 10 to 20 times the standing in age and have proven themselves much better than the school systems. I am very worried about rendering the school systems ridiculous, because in a way — much less than the churches — they are great containers, channels through which old traditions are passed on to us.

Your Socratic Activities In Cuernavaca Indicate More Faith In Education — In Schooling — Than Your Proposals Seem To Avow.

Perhaps, but I'm suggesting that each one, ask one; instead of each one, teach one. Each one of us should question rather than teach. Learning is more important than teaching. And in learning the savior is always the other. The other must always find the keyhole in my heart and open it.

This Ties Your Ideas With Ancient Concepts And May Be Part Of The Reason You're Willing To Leave The Means Of Implementation Of New Structures Vague. In A Sense You Are Willing To Wait For Them To Be Possible.

Exactly. I'm not a futurist. I'm not working out futuristic scenarios. I love Utopia and distinguish futurism from it as does Ernst Bloch. I like to imagine Utopia and believe we have to learn to dream more intelligently and profoundly—becoming experts in sociology, anthropology and psychology as well as philosophy, political science and economics. We must never stop dreaming and planning rationally to implement these dreams. But I don't think the Kingdom will ever have come. It is always coming.

(This is Part I of a two-part interview. The interview will be concluded in an early issue.)

Four Years After . . .

The Memory Of Malcolm X

An Interview with His Widow, by Hiley Ward

"I share the common burden of all black women since the white man brought us here, sold our children, destroyed our men — Mrs. King, Mrs. Evers, and myself are no exceptions."

MRS. Malcolm X (Mrs. Betty Shabazz) is a sweet, soft-spoken, but determined lady with a dedication and radiance that matches the great heroic women of the ages.

She will raise her voice on only one question and that is when she is asked her age, "My goodness, you surely don't think I'm 40, do you?" she said. Malcolm was 39 when he was assassinated in New York, February 21, 1965.

I had only seen her once — it was on Mother's day at the Shrine of the Black Madonna, in Detroit two years ago.

She stood beneath Glanton Dowdell's painting of the radiant black madonna and child, and spoke of the great mothers in black history, and was interrupted at the end of nearly every statement by thunderous applause.

I have never seen a female so beautiful, with such a spiritual quality," she said this week of that madonna painted by ex-convict Dowdell.

Mrs. Shabazz is a graduate of Detroit's Northern High school, and is a former member of the Bethel AME Church there.

She is a dedicated "sunni" or orthodox Muslim like her late husband. She says she confines her activities to working with groups connected with schools her six children attend.

She met Malcolm, a native of Mason, Mich., at a rally in New York while she was attending nursing school.

"Is he a saint," I asked, since a priest had suggested to me that Malcolm could well be.

"I thought he was a human being," she said. "Since Malcolmn died I have been exposed to a lot of elements not previously exposed to . . . I was somewhat sheltered for eight years . . . and now I find it amazing the way he lived.

"He was very strict with himself in public and in private (he abstained from alcohol and tobacco, kept a strict moral code, his speech was clean and he prayed five times a day).

"He was serious about what he was doing. However, the public media did not want to print the serious side. They were concerned with sensationalism, distortions and mass hysteria.

"I could not go so far as to say he is a saint, but the way he lived . . . I have never known any one who lived like him."

"There is nothing mysterious about him. He treated people as he wanted to be treated, and practiced what he preached.

"He used to urge 'freedom,' by any means necessary, to bring about a society where people of African descent are recognized and respected all over the world.

"He felt we should form unity on what we have in common, as Afro-Americans. He said black people should never be divided because of religion or politics."

It was unity that she emphasized, too, in commenting on Martin Luther King, who was assassinated last April.

Malcolm X differed with the non-violent "redemptive suffering" approach of Dr. King, but in death, Mrs. Shabazz said, there is a certain unity.

"Malcolm used to say we are oppressed because we are black. That is why we should not be divided. Dr. King was black, and Malcolm was black. We should learn from them and not be divided."

Mrs. Shabazz has not seen Mrs. King since the assassination.

She said she shares with Mrs. King the "common burden of all black women since the white man brought us here, sold our children, destroyed our men — Mrs. King, Mrs. Evers, and myself are no exceptions."

While her husband talked of the necessity for a separate black nation in the U.S., a forerunner of the philosophy of the Republic of New Africa group, she did not commit herself to a simple position in one of the prime separatist controversies: whether a separate nation should be a separate geographic location as the RNA proposes, or a nation within a nation, building within the constitutional framework of the United States.

"I am of the opinion you have to have both," Mrs. Shabazz said. She said that since black people helped to build this country, the separate nation concept should be effected here and not in Africa.

"We demand our rights and equal opportunity, and at the same time fight for land of our own. After all we were promised 40 acres and a mule (in slave days) . . .

"I feel if we had some land of our own it would give dignity and potential self-respect." She said there should be a piece of this earth where blacks can maintain their cultural heritage. We should work for equal opportunity and also work for a piece of this land, without defining where it must be.

Does Mrs. Shabazz see an improvement in the plight of blacks? She said she saw rather a greater "awareness" and black consciousness.

A lot are saying that Malcolm is responsible for the present mood of blackness — that is not to say others are not, but Malcolm popularized blackness, he internationalized blackness and put it on a larger scale so the masses will have an incentive to research into the past.

Mrs. Shabazz was also asked the two questions that whites ask most concerning Malcolm X: Did he preach violence, and did he change in his last year?

"Malcolm didn't preach violence," she said, "but self-defense. One cannot say, and be truthful, that he taught violence. Those who say he taught violence are really creating a projection of their own inner characteristics, individually or collectively.

Concerning his last year, "I don't feel, as a lot feel, that my husband changed as such. I feel his scope broadened.

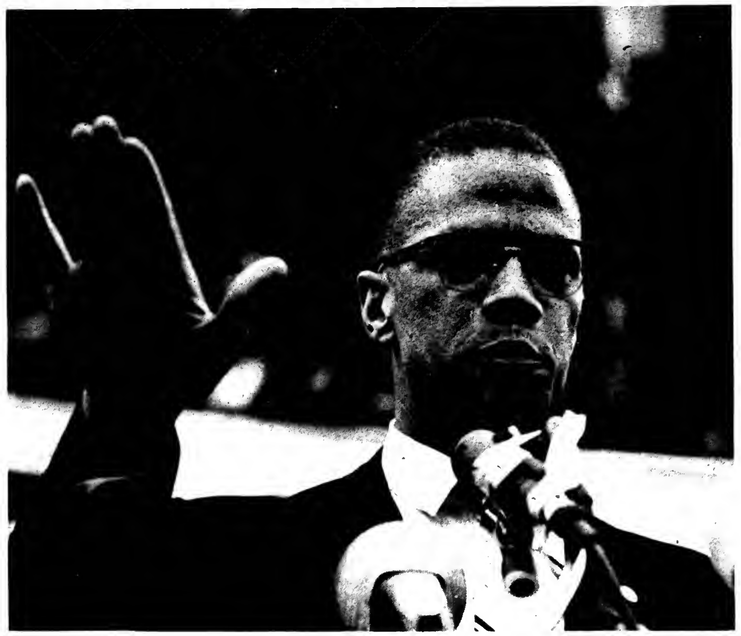
"Matter is continually changing. Nothing remains the same.

"A lot of things he decided to eliminate. When he came back (from Mecca), he said he no longer adhered to tenets of racism. He believed in humanity and would fight for rights of all people. However, he felt an inborn duty to fight for the rights of his people first, so dedicated was he to that part of humanity, his own kind, badly in need of help, not only in America, but all over.

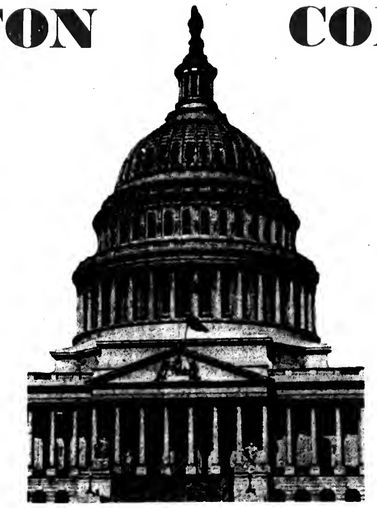
"His scope broadened. Malcolm's primary goals never changed."

Hiley Ward is Religion Editor of the Detroit Free Press, where this interview originally appeared. It is reprinted by permission.

The late Malcolm X addressing a Harlem rally.



WASHINGTON COMMENT



THE GREAT SENTINEL DEBATE

by Allan Parrent

Mr. Parrent is Director of Program, NCC Department of International Affairs, Washington, D.C.

THE "Great Sentinel debate" is temporarily in recess. The one-month review of all "major weapons systems" called by Defense Secretary Laird, a "review" which was prompted chiefly by the unexpectedly heavy chorus of opposition to deployment of the Sentinel anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system around the country, will presumably end in early March. Soon thereafter the Defense Department will probably reveal its revised policy on Sentinel deployment in hearings on the military construction bill, the bill which provides for most of the deployment funds.

There is strong evidence in Washington that the review period, in addition to being a tactical move designed to give the ABM issue a cooling-off period, was designed more to review **how and where** Sentinel deployment should take place than **whether** it should take place. Therefore it is quite likely that the temporarily halted deployment plans will be resumed with changes only in the pattern of sites, their proximity to populated areas, and possibly in the total number of missiles to be deployed. If this proves to be the case, i.e., if deployment is not cancelled outright, the "Great Sentinel debate" will quite likely become increasingly the focus of a wide-ranging examination of the real meaning of national security and the related question of national priorities. The churches and churchmen would be very remiss if they refrained from a full participation in such an examination.

Allan Parrent

When former Secretary of Defense McNamara first announced the decision to build a "thin" Chinese-oriented ABM system in September, 1967, he devoted most of his speech to explaining why an ABM system could not possibly defend the U. S. against a sophisticated missile attack such as the USSR could launch. Only after pointing to the folly of a "heavy" Soviet-oriented system, and warning against the built-in "mad momentum" of arms races, did he conclude briefly by declaring that "there are marginal grounds for concluding that a light deployment of U. S. ABMs . . . is prudent." Even these marginal grounds would not have existed had the Administration's position not been based on the "worst plausible case" theory which warrants military expenditures to guard against even the **possible** irrational behavior of **potential** adversaries. Under such a broad rubric, of course, anything could be justified.

Unexpected Opposition

During the latter part of the 90th Congress a nucleus of concerned senators, centering around the efforts of Senators Cooper (R., Ky.) and Hart (D., Mich.), managed to bring the ABM issue into the public consciousness by instigating a rather substantial debate on the Senate floor in connection with the ABM funds in several defense authorization and appropriation bills. Prior to that the public was hardly aware of the potentially awesome strategic and policy implications involved. Surprisingly, this initial effort to challenge the heretofore sacrosanct defense money bills by striking funds for ABM deployment (not for research and development) received substantial support. While all three relevant amendments were defeated (28-31, 34-53, and 24-45), a total of 45 senators supported one or more of the amendments. A closed-door Senate session was held at one point in order to discuss some of the classified aspects of the Sentinel program. Among other things this session showed that in the view of many ABM supporters the system was not really directed at China but at the Soviet Union, with the full expectation that once begun that "thin" system would ultimately become a "heavy" system which would attempt to do precisely what the initial ABM rationale had claimed it would be wasteful folly to attempt to do. The weakness of the China argument had in fact been apparent from the beginning, particularly when put alongside arguments that an ABM would strengthen the U. S. bargaining position in any missile talks within the USSR. The closed session also showed that during the earlier hearings expert opinion of scientists and other authorities outside government, many of whom seriously questioned the wisdom of deployment, had not been heard.

But defeat in the Senate was not the end of the story. As the Defense Department began to implement the new policy by selecting and constructing actual missile sites, the opposition to the ABM was revived and strengthened. In Boston, Chicago, Seattle, Detroit, and other selected sites, public opposition mushroomed and is still strong. The arguments in the various site areas have varied, but usually include the following: (1) There is a danger of accidental nuclear explosion. (Though small, the chance is at least as great as the chance of an unsophisticated and untested Chinese missile landing on Boston.) (2) The sites will place surrounding populated areas in greater danger of being a target. (3) Even successfully used, local blast and fallout hazards would be very great. Other arguments go all the way from the danger of escalating the arms race and the need to use our resources for domestic needs to the probable decline of property values. There has also been great dissatisfaction with the clandestine manner the Army has used in trying to get the sites installed and the false impression it gave originally that the sites would not be put in heavily populated areas. In spite of a large Pentagon publicity campaign, the people are not buying the protection argument.

Issues of Concern

The opposition from the grass roots, together with growing concern about the real effectiveness of the ABM, its cost, its implications for missile talks with the Soviet Union and for the long-range strategic balance, and its effect on our national priorities, has brought new vigor to the debate and at least a tactical retreat by the Pentagon in the form of the month-long "review." To begin with, there is no conclusive evidence that the ABM will work under combat conditions. The radar system of the Sentinel, for example could quite possibly be made inoperative by other nuclear explosions in the atmosphere. Even a smoothly functioning system, moreover, could not possibly eliminate all incoming missiles, and only one hit per city is needed. Surely it is not unreasonable at least to halt deployment and its attendant costs until more is known of the Sentinel's technical capabilities.

Second, there is the cost. Studies show that not only do new weapons systems always cost considerably more than estimated, but that they also generally fail to perform up to promised standards. The "thin" system was originally scheduled to cost $5.5 billion. Even the Pentagon now concedes that that represented only the first installment on even an effective defense against China. No new official figure was given but several informed sources have mentioned a figure around $10 billion. Even this, of course, is quite small when compared to the cost of the "heavy" missile network which many on both sides of the question foresee once the system is begun. McNamara, in warning against such a system, estimated it at $40 billion. Other estimates have gone as high at $100 billion, given the program of fallout shelters which must accompany any serious effort to provide a full missile defense system, technological updating, and other related costs.

Third, there are a variety of reasons for seeing the present time as a time very ripe for progress in the once-postponed US-USSR missile talks. Contrary to the views of some in the current Administration, this would seem to be a most inappropriate time to begin deployment of a new nuclear weapons system, both because of the long-time nuclear advantage of the U.S. and the pledge in the pending non-proliferation treaty that signatories will "pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date. . . ." A newly deployed US ABM system would only tend to touch off an increase in the Soviet offensive nuclear capability to overcome or neutralize our newly upgraded defense, and the arms race would be on. Indeed, if Soviet planners also calculate for the "worst plausible case," they may overcompensate for our "thin" defense, putting the US in a more vulnerable position than before. Both the treaty and the missile talks, not to say peace itself, could be the ultimate victims.

Finally, a US commitment to a major ABM deployment would vitiate not only the opportunity to reduce world tensions but also the opportunity to improve the quality of our national society. The disparity between our defense budget and our budget for economic and social development at home and abroad is at once a scandal and a tragedy. As the result of a truncated concept of security, our nation's constant effort to have "both guns and butter" invariably ends up with "butter" getting shortchanged. There is always a prior need for more "guns." It is this very characteristic of insatiability which must be seen for what it is lest, posing in the garment of national security, it be allowed to blur the real human situation and lead us unaware past one of those all too rare opportunities for at least a modicum of reconciliation both at home and abroad.

It is possible, however, to end on an optimistic note. Until the ABM issue was raised, the defense budget was considered virtually a sacred cow in Congress. The current debate may very well have marked the end of such unquestioning compliance by the legislative branch. The "military-industrial complex" from now on may have to subject its complexity to the scrutiny heretofore reserved for less overpowering governmental organisms. Regardless of the outcome, the debate is showing that at least the right questions are beginning to be asked. ■

it says here . . .

NCC JOINS IN SUPPORTING FCC "FAIRNESS DOCTRINE"

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The National Council of Churches has come out strongly in support of the Federal Communications Commission's "fairness doctrine," which regulates personal attacks and political editorializing on the air. The so-called doctrine is currently being challenged as an alleged violation of the First Amendment of the Constitution by the Radio Television News Directors Association and some broadcasting concerns.

The Council's support was expressed in an *amicus curiae* brief to the U.S. Supreme Court, filed jointly with eight other religious bodies and two secular groups by the NCC's Broadcasting and Film Commission, which defends the constitutionality of the "fairness doctrine."

The FCC rule provides that in case of "an attack . . . upon the honesty, character, integrity or like personal qualities of an indentified person or group" the broadcaster is obliged to notify the target of the attack of its substance and to offer "a reasonable opportunity" to respond over the air.

Said the Rev. William F. Fore, BFC director, "Since the number of persons holding licenses is small, the FCC must guarantee that those not holding licenses must have access to the airwaves, which are public property," he said.

* * * * *

U.S. BIAFRA FIGURES INCORRECT, TEAM SAYS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The first official American team to investigate the Nigeria-Biafra war says that the U.S. State Department has gravely underestimated the famine there. Calling the famine "by far the worst I have ever encounterd," Dr. Jan Mayer of Harvard University charges Washington with what he calls "complete and total lack of information . . . about Biafra." Mayer a professor of nutrition who has seen famine in India and Africa, was part of a U.S. study team who spent 10 days in the conflict area. Senator Charles E. Goodell of New York, who headed the research team, outlined six steps toward a political solution of what he called a "massive human tragedy" in Biafra. He called for a cease-fire and for direct talks between leaders of the warring factions. Senator Goodell also urged that the United Nations face its responsibilities and use its powers in the conflict.

* * * * * *

NEW MINISTERS IN OVER SUPPLY?

PHILADELPHIA, PA. — Church leaders have repeatedly charged in recent years that there is a growing crisis in the supply of new ministers.

They're dead wrong, at least as far as one major denomination is concerned.

Over the past near-decade (1959-1967) supply has exceeded demand in the United Presbyterian Church by 559 clergymen, reports the Rev. William H. Henderson, head of the Board of Christian Education's Division of Vocation.

After replacing ministers who have died, retired or otherwise left full-time church employment, and after filling new job slots opened up by the church's growing membership over the last 10 years, an added 559 ordained ministers have had to find work — in growing multiple staffs of larger congregations and in smaller and smaller churches formerly unable to compete for or pay a full-time pastor.

Henderson believes the future supply looks good in both quality and quantity. But the new candidates for the ministry don't come out of the mold of an earlier generation of conventional clergy.

"They're coming out of a changing world," Henderson said. "They're a new breed. Most of these young people are idealistic, have a great deal of energy and a tenacity peculiar to many of the superior young people of today."

The church has some hot questions to answer about them, Henderson says. Will the seminaries be able to educate them? Will local churches be able to "accommodate" them, respond to their vitality and fresh imagination? Can the church open up and permit both traditional and contemporary forms of worship, education, evangelism and service in society?

If not, Henderson says, "the church's future is impaired."

* * * * * *

CHURCH ADVISED TO HEED "RENEWERS"

MILWAUKEE, Wis. — Dr. Gabriel Fackre of Lancaster Theological Seminary said here that church leaders need to start listening — not to the traditionalists in the Church — but to what he calls the "renewers." The renewers are custodians of the church's newest tradition, Fackre told a Milwaukee meeting of the United Church of Christ. Noting that renewal in the church has become a well-rooted tradition, the theologian urged church leaders to take seriously the "seriousness, dismay and possible defection" from the church of the renewal-oriented members. "They may not have the money," he noted, "but they do have the imagination, dedication and youth." It is time, he concluded, for denominational leaders and ministers to stop worrying about "losing a cantankerous group of anti-renewers" from the church and start attracting to or keeping in the church the people who are oriented toward renewal in the churches.

CHICAGO, ILL.—Interrupting the first plenary session of the Feb. 10-14 Christian education Conference on Man and the City were a group of seminarians "organized for social justice" who demonstrated on behalf of Project Equality. Among speakers and others at head table pausing during demonstration were the Rev. Eli Wismer (Center, standing), Executive Director of Educational Development, NCC's Division of Christian Education; Mr. Anthony Machukay (Seated), Chicago, representing a group of American Indians and a conference speaker, and the Rev. C. T. Vivian (Right), Associate Director of Chicago's Urban Training Center for Christian Mission, a speaker who later left the conference in sympathy with demonstrators.

WCC NAMES 12 TO GROUP CONFERRING WITH VATICAN

GENEVA (RNS) — Twelve Protestant and Orthodox churchmen were named here as World Council of Churches representatives to an expanded WCC-Vatican Joint Working Group. Catholic members will be announced later by the Vatican.

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, WCC general secretary, will serve as a joint chairman. The group is widely represented globally. The only U.S.-based churchman having membership is Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, of New York, general secretary of the National Council of Churches.

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DUTCH JESUITS IN CELIBACY BATTLE

AMSTERDAM, Neth. — Four Roman Catholic chaplains at the University of Amsterdam say they are going to break with the official church because of its rule of celibacy for priests. The four indicate that after March 1 they may continue celebrating Mass and preaching in Amsterdam but if they do it will be "outside the responsibility of the bishop" of the area. One of the four, Fr. Jos Vrijburg plans to marry. His three Jesuit colleagues are supporting him in both his marriage intentions and in his plans to continue as an active priest.

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U.S. RESPONSE TO KERNER REPORT HELD 'PERILOUSLY INADEQUATE'

WASHINGTON, D.C. (RNS) — The response of the nation to its urban and racial crises in the first year after the report of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders is "periously inadequate."

This assessment by John W. Gardner, chairman of the Urban Coalition, summarizes the findings of what has and has not happened in American urban life since March 1, 1968. The study was jointly sponsored by the Urban Coalition and Urban America, Inc., non-profit organizations.

"One Year Later" was released on the first anniversary of the document commonly called the Kerner Report, an evaluation which found the U.S. suffering under generations of "white racism" and tending toward two separate, unequal societies, white and black.

Twelve months after the Kerner Report, Urban America and the Urban Coalition found that "we are a year closer to being two societies, black and white, increasingly separate and scarcely less equal."

* * * * * *

LIBERATE PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN COLONIES, SAYS UCC UNIT

MILWAUKEE, Wis. — An American denomination with a long missionary history in Portuguese Africa has gone on record in support of liberation movements in Portugal's African colonies. The Social Action unit of the United Church of Christ, meeting here, has urged the U.S. government to end arms shipments to Portugal. The U.S., the resolution adds, should give up its military bases in Portugal to protest what are called "colonialist and racist policies." The United Church Social Action resolution points out that the United Nations has repeatedly condemned Porugese colonialism and called for self-determination for the African colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. But Portugal has refused to grant self-determination.

CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS FORM NEW TEXAS CONFERENCE

By Kay Longcope

AUSTIN, Texas — Protestant, Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churchmen in Texas joined in the formation of what has been called "the most representative ecumenical body in the world," the Texas Conference of Churches.

The union brought together the ten dioceses of the Texas Catholic Conference, the statewide Greek Orthodox diocese and 29 Protestant ecclesiastical units, most of which belonged to the Texas Council of Churches.

National Council of Churches president Arthur S. Flemming termed it "the dawn of a new day in the life of the Church" and the Rev. Canon Gerald McAllister of the Episcopal Diocese of West Texas declared that 400-year-old Protestant and Roman Catholic "masks of triump had been laid to rest."

Catholics in several other states have allied themselves with local and state councils, but never on this large a scale, it was noted.

The 16-year-old Texas Council of Churches dissolved itself on February 24 and, as council president United Methodist Bishop W. Kenneth Pope of Dallas said at a "Hail and Farewell" luncheon: "Never has a group of people had such a good time burying an institution."

The Rev. Roy J. Cates, the first executive director of the newly formed Texas Conference of Churches. He will take post Aug. 1.

On February 25, thirty-eight chief officers of the uniting church bodies affixed their signatures to a parchment constitution, bringing the New Texas Conference of Churches into being.

"The most important and unique thing boding well for the future," said Callan Graham, executive director of the Texas Catholic Conference, "is the bringing together of top-level church executives to sit on the board of directors, and deciding to act or not act as the case may be."

Mr. Graham, a Roman Catholic layman and attorney, pointed out that the Austin-based Texas Catholic Conference will continue to function as the coordinating agency of the state's ten Catholic dioceses. Asking it to dissolve itself, he said, "would be like asking denominational offices to dissolve themselves."

Purposes of the TCC, as stated in its constitution, are "to clarify and strengthen our witness to Christ as Lord of Church and world" by:

— Acknowledging His Lordship in word and act as well as in worship,

— Attempting to apply more effectively the substance and insights of the Christian Gospel to the structures and institutions of this state, reminding all that every structure exists to serve man and is accountable to God.

— Providing means of cooperation with agencies and movements which further the common purposes of the member churches.

— Providing a forum and a place of sharing the work of the churches.

— Doing together all things save those which we must in conscience and obedience do separately.

— Promoting the spirit of ecumenism, cultivating interchurch fellowship in communities throughout the state and fostering dialogue in the realm of faith and order.

Harold Kilpatrick, who has served as director of the Texas Council of Churches since its inception in 1953, will continue as acting director until August 1, when he retires. At that time, Roy J. Cates of Ft. Worth, director of public relations and assembly of the Texas Association of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ), will assume the post of conference executive.

Communions represented in the new agency include: African Methodist Episcopal, Disciples of Christ, Christian Methodist Episcopal, Church of the Brethren, Cumberland Presbyterian, Episcopal, Lutheran Church in America, Presbyterian U.S., United Church of Christ, United Methodist, United Presbyterian and Unity of the Brethren.

CHICAGO: TRAINING LAB FOR CHRISTIAN EDUCATORS

(Continued from page 3)

The Methodist prelate described the present attitudes of white Americans on three levels:

Whites who are poor: "Struck with fear, South and North, and they are arming themselves against the invasion they fear by the blacks from the ghettoes."

The white middle class: These moderates turn to the government for the protection of law and order; and the government responds with increasingly "severe" repressive measures.

The liberal whites and reformists: "They are baffled and confused by what seems to them to be a decisive separation by the blacks."

Five Work Groups

Conference participants were broken down into work groups dealing with public education, police-community relations, welfare, housing, and employment problems. They traveled throughout the city speaking with community groups about their programs.

Douglas Andrews, director of the Garfield Community Organization, told participants in the conference that his westside area held the electoral key — from 35,000 to 100,000 votes—to decide a city-wide election and yet its citizens, mostly black and poor, had no control over their political and economic destinies.

In telling how he and his associates set about to organize 37 out of 54 precincts, Andrews said the people were increasingly aware of their potential for liberation.

"We are beating even gangsters and politicians," he said. "Out of this type of power we will negotiate other issues: open housing, more money for welfare, our effective participation in community decisions."

Past approaches to social change through moralistic principles just did not work, he said, as agreements are promptly broken by the stronger party. He and other leaders told the educators how they are succeeding in launching new business ventures—including franchises—with earnings going back to the community, its churches, projects and youth. Buying groups have been organized to patronize these cooperative businesses.

Other community leaders showed how they have moved from mere job-seeking and welfare trouble-shooting into firm economic expansion, "changing the poor ghetto" into self-sustaining, dignified communities.

"For instance, a large oil company was reluctant to give us the franchise for a gas station here," said a leader at the Westside Organization headquarters. Here was a leaky, dark hall that was once a store. "They openly said we were not businessmen. We pressed and we got it, with an assigned quota of 40,000 gallons a month. We are selling 110,000 gallons."

The "poverty tours" were capped by "ethnic" dinners and e n t e r t a i n m e n t at neighborhood churches, both Protestant and Catholic.

"This is what we really needed, more than speeches," Dr. Angela Ribbot said, summing up many participants' feelings.

On Wednesday, the conferees spent the afternoon at an open hearing on welfare problems and heard Mrs. Dovie Thurman, president of Welfare Recipients Demand Action, explain how she tries to feed her children on a 26 cents-per-meal welfare budget.

"We are getting tired of sitting around and begging welfare while the United States sends satellites into space and sends money overseas for a war," Mrs. Thurman said.

Church Soul at Stake

After listening to several brief discussions of the plight of welfare recipients, the Rev. Dr. Eli Wismer, executive director of the NCC Department of Educational Development, told the organizations that "the soul of the church is at stake" in the battle for better public assistance programs.

That evening a "Highlife" program saw some twenty different rooms of the Conrad Hilton occupied by as many different groups singing folk songs, listening to leaders such as the Rev. John Fry on the Blackstone Rangers, Daniel Walker on the Chicago police riot last summer, the Rev. James Mack on Black Theology, David Fink on the anti-ballistic missile system, and others who talked of black poetry, the Indian in America and contemporary anti-semitism.

Walker, legal counsel for a department store chain and editor of the Walker Report on last summer's riots in Chicago during the Democratic Convention, told the conference that "cracking skulls" is not the way to seek dialogue with young radicals. American society, he said, has to learn to distinguish between the idealistic students who are willing to work for change, and radicals who want to disrupt the system. "We cannot build trust with our students by deliberately alienating them," Walker stressed.

Other resolutions passed at the conference asked that:

—The 10 percent income tax surcharge continue and the proceeds (about $14 billion) be used to improve public education and that a portion of increased tax revenues from economic growth (about $16 billion) be directed to provide adequate welfare funds for the poor.

—The Christian churches support moves to improve and humanize the administration of welfare programs.

—The churches embark on social and educational programs to correct the conditions of the poor and combat the causes of poverty and alienation.

"This week you have been exposed to the kind of life led by at least 40 million people in this country," Dr. James W. Mack, a Lake Meadows community minister of the United Church of Christ, told delegates. "Is the church going to become an active agent for social change, or a bandwagon rider as in the past?"

A different kind of involvement ended the conference. Rather than exploring the mechanics of social change as they work around the city, conferees were asked to explore their own creative depths and to come up with poems and ballads describing things they'd seen and felt.

Under the direction of Dr. Ross Snyder of the Center for Contemporary Celebration at Chicago Theological Seminary, the amateur balladeers poured out their feelings about the confrontations of the week; mostly between religion and poverty, authority and liberation, the system and the person.

Through them, one could begin to see what had happened during the conference.

And while no one really knows whether the conference achieved its purpose of opening the eyes of the 1,000 participants, one white minister said: "My conscience has been mangled. I just have to quit fooling around and go back home and do something."

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

Reviewing: "Shame" by Ingmar Berman

ALAS! What a difficult review to type. How can any theologically acute, cinematically perceptive, aesthetically appreciative moviegoer be anything but moist-eyed and lumpy-throated about Ingmar Bergman? What's wrong with me that I can actually eat popcorn while the maestro is unwinding one of his metaphysical epics before me? Why don't I laugh and cry as he probes the labyrinthine layers of complexity in his Scandinavian neurotics? Am I dense, feelingless, psychologically anemic? And how can I possibly nourish my budding reputation as TEMPO's sensitive film critic when I admit that the preacher's film-maker *par excellence* leaves me dissatisfied and edgy?

Admittedly "Shame" is one of his best efforts to date. A scary study of how war erodes personal relationships and human qualities, it has more externality and political bite than any previous Bergman film I can remember. Once again the acting is virtually flawless. Liv Ullman and Max von Sydow as the musician couple who have been cheated out of their careers by war never err. Not only does the NEW REPUBLIC's critic Stanley Kauffman call "Shame" the best film of the year. He also names Bergman the best director and Liv Ullman the best actress. You can see why. Also, the film is never once marred by the spectacular gimmicks we have come to expect nowadays. No freeze shots. No split screens. No quick zooms. Bergman's camera displays an uncanny confidence in what it is focusing on. Once, for example, von Sydow goes back into the ramshackle farmhouse to get his rainjacket and leaves his wife sitting in the front seat of the car. For long moments we simply watch her wait. No change in camera angle. No microscopic inspection of her pores. No nothing. Just a long, long shot of a wife waiting for a husband and becoming slowly aware that he's taking too long. Only Bergman has that kind of cinematic *chutzpah*. When the scene is over we feel we know the wife infinitely better. Later there is a similar scene as the couple eats lunch in the yard. The camera never moves from behind the husband's shoulder. Bergman is obviously telling us that these people are what he is interested in, and that the war that swirls and slams around them is important only for what it is doing to them. That message, however, comes across just a little too forcibly. Maybe that's what troubled me about "Shame," and one of the things that bugs me about Bergman in general.

The childless couple have moved to a primitive island to escape the fury of what seems to be a vague continuation of the Vietnam war on a world scale. Deprived of the chance to play their instruments when the orchestra is disbanded, they continue to talk about making music, but never really do. They limp along in their sequestered retreat until they are caught in the thick of a paratroop raid, try unsuccessfully to escape and then are arrested and interrogated for allegedly collaborating with the enemy. The mayor of the town, played by Gunnar Bjornstrand, spares them in part because he wants to make love to the wife. Hardly a new twist in a war movie.

Saved by the mayor from imprisonment or death by a firing squad, the couple nevertheless begins to deteriorate. The mayor is captured by guerrillas and the husband accepts their invitation to shoot him, though earlier he had been unable even to kill a chicken for food. Soon he and his wife are destroying each other and, at the end, they are stranded with a boatload of desperate refugees in an immense sea bobbing with the cadavers of dead soldiers. The wife is tearfully telling her husband about a dream she has had, a dream in which she holds the child they will never have.

There is no denying Bergman's incredible craftsmanship and restraint. He shows us the way war destroys a couple, but in doing so he does not start with an ideal couple — they already have their problems in the first two minutes; nor does he take them completely to perdition —they are still holding on to themselves and to each other, however tenuously, when the film ends. So why do I feel dissatisfied?

Advanced Bergmanians, the real affifianados, might say that I want Bergman to do more than he intends to do. His genius, so the theory goes, is to be found in his measured reluctance to do more in a film than can be done. Like any good artist, he knows where to stop. Maybe so. But by now I've seen at least a dozen Bergman movies — everything from "The Seventh Seal" through "Wild Strawberries," "The Virgin Spring," "Winter Light" and "The Hour of the Wolf." And I'm beginning to think that it is not only Bergman's artistic restraint that constricts his vision of life but that it is his constricted vision of life which determines his restraint. Bergman seems almost obsessed with the tortuous complexity and frightening fragility of life. He can't stay away from the demonic side of human nature, the fear and terror which stalk even the healthiest among us. It is almost as though he is determined to assure us that although Sweden has a healthy sex ethic, no poverty, and the world's most tasteful furniture, its blond denizens are just as mixed up as anyone else. And in them we can catch a deeper glimpse of ourselves.

All right. But now the point has been made. At least on me. Where, I'm ready to ask, is the gusto that allows us to embrace life even though it's so inscrutable and bewildering? Where is the little lear one catches in the movies of Fellini, who also knows that life is complicated, that tragicomic shrug that enables us to dig the circus even when we know the sword swallower is faking? What keeps Bergman going if no glint of aurora borealis ever cracks the blackness of the wolf's hour?

Maybe we can't expect everything from everybody. We should, perhaps, judge Bergman on his capacity to conjure his vision, however limited. And he does it with breathtaking aplomb. But if we move on to judge Bergman not just for how he says it but for what he says, and to this judgment every really great artist must finally be subjected, then we cannot escape the feeling that something very important is missing. Maybe what's missing is grace. But then again, since grace is unearned, we can hardly blame Bergman if he doesn't have it. Maybe his real greatness is not to pretend he has it when he doesn't. ■

Education: Our Secular Religion?

by Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J.

IN the perspective of history, the 'Sixties may be described as the decade when the schools became a battleground. They have become the scene of conflict almost as consistently as Vietnam; Boards of Education and offices of university presidents are scenes of battle-strategy almost as often as the Pentagon. Most Americans step back appalled that the schools, centers of human learning and development, should become the focus of hatred, animosity and violence. Explanations by the dozens are presented, from the generation-gap to the influence of heavenly spheres. One observation deserves more attention than it has been given: is it possible that the schools have absorbed the functions of religion in a secular world, and have thus become caught in all the animosities that break out generally against that which is sacred and ultimate in society?

In the elaboration of Harvey Cox about *The Secular City*, and those of Will Herberg in *Catholic, Protestant & Jew*, or those of Dorothy Dohen in *Nationalism & American Catholicism*, it is clear that the world of business, commerce, government and education have finally established their autonomy, dissociated themselves from identification with the sacred and now fulfill their secular function in effectively secular ways. Furthermore, in our religiously pluralistic worlds, the secular society protects the right of many religions to co-exist, without permitting any one the special privilege of establishment.

This, however, leaves a serious vacuum in the secular society. As Durkheim clearly analyzed it years ago in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, every society must be based on some fundamental values; and every society seeks to reinforce these values and make them effective by identifying them in some subtle way with the divine, by projecting them onto the level of the sacred and by associating them with religious symbols and meanings. This function of giving an absolute character to the values of a society, Durkheim identified as the function of religion. This legitimization of a social order by recourse to the divine is an effective device. No one questions that God, should have something serious to say about human society.

How does one secure these values in a secular society; more particularly a secular society which is religiously pluralistic? There is some evidence that the educational system is assuming this religious function — and this may be the beginning of its troubles.

What is striking about the educational system in a society like that of the United States is the large number of "non-educational" functions which it fulfills. Ivan Illich (see pp. 6 and 7) pointed this out very clearly in his article "The Futility of Schooling in Latin America" (*Sat. Rev.* April 20, 1968). It plays an almost sacramental function in establishing the legitimacy of persons to enter a wide range of occupations and professions, and it established this with meanings that come out as "good" and "evil." The A.B., the M.A., the Ph.D. are rites analogous to First Communion and Confirmation, establishing a person's legitimate right to a job, an occupation, a profession. The charismatic conferral of the sacred symbols—demanding reverence and respect, may bear little relationship to the person's competence or skill. Thousands who have not been so inaugurated into the sacred rites are barred admission to the wide range of sanctuaries which only the consecrated can enter. The "Ph.Ds", that awesome elect, are like the High Priests, determining who may be admitted into their sacred company. They and the ranks of minor clerics with the MSW or LLB define the norms according to which the people shall live. As Illich puts it, "Alma Mater" (Holy Mother, the School) labors to bear her children into their new life.

It is strange how subtle these definitions can be. There is an unfavorable moral connotation to the word "drop-out." But the educational system defines the application of the term. A century ago, a man who "dropped-out" of first or second grade might be considered unfortunate, underprivileged or disadvantaged. Now if he drops out before the twelfth year he suffers from these definitions of inadequacy, almost as the unabsolved might be considered unclean. As conquistadores felt a holy compulsion to get the pagans baptized, modern apostles of book and classroom feel a holy compulsion to make men literate or bring them to four, six or eight years of schooling.

This is a caricature, exaggerated for effect. But there is no doubt that the school has come to be seen as the system that maintains the common values by communicating them to the young; and it presides over man's salvation history as it confers on him the sacred symbols which assure his admission into the promised land of the affluent society.

If the educational system is doing so, it may well be absorbing the religious functions in societies whose secularism denies this function to traditional faiths which have spoken to men in the name of God. Defining the ultimates and presiding over man's access to them is an awesome responsibility. Even when exercised by religions which proclaimed the word of God, it invited distrust or hostile opposition. If the schools have made themselves the substitute vehicles for these sacred powers, it is no wonder that they have become the focus of questioning, conflict and rebellion.

The Rev. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., is Professor of Sociology at Fordham University. He is a frequent contributor to nationally known journals of opinion.

v. 1, no. 12

TEMPO

April 1, 1969

In Pace With The Changing Church

Martin Luther King, Jr. January 15, 1929—April 4, 1968

TEMPOsitions . . .

Lent And The Bureaucrats

Guest Editorial by Arthur J. Moore, Jr.

"The Last Supper" by Andre Derain

THE season of Lent is traditionally a time of meditation and penitence. For the majority of us who work in the Interchurch Center and in church structures elsewhere, the question arises whether it is merely a time for personal, private reflection or whether there should be some connection between our private piety and our jobs, particularly when so much of what goes on in those jobs involves planning or processing programs for others dealing with that very subject.

If we do attempt to make such a connection, some startling differences in perspective emerge. The models that we choose to compare ourselves to are the figures of the disciples, all too human but striving to carry out the Master's will. We are well aware of our failings and lacks but confident that this is the direction in which we move.

IT is something of a shock, therefore, to realize that to many people both inside and outside of the churches our biblical model is of quite a different sort. They see us as the **money-changers** in the Temple, not even aware that Christ is on his way to scourge us. If this sounds harsh, let me hasten to add that they do not have anything personal against us (that is, most of them against most of us). The judgment simply goes with the territory. (After all, we have no evidence that Jesus had anything personal against the money-changers.) They are simply agreeing without knowing it, with Hannah Arendt, who has written, ". . . The latest and perhaps most formidable form of such dominion (is), bureaucracy, or the rule by an intricate system of bureaus in which no men, neither one nor the best, neither the few nor the many, can be held responsible, and which could be properly called the rule by Nobody.

"Indeed, if we identify tyranny as the government that is not held to give account of itself, rule by Nobody is clearly the most tyrannical of all, since there is no one left who could even be asked to answer for what is being done. It is this state of affairs which is among the most potent causes for the current world-wide rebellious unrest."

CLEARLY, George Wallace is not the only one who wants to throw bureaucrats in the river. But, can that be us they are talking about? We are simply file clerks and administrators and, besides, we hate the Establishment. We are part of the revolution.

Very likely the Pharisees spoke much in the same vein. For without the continuous, inbreaking power of God, we are all Pharisees trapped in the "religious institutions" which always teeter on the verge of the demonic and who are we to tell when we tip over that ledge. That is why the message of Easter is literally a matter of life and death for us. For the message of Easter is that Christ died to save us all. Even the money-changers. Even us.

—Mr. Moore is Editor, "World Outlook"

The hands shown on the cover of this issue of TEMPO are those of the late Martin Luther King, Jr. who was felled by an assassin's bullet just a year ago on April 4. For many, his presence will be very real and very strong as they join in commemorating, just two days after the tragic anniversary, the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ. This remarkable photographic study was done by Ira Rosenberg a few years ago in New York City during a meeting addressed by Dr. King. One of the nation's best known news photographers, Mr. Rosenberg is now with the Detroit Free Press.

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause

ART AND LAYOUT: Heff Heisler

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbot, David M. Ackerman, John Fisler, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, David Poindexter, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell, Maza Tilghman, Albert Tippit, Glen Trimble, John W. Turnbull.

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MENTAL HEALTH IS FOR MINORITIES TOO

A Special TEMPO Report by Harold Schachern

PHILADELPHIA — More than 100 churchmen, psychiatrists and social scientists and activists gathered here for three days and came away with a permanent organization committed to finding religion's role in the promotion of community mental health.

It wasn't as easy as it sounds, for the sessions at Philadelphia's Sheraton Hotel frequently degenerated into confrontations between mentalities so diverse that one participant shouted, "We don't even know how to talk to one another."

An hour before adjournment there were serious doubts among many that agreement could be found on the formation of any organization. Debates flared over whether it was needed, what form it should take and who should control it. But tempers and differences cooled sufficiently in the waning moments to permit the adoption of a committee report and resolution on organization.

Among the speakers it was the consensus that the nation's principal mental health problem is racism, and that traditional institutions of both religion and mental health have so far failed in bridging the gap.

One of these, Mattie L. Humphrey, black Philadelphia registered nurse and social worker, said the physical and mental surroundings in which black American culture must exist "are not fit for human habitation."

She referred to black culture as "growth oriented" and just beginning "to seek an identity and a peoplehood. When we look around for a model to follow," she said, "we find none, only a decadent society that is completely status oriented."

White society, she said, talks about change "as if it had any options," adding that "it's not a question of there being change, but how that change will be directed." A growth-oriented society must build institutions which its members find relevant to their lives, but established institutions resist in an effort to preserve themselves. These attitudes, she said, constitute serious community mental health problems.

Increasing Polarization

The Rev. Frank Moyer, chaplain of the Rockford, Ill., Memorial Hospital, said the increasing polarization of black and white society may point to a "neo-Fascist state in which all agencies for change will be cordoned off and be eliminated. A sick America is now looking at itself and seeking to destroy all those who dare protest a sick system," he said.

One of the most controversial figures at the conference, the Rev. Edgar A. Krueger, of the Texas Rio Grande Valley area, said most white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant clergymen reflect their lack of mental health by being in tune with their own congregations, but not with "the disinherited" of their communities.

Mr. Krueger, hired by the Texas Council of Churches to work among the Rio Grande's poor Mexican-American farm laborers, was fired by the council. He is continuing the work under different sponsorship. **(See Story, page 11, this issue).**

"Many of our Texas clergymen know all about solving the problem without ever having visited the shanty towns where large families live on less than $3,000 a year," he said.

He said he is accused by some Texas clergy and laity of "fomenting trouble" by "simply telling it as it is."

A half-century ago, he said, much valuable land along the Rio Grande was owned by Mexican-Americans, but Texas Rangers lynched some and drove others out by burning their homes and villages, so that their lands could be taken over by Anglo-Saxon Texans.

"Those who condoned that kind of violence are horrified at the 'violence' they see in the protests of poor Mexican-American farm workers today," he said.

Texans Are Kind, Too

Texans are no more unkind than other Americans, he said. They give readily for Christmas baskets for the poor, but become aroused when those same poor demand decent hours and working conditions, and better wages than the $12 a week some of them get.

At another session, the Rev. Paul Washington, of the Episcopal Church of the Advocate in Philadelphia, said that church and state stand for the same thing, and he questioned whether a church so identified with the American power structure can hope to serve the black community.

Mr. Washington said, however, there still is a place for churches and churchmen in the struggle for equality if they will adjust their own mental health to "honestly try to define the issues and basic truths" as best they can.

He made his remarks during a round robin discussion which, under the goading of black and Spanish-speaking minority group spokesmen, produced a list of recommendations which ultimately were incorporated in forming the permanent organization.

Through the black church, Mr. Washington said, the entire church, in turn, may be led to identify with black people, just as it traditionally has identified with white people.

"White America has used separatism to serve its own goals," he said, "so black Americans need not apologize for using the same techniques." But, he warned, America can be saved in only one way, and that is as an entire nation. Thus, the role of the church is to "show all Americans the way to salvation."

A group session discussing the role of "The Clergyman in Community Mental Health" heard Fr. George Hagmaier, a Paulist priest from New York, say that the clergy has always served "a caring and curative role," but that this role now requires a different focus.

"The clergy have been called the first line of defense in mental health," he said, "but they should be the first line of offense. The resources of the clergy have been overlooked and not used, but they deal with people, and when people get overlooked, religion becomes irrelevant."

Mental health centers, he said, should be partnerships, with psychiatrists and social scientists consulting with clergy and laity in their development and operation. Fr. Hagmaier said also that seminary training prepares priests and ministers inadequately for dealing with community mental health.

"Speaking for my own church," he said, "we lost 800 priests last year because they found out ten years too late what they should have learned in the seminary. We ought to send seminarians out to live with the problems before they are ever ordained."

A Mennonite minister doing social work in Prairie View, Kans., the Rev. Robert Carlson, said his denomination had traditionally been one of "the quiet ones with a separatist tradition. We backed away from violence," he said, "but finally locked arms with the others when we came to take an interest in mental ills."

Mental Health Subsidies

At still another session, it was charged that Federal mental health legislation was designed as a subsidy to white rich and middle-class communities, rather than as a support to poor minority groups.

During the discussion, tempers ignited as black and Mexican-American spokesmen accused white clergymen, psychiatrists and social workers of being insensitive, paternalistic and patronizing. Black and Spanish-speaking ghetto people must have a voice in the expenditure of funds, site selection and the type of mental health services offered, the often angry minority spokesmen insisted. White professionals do not enjoy acceptance or trust from ghetto people, they said, and there are few black or brown professionals, so they urged widespread training of second level professional aides from minority communities.

White professionals, principally from the National Institute for Mental Health (NIMH), conceded that in the establishment of some 2,000 Federally-financed community mental health centers now in progress across the country, local communities must supply matching funds. This requirement, they said, eliminates poor areas from participation and guarantees that almost all will benefit more affluent neighborhoods.

Strong comments came from the Rev. John R. Fry, minister of First Presbyterian Church, in Chicago's explosive Woodlawn section where he has headed a ministry of reconciliation between the militant young black organization called the Blackstone Rangers and Chicago police and officialdom. "If the white community health organization does not share the grief and the fury of the community at times like this," he said, "it immediately belongs to the other side and is an enemy in the affected community's view."

Fr. George Clements, militant black Catholic parish priest from Chicago, said "the most serious pitfall of all is the refusal of white leaders to even listen to ghetto community residents," and this includes mental health questions.

"Social agencies and religious bodies walk into ghettos with the pre-conceived idea that their white collars and coats will bring them immediate acceptance," Fr. Clements said. "Any white face is immediately suspect. I am a black man, but often I am suspect. They don't trust my white man's collar. These agencies bring with them plans conceived in some think tank, without any consultation with the people. It is the height of arrogance for mental health people to ignore the opinions of people in the community. They are just playing with people."

Brown Psychiatrists Needed

Miguel Barragan, Roman Catholic priest on leave to work among Mexican-Americans of the Southwest, said no public health program yet devised has even touched the nation's nine to ten million Spanish-speaking.

There are only three "brown" phychiatrists in America, he said, and he was one of those urging the psychiatrists present to train Spanish-speaking aides so his people "can at least consult with people who speak their language." Such aides, although not so thoroughly trained, he said, might have far greater success in treating the mental ills of their minority communities.

Referring to his own relations with the Roman Catholic hierarchy, he warned that "ecclesiastical institutions are going to have to stop punishing good priests and good ministers who seek to alleviate the oppression of the poor."

The Rev. John Vandivier, director of Pennsylvania Mental Health, Inc., explained he was in the middle of a legislative fight for funds and that controversial words and actions would bring reprisals from conservative rural legislators who are "so powerful in Pennsylvania and other states."

In following the committee resolution calling for a permanent group of approximately 100 members, the delegates elected from their numbers a 23-member steering committee. This group will hold its first strategies and structures meeting April 24 and 25 in San Antonio, Tex.

The committee report adopted by the delegates provided that the permanent task force work with various branches of the National Institute of Mental Health "in stimulating local dialogue between citizens, local centers and national church and mental health organizations." The task force, it said, must be composed of "individuals who have vision of the multiplicity of needs and values of all minority and special interest groups."

It further resolved that the task force offer its assistance to all church groups in the training of clergy for their potential contribution to both local and national mental health centers and policies.

The group also should lobby for appropriate mental health legislation and seek to influence the policies of mental health professional bodies and organizations, the resolution said.

Its provision that the task force be given the "mandate to forge its own working structures and working agenda" led to the election of the steering committee.

Dr. John E. Fryer, psychiatrist of the Temple University Medical School, and a convenor of the meeting, said:

"We have found no answers, but at least we have the proposition off the ground." ■

Has S.D.S. picked up Most of The Marbles?

THE UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT ENDS

By Religious News Service

Campus discussions will go on, with or without a national structure

THE decision to phase out the national structure of the University Christian Movement (UCM) brings to an end, as a formal organization, one major wing of a century-old, country-wide student Christian community. It also tolls the death, as organization, of an ecumenical experiment.

Most men in the street or in the pew probably never heard of the UCM. It has not been particularly publicity-seeking since its formation in September, 1966, replacing the National Student Christian Federation (NSCF), a Protestant agency, and encompassing Roman Catholic and Orthodox student groups. In the academic sphere, especially among those who direct campus ministry, UCM had been viewed as an innovative model for the future.

First, it should be pointed out that decision to terminate the national structure in no way affects local or regional student work carried on under ecumenical or individual church auspices. What will be gone at the end of June is an overarching, student-directed organization. Unaffected also is the Roman Catholic Newman Apostolate or the United Ministries in Higher Education, a nine-denominational Protestant agency serving campus ministers.

Second, the decision by the general committee of the UCM to end the National Council of Churches-related unit does not imply abandonment of student interest in religion. The action seems more related to means rather than to goals.

One fact which the decision does reflect is that students who are liberal-to-radical in their Christian orientation are finding it increasingly difficult to function within inherited or federated structures.

The purpose of the UCM at its inception was three-fold: to provide an ecumenical instrument for allowing the church and university worlds to speak to each other, to encourage Christian response on campuses to human issues and to act as agent through which sponsors could provide resources and services to campus life.

It was not conceived as only a student movement. A goal was to involve the entire academic community, particularly in the reformulation of the university as a place of self-definition. UCM was viewed as a movement — concentration of activity toward a particular objective — rather than an organization. Indeed, it was in part a replacement for organizations, or at least a stream into which the energies of separate church-related campus groups could flow. A key emphasis was the avoidance of programs handed down from the top. An annual non-delegated assembly, open to anyone, selected the general committee which determined policies. Denominational and interchurch support had been substantial. An anticipated budget for the next year was about $150,000.

Why It Terminated

In deciding to terminate the national staff, officers, budget and projects of the organization, the general committee indicated that it found it could not fulfill its purposes. The basis for this reasoning is tied both to the nature of the UCM as formed and to operational developments.

No small incentive for establishment of the ecumenical unit was the fact that church-sponsored campus groups had for years been losing impetus and numbers. In some instances, it was becoming economically straining — except at strongly church-linked schools — for churches to maintain separate programs. Prior to 1966, five Protestant denominations had joined in a United Campus Christian Fellowship (UCCF). Students of the Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church were together in the Lutheran Student Association.

Furthermore, the development of student political and social activism pointed up a need for ministries more attuned to youths' problems, preoccupations and challenges, student leaders claimed. As local campus Christian units turned in these directions, the possibility for a revamped national organization emerged. And with ecumenism a growing reality as a result of the Second Vatican Council and efforts of World and National Councils of Churches, expansion of cooperative campus work was viable.

Participating at the national level in the UCM were the several Protestant members of the former National Student Christian Federation, the Campus Commission of the Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops, YMCA, YWCA and regional groups.

The UCM did not encompass all church-backed or interdenominational campus work. It is fair to say that those groups in UCM were from ecumenically-oriented churches and composed of students turning toward church renewal, political activism and internationalization.

Student Movement Beginnings

Student movement history goes back to the late 1800's, particularly to the formation of the Student Volunteer Movement. In the early years of the present century, a need for ministry to students on secular campuses was felt. This led to the National Newman Student Federation (Catholic) and to the various Protestant movements. "Y" programs had come about earlier.

In 1959, the Student Volunteer Movement was joined by the United Student Christian Council and the Interseminary Movement in setting up the NSCF. This in turn was allied with Newman and others in UCM. The over-arching structure did not replace church student ministry departments, although national level student assemblies and organization slates were abandoned by several churches in favor of the UCM approach.

The University Campus Christian Fellowship (Disciples of Christ, United Presbyterians, Moravians, United Church of Christ and United Evangelical Brethren) was phased out. So were the national echelons of student structures of the Methodist Student Movement, Canterbury Clubs (Episcopal) and American Baptist Student Union. The National Federation of Catholic Students went out of existence, partly as an affirmation of UCM.

Yet there was something distinctly different about UCM in comparison with the more separated predecessors. The idea was to serve a grass-roots movement. Structure was understood as a facility for the movement rather than as fountainhead of movement. An open-ended movement and a structure was a dichotomy from the beginning. Immediately prior to the disbanding vote, an Ideological Task Force proposed a more radical position on political and social issues. As a federation for movement rather than a legislating body, this direction was questionable.

In addition, since September 1966, a number of pre-UCM and new task forces with specialized interests had come under the umbrella. Some of these groups wished to foster national emphasis not directly impinging on local UCM programs. Funding was needed. For example, a black caucus had requested $50,000. Such a sum was not available, according to the Rev. Paul Schrading, UCM general secretary.

Hopes for Grass Roots Movement

Tyler Breese, a Union Theological Seminary student and a past UCM officer, explained that the general committee came to the conclusion that the organization had not carried out its purposes and was unable to develop programming suggestions for local experimentation. A project in Depth Education Groups — for which UCM provided printed and audio resources — had not been a smashing success. In effect, Mr. Breese said the group thought it better to disband than to flounder. Mr. Schrading added that perhaps the removal of the top structure would open up the way for genuine grass-roots student movement.

Another reality reckoned with was the fact that a relatively small number of Catholic or Orthodox students took part after the first year and did not participate in large numbers in local UCM units. It looked ecumenical, but was it? some wondered.

A battery of unanswered questions remains even though no initially negative responses to the closure action came from UCM sponsors. Major issues are: How will information on student Christian initiative be transmitted from campus to campus and from one part of the country to another? How will churches expend funds which they genuinely wish to give to ecumenical, student-directed programs?

Another issue arises from the student side. Have students given up, or had taken from them, an instrument through which they might make an ecumenical voice heard in the church and the world? In conversations, the question has been raised whether the final UCM slate of officers and general committee took the easy way out when faced with the hard facts of course-plotting. Especially is this raised in connection with student demands to be involved in decision-making processes in all dimensions of society, including religion.

Overshadowing this observation, however, may be student concern for decentralization and for the gaining of some personal, non-organizational, perspective in life. The only national gathering, except annual assemblies, the UCM ever held was at Christmas, 1967. It was a different kind of meeting, without keynote speakers or plenary sessions. It was composed of seminars which allowed the 3,000 participants to zero in on specific interest. Was it Vietnam, racial justice, sex or university reform which attracted the greater number? No, it was those seminars focusing on the discovery of meaning in individual lives and in our complex modern society.

A booklet introducing the UCM stated: "The future of the UCM depends, in part, upon its ability to decide what structure forms will aid 'movement' and which will stifle it." The conclusion apparently was that a national structure stifled —that the search for meaning needed a new strategy. ■

"Young People No Longer Accept Even The Little Corruptions . . ."

THE NAME OF THE CHRISTIAN GAME

by David Poling

OUT on Coney Island, under the roller coaster, is a six room apartment. In what must be the wildest living arrangement in New York City lives Fred Moran. At times, he admits, it seems like the roller coaster trains "are coming right on through." However, he continues to reside in this uncertain housing with its ear-splitting level of noise because his family owns the roller coaster. We have a way of accommodating to an extreme, especially if we own it. People who owned slaves got used to it. Slum lords are really used to wretched surroundings when it is their source of income. Accommodation too often precedes corruption.

In the life of the Christian community, we are faced with a generation of young people who no longer accept even the little corruptions of the church and will hardly be satisfied with its accommodations. They want the roller coaster off the living room ceiling. And after a lengthy period of debate and disagreement, it is high time for the people in charge to realize that these taunts for change, reform, and radical upheaval are not going to subside.

On an international level, the institutional church is facing a massive confrontation. The old walls of *tradition, prestige* and *authority* are being scaled in almost every country. The grand old church, with its medieval basement, Reformation windows, and 19th century towers is under constant siege. Already the moat that was once filled with a mixture of piety and persuasion has been drained. And to compound the trauma of change and controversy, the critics who are circling the religious establishment are people who were once listed on its honor rolls!

What is it that has brought such an intense, at times, unbearable conflict between Christians who affirm allegiance to one Lord and subscribe to a hope and yearning for unity? Why does Christianity now stand at one of the major intersections of world history — surely comparable to the struggles of the 1st century Church, the rise of Constantine, the Reformation of Martin Luther?

God, Our Contemporary

It is my belief that the Creator of the world, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, is also our Contemporary. And everywhere, in the ferment and change, the unsettlement and dishevelment, the straining and shoving, the One who is our contemporary is at work. God is in the revolution to work His will and to stir up every impulse that pounds in the human breast for justice, brotherhood, and love. And wherever the forces of evil, death, despair and depravity prevail, it is God's will that they shall not abide, and friends, we happen to have around the world a fraternity of young people who want to be on God's side!

And to add one more wild, unqualified statement of faith, I believe that God has raised up these young people in every climate and country and we are privileged to observe (if we can look across the generation Grand Canyon) the most religious grouping of youngsters ever to sprint across the quadrangles of history.

And for those who are held captive by their hang-ups over the wardrobes, beards and music of this turbulent mass of youth, they have only to miss the signs of the times and, Christians, nothing could be more disastrous or more biblically dishonest.

This is not to say that every participant in reform and change is a teenager. Many within the church have been in their forties (Hans Kung, Charles Davis), others leading the advance for a shockingly relevant faith gently nudge fifty, like Corita Kent. But the wave-length is the same, the heart beat in time, the strategy coordinated. Whether these yearnings for the best life, the high life (which is drugless but spiritual) with constant "soul" be felt in the political, social or religious precincts, the thrust is the same: the pursuit of love in its most Christian meaning and most dangerous and risky applications.

And everywhere. From Czechoslovakia to Morningside Heights, from Paris to Prague, the rule is not to ask the moral question but to live it. And when that happens all the old arrangements, accommodations, illusions that have strangled the life out of the church and the power out of the Gospel no longer apply.

We have never had a breed of young people like this. And, if a generation gap had not developed, a mood of dissent between them and the generals and bishops and university chancellors and Mayor Daleys — their protest would have been a sport and their movement phony.

Specific Encounters

Consider these specific encounters of the last year which have set youngsters against adults, the revolutionaries against the Establishment: Vietnam Dissent and Draft Protests; Campus Disorders; Papacy and Birth Control. In each of these detonations you have the same ingredients for controversy although the specific issue may reside within the government, the university, the political system or the church.

1. *Vietnam and the Draft.* Vietnam has become the most unpopular war in American history. Yet it was the young people of draft age, with coaching and support by clergymen like the Berrigan brothers, Bill Coffin of Yale and Robert Brown of Stanford, who started the protests, took to the streets and faced down the military-defense establishment that had lied to the American people about Vietnam and our involvement.

David Poling

These same young people needled the church into a more serious questioning of the war and with the catalytic appearance of Senator Eugene McCarthy, pulled down the Johnson Administration in one big sickening crash. Before the year was out, the concept of selective pacifism gained support not only from the National and World Councils of Churches but also the Catholic Bishops of America. Draft reform, as well as a conclusion of the Vietnam conflict, will have the highest priority of the Nixon Administration — all because of thousands of young people who would not accept the warfare concepts — and accommodations — of their parents!

2. *Campus Disorders.* Millions of Americans watched the stain and shame erupt at Columbia University last spring. The campus disorders have shaken San Francisco and dozens of other academic communities. The great majority of alumni and parents and angry citizens have been quick to blame the agitators, professional revolutionaries and part-time "pinks" for all of this ruckus. More night sticks, patrol cars, and tougher deans is the cry of the confused. Yet when the dust settled at Columbia and the distinguished Cox Commission Report was published (at the request of the University trustees), the complaints and petitions of the student activists were heavily supported! Not only had the vigorous student minority spoken for thoughtful and rightful change in college life, but was joined swiftly by faculty endorsement as well. The Cox Commission noted that the administration had turned the university into a "business enterprise, with faculty as employees and students as customers." Again, the adminitration lied to the students when inquiries were made concerning Army contracts and Pentagon projects. But the trustees at Columbia recently announced a totally new plan for university development that will include the Harlem neighborhood as well as student advisors.

3. *The Papacy and Birth Control* began as a traditional struggle between liberals and conservatives within the Roman Catholic Church and then enlarged into an unresolved power struggle. The authority of the Pope has not only been challenged — it has been taken away! The procedures of discipline of unruly members and disobedient clergy still exist but it is highly improbable that they wll be employed. Here again, we see the disarray that comes when the Establishment (in this instance a branch of the Christian Church) seeks to maintain a standard or belief that is finally an individual moral decision. A creaky and celibate and ancient College of Cardinals can no longer legislate the dictionary of ethics of millions of Christians. As Francois Houtart wrote in *The Eleventh Hour,* we have yet to discover the revolution initiated by John XXIII.

"The real mission of the Church as institution is to make every member of the people of God, a *conscious* member of the people of God. It is not to build schools or hospitals, or imposing complexities of 'religious' institutions. It is to build up conscious membership in the people of God enabling them to live in conscious accord with Christian value of faith and love."

All these issues and topics of change have, for the most part, been fueled by the young and encouraged by progressive clergy. It should be no small wonder that bewildered and disenchanted laymen should back away from the confusion and racket, yearn for the nostalgic, predictable programs of other decades and even threaten a financial boycott. Building projects have suffered. Councils of Churches as well as local parishes on the social action front have experienced financial loss and attendance decline.

Flight from the World

But our greater alarm and more serious dismay should develop when a Christian community panics in crises and runs to the rest homes of non-involvement. This is not the counsel of the New Testament. It is not the experience of the best, thrilling hours of Christian witness. This plea for safety, this persuasion of world escapism is a sub-Christian notion promoted by those who fled to the church for security and moral neutrality. They number thousands, tens of thousands, and their extraordinary vocabulary of religious clichés is only surpassed by their flight from the real world that God created and loved. Ae I have written in *The Last Years Of The Church,* these people are now exposed and, although they may succeed in clutching to the institution, they have already lost the Faith. They own the roller coaster. . . .

But those who stick together, maybe even praying together and singing together, are going to share in the celebration of a great and good time. For these are good times. How dare we be abusive of a world, a community, a gathering of peoples that God loved so much, so fully that He sent His Son! And all the establishments of generals and bishops and mayors fought Him and slandered Him and crucified Him and yet His people are everywhere with the Message.

Karl Barth was right:

"In the 19th century the progress of science intimidated us. Theologians sought to provide a safe place for the church within the area of human activity. They said there was art, and science and religion. Religion became a kind of Indian reservation where God and Christ and the Holy Spirit might be cultivated."

The tumult of this hour has blown that concept into a theological dust bowl. We may yet find the Church in the Wild Wood, but it will not be a vital, throbbing Christian experience. And if it is depicted on Rose Bowl floats and in New England commemorations, it is a wave goodbye.

And what shall happen and what can we expect? This new dawning of the faith—for it is fresh every morning—will endure a great deal of creative quarreling (over social issues), a large opening to allies who are very hesitant about creeds and awkward about confessions of faith, and an exuberant belief that God is our contemporary—and if not, our contestant! ■

Dr Poling, whose writngs on religion are widely read in many publications, is President, Christian Herald Association.

The Trouble with Students: "They Are a Generation by No Means Sure It Has a Future"

A GENERATION IN SEARCH OF A FUTURE

by George Wald

A number of leading U.S. scientists have become so concerned about the misuse of their expanding knowledge and technology that they took March 4th off to meet and talk about it.

Out of the welter of discussion and utterance on 30 far-flung campuses during the one day of "research stoppage," the speech of Nobel prize winning biologist George Wald of Harvard stands tallest.

His address riveted the attention of 1200 students, professors and a scattering of clergymen who filled Kresge Auditorium at MIT, in Cambridge, Mass. That campus provided an apt platform for such significant prophesy both from its position at the heart of this country's research and because 48 members of its faculty, recently organized as the Union of Concerned Scientists, had first conceived of the idea of a protest by the scientific community "to register a vote of no confidence in the ability of the government to make wise and humane decisions."

Professor Wald, beloved by his own students and lauded for his research findings on the human eye, presented such a clear vision of what is happening and where we are going that he received the only standing ovation given a speaker.

According to the Boston Globe, Professor Wald's bridge over the generation gap and the information gap "came during the most persuasive anti-war and anti-government policy demonstration yet seen." His speech, the paper said, "was itself a memorable experience for all who heard it."

TEMPO here prints the speech in its entirety with Professor Wald's permission and editorial guidance.

As we all know, in the last couple of years there has been student unrest breaking at times into violence in many parts of the world: in England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Mexico, Japan, and needless to say, in many parts of this country. There has been a great deal of discussion as to what it all means. Clearly it means something different in Mexico from what it does in France, and something different in France from what it does in Tokyo, and something different in Tokyo from what it does in this country. Yet unless we are to assume that students have gone crazy all over the world, or that they have just decided that it's the thing to do, there must be some common meaning.

I don't need to go so far afield to look for that meaning. I am a teacher, and at Harvard. I have a class of about 350 students — men and women—most of them freshmen and sophomores. Over these past few years I have felt increasingly that something is terribly wrong — and this year ever so much more than last. Something has gone sour in teaching and in learning. It's almost as though there were a widespread feeling that education has become irrelevant.

A lecture is much more of a dialogue than many probably appreciate. As you lecture, you keep watching the faces, and information keeps coming back to you all the time. I began to feel, particularly this year, that I was missing much of what was coming back. I tried asking the students, but they didn't or couldn't help me very much.

But I think I know what's the matter even a little better than they do. I think that this whole generation of students is beset with a profound uneasiness. I don't think that they have yet quite defined its source but I think I understand the reasons for their uneasiness even better than they do. What is more, I share their uneasiness.

What's bothering those students? Some of them tell you it's the Vietnam war. I think the Vietnam war is the most shameful episode in the whole of American history. The concept of war crimes is an American invention. We've committed many war crimes ourselves in Vietnam; but I'll tell you something interesting about that. We were committing war crimes in World War II, even before the Nuremberg trials were held and the principle of war crimes was stated. The saturation bombing of German cities was a war crime and, if we had lost the war, some of our leaders might have had to answer for it.

The Gimmick

I've gone through all of that history lately, and I find that there's a gimmick in it. It isn't written out, but I think we established it by precedent. The gimmick is that if one can allege that one is repelling or retaliating an aggression—after that, everything goes. And, you see, we are living in a world in which all wars are wars of defense. All War Departments are now Defense Departments. This is all part of the double talk of our time. The aggressor is always on the other side. I suppose this is why our ex-Secretary of State Dean Rusk—a man in whom repetition takes the place of reason, and stubbornness takes the place of character — went to such pains to insist, as he still insists, that in Vietnam we are repelling an aggression. And if that's what we are doing—so runs the doctrine—anything goes. If the concept of war crimes is ever to mean anything, they will have to be defined as categories of acts, regardless of provocation. But that isn't so now.

I think we've lost that war, as a lot of other people think, too. The Vietnamese have a secret weapon. It's their willingness to die beyond our willingness to kill. In effect, they've been saying: you can kill us but you'll have to kill a lot of us, you may have to kill all of us. And, thank heavens, we are not yet ready to do that.

Yet we have come a long way—far enough to sicken many Americans, far enough even to sicken our fighting men, far enough so that our national symbols have gone sour. How many people can sing about "the rockets' red glare, bombs bursting in air" without thinking those are **our** bombs and **our** rockets bursting over South Vietnamese villages? When those words were written, we were a people struggling for freedom against oppression. Now we are shoring up real or thinly disguised military dictatorships all over the world, helping them to control and repress peoples struggling for their freedom.

But that Vietnam War, shameful and terrible as it is, seems to me only an immediate incident in a much larger and more stubborn situation.

Part of the Trouble

Part of my trouble with students is that almost all the students I teach were born since World War II. Just after World War II, a series of new and abnormal procedures came into American life. We regarded them at the time as temporary aberrations. We thought we would get back to normal American life some day. But those procedures have stayed with us now for more than 20 years, and those students of mine have never known anything else. They think those things are normal. They think we've always had a Pentagon, that we have always had a big army, and that we always had a draft. But those are all new things in American life; and I think that they are incompatible with what America meant before.

How many realize that just before World War II the entire American Army, including the Air Force, numbered 139,000 men? Then World War II started, but we weren't yet in it; and seeing that there was great trouble in the world, we doubled this army to 268,000 men. Then in World War II, it got to be 8 million. And then World War II came to an end, and we prepared to go back to a peacetime army somewhat as the American army had always been before. And indeed in 1950 —you think about 1950, our international commitments, the Cold War, the Truman Doctrine, and all the rest of it — in 1950 we got down to 600,000 men.

Now we have three and a half million men

Nobel Prize Winner George Wald

under arms: about 600,000 in Vietnam, about 300,000 more in "support areas" elsewhere in the Pacific, about 250,000 in Germany. And there are a lot at home. Some months ago, we were told that 300,000 National Guardsmen and 200,000 Reservists have been specially trained for riot duty in the cities.

I say the Vietnam War is just an immediate incident, because so long as we keep that big an army, it will always find things to do. If the Vietnam War stopped tomorrow, with that big military establishment on our hands, the chances are that we would be in another such adventure, abroad or at home, before you knew it.

As for the draft: Don't reform the draft—get rid of it.

A peacetime draft is the most un-American thing I know. All the time I was growing up I was told about oppressive Central European countries and Russia, where young men were forced into the army, and I was told what they did about it. They chopped off a finger, or shot off a couple of toes or, better still, if they could manage it, they came to this country. And we understood that, and sympathized and were glad to welcome them.

Now by present estimates, four to six thousand Americans of draft age have left this country for Canada, another two or three thousand have gone to Europe, and it looks as though many more are preparing to emigrate.

A few months ago I received a letter from the Harvard Alumni Bulletin posing a series of questions that students might ask a professor about what to do about the draft. I was asked to write what I would tell those students. All I had to say to those students was that if any of them had decided to evade the draft and asked my help, I would help him in any way I could. I would feel as I suppose members of the Underground Railway felt in pre-Civil War days, helping runaway slaves get to Canada. It wasn't altogether a popular position then, but what do you think of it now?

A bill to stop the draft was recently introduced in the Senate (S. 503), sponsored by a group of senators that ran the gamut from McGovern and Hatfield even unto Barry Goldwater. I hope it goes through.

And, indeed, there are choices in getting rid of the draft. I think that when we get rid of the draft, we must also cut back the size of the armed forces. It seems to me that in peacetime a total of one million men is surely enough. If there is an argument for American military forces of more than one million men in peacetime, I should like to hear that argument debated.

A Volunteer Army?

There is another thing being said, closely connected with this: that to keep an adequate volunteer army, one would have to raise the pay considerably. That's said so positively and often now that people believe it. I don't think it is true.

The great bulk of our present armed forces are already genuine volunteers. Among first-term enlistments, 49 per cent are true volunteers. Another 30 per cent are so-called "reluctant volunteers," persons who volunteer under pressure of the draft. Only 21 per cent are draftees. All reenlistments, of course, are true volunteers. So the great majority of our present armed forces is made up of true volunteers. Whole services are composed entirely of volunteers: the Air Force for example, the Submarine Service, the Marines.

That seems like proof to me that present pay rates are adequate. One must add that an Act of Congress in 1967 raised the base pay throughout the services in three installments, the third installment still to come, on April 1, 1969. So it is hard to understand why we are being told that to maintain adequate armed services on a volunteer basis will require large increases in pay; they will cost an extra 17 billion dollars a year. It seems plain to me that we can get all the armed forces we need as volunteers, and at present rates of pay.

But there is something ever so much bigger and more important than the draft. That bigger thing, of course, is what ex-President Eisenhower warned us of—the military-industrial complex. I am sad to say that we must begin to think of it now as the military-industrial-labor union complex. What happened under the plea of the Cold War was not alone that we built up the first big peacetime army in our history, but that we institutionalized it. We built, I suppose, the biggest government building in our history to run it, and we institutionalized it.

I don't think we can live with the present military establishment and its 80 billion dollar-a-year budget and keep America anything like we have known it in the past. It is corrupting the life of the whole country. It is buying up everything in sight: industries, banks, investors, universities; and lately it seems also to have bought up the labor unions.

The Defense Department is always broke but some of the things they do with that 80 billion dollars a year would make Buck Rogers envious. For example: the Rocky Mountain Arsenal on the outskirts of Denver was manufacturing a deadly nerve poison on such a scale that there was a problem of waste disposal. Nothing daunted, they dug a tunnel two miles deep under Denver into which they have now injected so much poisoned water that, beginning a couple of years ago, Denver began to experience a series of earth tremors of increasing severity. Now there is a grave fear of a major earthquake. An interesting debate is in progress as to whether Denver will be safer if that lake of poisoned water is removed or left in place. (N.Y. Times, July 4, 1968; Science, Sept. 27, 1968).

Perhaps you have read also of those 6,000 sheep that suddenly died in Skull Valley, Utah, killed by another nerve poison—a strange and, I believe, still unexplained accident, since the nearest testing seems to have been 30 miles away.

As for Vietnam, the expenditure of fire power there has been frightening. Some may still remember Khe Sanh, a hamlet just south of the Demilitarized Zone, where a force of U.S. Marines was beleaguered for a time. During that period we dropped on the perimeter of Khe Sanh more explosives than fell on Japan throughout World War II, and more than fell on the whole of Europe during the years 1942 and 1943.

Preoccupation with Death

One of the officers there was quoted as having said afterward, "It looks like the world caught smallpox and died." (N.Y. Times, Mar. 28, 1968).

The only point of government is to safeguard and foster life. Our government has become preoccupied with death, with the business of killing and being killed. So-called "defense" now absorbs 60 per cent of the national budget, and about 12 per cent of the Gross National Product.

A lively debate is beginning again on whether or not we should deploy antiballistic missiles, the ABM. I don't have to talk about them; everyone else is doing that. But I should like to mention a curious circumstance. In September 1967, about a year and a half ago, we had a meeting of M.I.T. and Harvard people, including experts on these matters, to talk about whether anything could be done to block the Sentinel system, the deployment of ABM's. Everyone present thought them undesirable, but a few of the most knowledgeable persons took what seemed to be the practical view: "Why fight about a dead issue? It has been decided, the funds have been appropriated. Let's go on from there." Well, fortunately, it's not a dead issue.

An ABM is a nuclear weapon. It takes a nuclear weapon to stop a nuclear weapon. And our concern must be with the whole issue of nuclear weapons.

There is an entire semantics ready to deal with the sort of thing I am about to say. It involves such phrases as "These are the facts of life." No — these are the facts of death. I don't accept them, and I advise you not to accept them. We are under repeated pressures to accept things that are presented to us as settled—decisions that have been made. Always there is the thought "let's go on from there!" But this time we don't see how to go on. We will have to stick with those issues.

We are told that the United States and Russia between them have by now stockpiled in nuclear weapons the explosive power of approximately 15 tons of TNT for every man, woman and child on Earth. And now it is suggested that we must make more. All very regrettable, of course, but those are "the facts of life." We really would like to disarm but our new Secretary of Defense has made the ingenious proposal that now is the time to greatly increase our nuclear armaments so that we can disarm from a position of strength.

No Adequate Defense

I think everyone knows that there is no adequate defense against a massive nuclear attack. It is both easier and cheaper to circumvent any known nuclear defense system than to provide it. It's all pretty crazy. At the very moment we talk of deploying ABM's, we are also building the MIRV, the weapon to circumvent ABM's.

So far as I know, the most conservative estimates of Americans killed in a major nuclear attack, with everything working as well as can be hoped and all foreseeable precautions taken, run to about 50 millions. We have become callous to gruesome statistics, and this seems at first to be only another gruesome statistic. You think Bang!—and next morning, if you're still there, you read in the newspapers that 50 million people were killed.

But that isn't the way it happens. When we killed close to 200,000 people with those first small old-fashioned uranium bombs that we dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, about the same number of persons were maimed, blinded, burned, poisoned and otherwise doomed. A lot of them took a long time to die.

That's the way it would be. Not a bang, and a certain number of corpses to bury, but a nation filled with millions of helpless, maimed, tortured and doomed people. And the survivors, huddled with their families in shelters, guns ready to fight off their neighbors, trying to get some uncontaminated food and water.

A few months ago Senator Richard Russell of Georgia ended a speech in the Senate with the words: "If we have to start over again with another Adam and Eve, I want them to be Americans; and I want them on this continent and not in Europe." That was a United States Senator holding a patriotic speech. Well, here is a Nobel Laureate who thinks that those words are criminally insane.

How real is the threat of full-scale nuclear war? I have my own very inexpert idea but, realizing how little I know and fearful that I may be a little paranoid on this subject, I take every opportunity to ask reputed experts. I asked that question of a distinguished professor of Government at Harvard about a month ago. I asked him what sort of odds he would lay on the possibility of full-scale nuclear war within the foreseeable future. "Oh," he said comfortably, "I think I can give you a pretty good answer to that question. I estimate the probability of full-scale nuclear war, provided that the situation remains about as it is now, at 2 per cent per year."

Anybody can do the simple calculation that shows that 2 per cent per year means that the chance of having that full-scale nuclear war by 1990 is about one in three, and by 2000 it is about 50-50.

I think I know what is bothering the students. I think that what we are up against is a generation that is by no means sure that it has a future.

I am growing old and my future, so to speak, is already behind me. But there are those students of mine, who are in my mind always; there are my children, two of them now seven and nine, whose future is infinitely more precious to me than my own. So it isn't just their generation; it's mine too. We're all in it together.

Are we to have a chance to live? We don't ask for prosperity, or security; only for a reasonable chance to live, to work out our destinies in

(Continued on page 12)

The purposes and goals of the recently organized Union of Concerned Scientists are stated in a manifesto calling for "concerted action and leadership toward a more responsible exploitation of scientific knowledge". Its main points:

1. **To initiate** a critical and continuing examination of governmental policy in areas where science and technology are of actual or potential significance.

2. **To devise** means for turning research applications away from the present emphasis on military technology towards the solution of pressing environmental and social problems.

3. **To convey** to our students the hope that they will devote themselves to bringing the benefits of science and technology to mankind, and to ask them to scrutinize the issues raised here before participating in the construction of destructive weapons systems.

4. **To express** our determined opposition to ill-advised and hazardous projects such as the ABM system, the enlargement of our nuclear arsenal, and the development of chemical and biological weapons.

5. **To explore** the feasibility of organizing scientists and engineers so that their desire for a more humane and civilized world can be translated into effective political action.

Interview with Ivan Illich - Part II

THE MYTHS OF SCHOOLING

Ivan Illich

Schooling is the "universal church of modern man" argues Ivan Illich, controversial Roman Catholic educator, in the March 15th TEMPO cover story. He bases his findings on the research conducted at the Centro Intercultural De Documentacion (CIDOC), the "secular monastary" he runs in Cuernavaca, Mexico.

According to the newest golden calf myth, he explains, without schooling there is no salvation, no confirmation into the kingdom of successful careers and social status. Yet two-thirds of the world's people, who don't live on the shores of the North Atlantic, cannot afford such an expensive brand of education. It's also questionable whether schools educate the third of the world that can afford them. More likely is one-fourth, he says, that its students are being cauterized to fit (in niches) rather than learning to think.

The most devastating result of the school myth, according to Illich, is the worldwide belief that schools do provide a kind of salvation. A school expectancy explosion, the demand for the privileges associated with the schooled, will soon plague governments as dramatically as does the population explosion.

Here Illich continues his informal remarks to TEMPO reporter L. I. Stell with some personally stated alternatives for schooling. They won't bring Utopia, he admits. But everyone needs to dream more intelligently and profoundly in the always unfinished process of planning rationally to implement our dreams. . . . .

AND FOR THE MOST PART SCHOOLS ARE NOT HELPING US THINK?

They are using up the limited economic resources that are available and could be distributed to each person. There are people for instance who are much better suited to learn to read and write at the age of 20 than at 16 or 6. Adults actually have the capability of learning the reading and writing codes faster than children.

IT'S A MATTER OF BEING READY INSIDE.

You learn to read anyway. You don't need a teacher for that. Some people never become ready — interested enough. But reading is not what's really important. What is important is self-awareness and awareness of the other. But in order to create a certain level of awareness in a conversation, one has to develop the ability to take the utterance out of the stream of time and place it as a symbol — which we can contemplate for a while — onto the wall. The word, which is said between the two of us, must somehow be redempt from time and be placed on the wall where it can become a symbol, not necessarily a written symbol. It can be an image, an ikon or whatever you like. We must keep it in front of our eyes while we continue to discuss it. I believe very much in the need for alternative encipherments of the same language code as one of the major tools to assist the development of insight.

DOES EVERYONE HAVE THE POTENTIAL TO TEACH HIMSELF, TO BECOME A PERSON, ALIVE, HUMAN? ARE YOU A POPULIST?

I think I'm rather aristocratic in my thinking —in a humanist way hopefully. There are people who have only tiny eyes, tiny bases and there are others who are swimming pools, whales of human beings. I don't think this has much to do with the education they have. It has a lot to do with who they are. My night watchman, Nacario Vasquez, is as an extraordinary human being and as wise an 80-year-old counselor as I'll ever have in my whole life. By contrast a large percentage of the college students who come down to Cuernavaca — elitists from the best colleges in the U.S. who are getting free independent study credit — are such bores. Many don't know how to read. Nasario loves to read, he loves to slice books open and look through them. What he picks out in the books always interests me. And he has no schooling — maybe two years of formal classes, but he's an educated man.

YOU BELIEVE THEN IN A REMNANT THEORY, A DROPOUT THEORY. ALL MEN BY USING THEIR BOOTSTRAPS AND THE GIFTS GIVEN THEM ARE NOT ABLE TO BECOME OPEN TO THE HEIGHT AND DEPTH OF LIFE.

Yes — but I don't pretend to know who is or isn't capable of further growth. And available growth. And available funds for whatever facilitating is necessary should be offered on an equal basis so that those with equal capacities can make somewhat equal progress. There are some people — children and adults — who, if you made $25 available to them in services would learn to read fluently, and if you made $100 available to them would become really hooked on books. I believe that these people would be distributed somewhat equally in society. At present thousands of dollars are available for children of the rich even if they are dumb. Just in order to make them capable of deciphering a written page.

There are people of our collaborators at CIDOC who do a marvelous job as long as the milieu around them doesn't change too much. As soon as the milieu changes they are lost. There are others who will change the milieu until it fits their purposes.

IS IT EDUCATION THAT GIVES PEOPLE THIS CAPACITY?

I think not. People who have high school or college educations often accept the milieu or cry out for one that fits the definitions that they have learned that milieus should have. Among non-schooled administrators at Cuernavaca, some are very good when they can function amid set patterns. Still others fit the milieu into the purpose they have in mind. It has nothing to do with knowing how to write and read.

IT'S AN INNATE GIVEN OF BIRTH?

Perhaps, I don't know. I'm not worried about it, because the ranges are so wide. What concerns me more is making people aware of the respectability of non-schooled education. Take the evidence of the dossier program of CIDOC—documentation of slogans and images in Latin American controversies — which last year came out in 20 booklength volumes. What makes it extremely usable is that each volume with around 2000 items is cross-indexed and filed in the library. The young business school student who did this is from the University of Morelos, which is one of the smallest and worse Universities you can imagine. Two social scientists, one Latin American, one North American, who tried before he did — at enormous foundation expense—didn't even get it off the ground. People in school too easily learn to look for what the inbuilt limitations of the milieu are and then how to fit into it.

THE STUDENT YOU SPOKE OF . . .

invented a new style of documentation and it works. Now the Ford Foundation sends people down to learn from him. One came and told the student, our librarian now, he had to figure out a system for some work the Ford people were doing in Asia. "Where did you learn about this system?" "Here, Sir," he was told. "Who teaches the course?" "No one, Sir. All you need to do is read four books — not all of them, just certain chapters — and I can Xerox them for you." Things are so much easier when you know how to think.

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WASHINGTON COMMENT

HUNGER AND POLITICS ON THE HILL

By David M. Ackerman

THE testimony in recent years of those who have sought to discover whether hunger and malnutrition exist in this land of agricultural surpluses has been clear and unequivocal: Hunger does exist, in all parts of the U.S. The number of people so afflicted is appallingly high—upwards of 10 million. The poor, as usual, suffer the most. Existing government programs are grossly inadequate to meet the problem.

The American public is becoming informed about hunger and malnutrition. "Kwashiorkor," for instance, is a Ghanaian word meaning literally "the disease that takes the child after it leaves the mother's breast." It is used to describe extreme protein deficiency, which usually results in death. We once could think it occurred only in severely impoverished countries such as India or Biafra. We know now it occurs here as well.

We know also now that hunger and malnutrition have their most serious effects on children during the first years of life. During these years and even while the child is still in the womb, inadequate or insufficient nutrition stunts both mental and physical development, and inflicts permanent damage on the organism. Ninety per cent of the development of the brain occurs before the age of four. Insufficient protein during this period results in permanent impairment of the child's ability to learn and to think. His capacity to benefit from an education is irremediably limited even before he enters school. Studies have also shown that the height and weight of ill-fed children is much less than that of those that are adequately nourished.

David M. Ackerman

Demand for Action

Public concern has been aroused. The report *Hunger USA*, the Poor People's Campaign, and now the hearing of the McGovern Committee have provided irrefutable proof of the reality of hunger and malnutrition in the U.S. The demand for action is increasing.

To some extent the government is moving. In an unprecedented rebuff to the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, the Senate restored the full appropriation of $250,000 to the McGovern Committee to investigate the nature and extent of hunger in the U.S. and to devise remedies. Secretary of Agriculture Hardin has cut through the obstructionist legalisms of his predecessor and launched a pilot free food stamp program for families earning less than $30 a month in Beaufort and Jasper counties, South Carolina. Sen. Hollings (D-S.C.) has publicly broken the ranks of the solid South by testifying before the McGovern Committee that "there is substantial hunger in South Carolina" and that it has long been deliberately covered up by public officials. The President has ordered high-level studies to be made to determine what recommendations his administration should make on the issue and what administrative action it could take now.

But public outrage, administrative decisions, committee hearings, vital though they all are, are not enough. To mobilize resources adequate to the problem, *Congress* will have to act. And here the danger is real that its desire to act will be frustrated, due to the power and intransigence of the agriculture committees of the House and Senate.

Role of the Agriculture Committees

The basic facts are simple. The Federal Government has three main food distribution programs—school lunch, food stamps, and commodity distribution. In the House these programs, with the exception of the school lunch, fall under the jurisdiction of the Agriculture Committee, chaired by Rep. W. R. Poage (D.-Tex.). Appropriations for all the programs must pass through the ever-watchful Agriculture Appropriations Sub-committee, chaired by Rep. Jamie L. Whitten (D.-Miss.). On the Senate side of the Hill, the food distribution programs are controlled by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, with Sen. Allan J. Ellender (D. La.) as chairman, while the appropriations for them are under the jurisdiction of the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee, chaired by Sen. Spessard Holland (D.-Fla.).

The orientation of these committees and of their chairmen has been and is toward the farmer and his income, not toward the social problems of the poor and malnourished. These committees developed their power and built their own bureaucratic empire (known as the Department of Agriculture) during the Depression, when farmers still constituted a quarter of the population and farm income was abysmally low.

After World War II, they devised the commodity distribution and the school lunch programs *not* for the purpose of getting food to the hungry and malnourished but for disposing of the agricultural surpluses that the Agriculture Department buys off the market to keep prices from falling. It was not until 1964 that they established a program—food stamps—with a primary focus on the nutritional needs of the poor. Even this was done very reluctantly, and each time the program has come up for renewal it has proved difficult to get the House Agriculture Committee even to report the bill.

The consequence of this orientation to the farmer and his income is that all of the existing food distribution programs are sadly inadequate mechanisms for getting nourishing food into those who need it. The school lunch program feeds over eighteen million children but, of the six million poor children who most need it, only two million are fed. The food stamp program is inadequately funded; its schedules are too low to permit recipients to purchase the diet the Department of Agriculture itself defines as nutritionally minimal; its administration at all levels is often lax and indifferent. The commodity distribution program is arbitrarily administered and, even though recently improved, still fails to provide a combination of commodities that alone can provide an adequate diet.

Present Attitudes

One would like to think that these inadequacies exist only because the agriculture committees have not been looking in the right directions, that, with the rest of us, they might become aware of the facts of hunger and malnutrition and be motivated to do something about them. They do, after all, have the effective power. But given the attitudes of the chairmen it has to be doubted that any change in the foreseeable future is likely.

Sen. Holland, after an article by Homer Bigart in the New York *Times* about hunger in a migrant labor camp near Immokalee, Florida, could only speak of the "well-fed, healthy, laughing, and happy" migrants he saw in Immokalee over Christmas, and wonder "why the reporter did not go to the established migratory labor camps and meet the very different conditions (there) from the conditions in the huts he described."

Rep. Poage has responded to the reports of hunger and malnutrition by polling county health officials to find out if they knew of anyone in their county who was starving or malnourished. He gave their predictably negative answers wide distribution, and downplayed the few criticisms of the food programs that were made.

Rep. Whitten, sometimes described as the "second boss" of the Department of Agriculture because of his power over its appropriations, has maintained that no one in this country is unavoidably hungry "except when there has been parental neglect through drunkenness or mental illness." He has also ordered FBI agents assigned to the House Appropriations Committee to "investigate" the objectivity of the hunger reports, including the Government's own National Nutrition Survey being conducted by the highly respected Dr. Arnold Schaefer of the Health Services and Mental Health Administration. He has, in addition, blocked that survey from entering his home state of Mississippi to investigate conditions there.

Sen. Ellender, though showing signs of learning from his participation in the hearings of the McGovern Committee, nevertheless opposed the full appropriation for that committee to carry on its investigations, and has maintained a paternalistic and defensive attitude toward allegations about the administrative laxity of the Department of Agriculture or about inadequacies in the food programs.

Committee "Face"

This, then, is the present Congressional context of possible hunger legislation. On the surface, the hunger issue concerns people being poorly nourished unnecessarily. But on the Hill it is intimately bound up with questions of committee power and prerogatives and, if you will, committee "face." Criticism of existing food programs and their administration strikes as well at the committees that have designed and funded them, and overseen their administration. Similarly, proposals to transfer the administration of these programs to another department such as Health, Education, and Welfare would transfer Congressional control at the same time to committees other than the agricultural ones.

The agriculture committees, therefore, have found it to be in their self-interest to deny that anything is seriously amiss. To admit that past measures have been inadequate and ill-conceived and that large-scale new programs are needed would be to confess their own irresponsibility—a thing that men and committees find most difficult to do.

Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R.-Ill.) has been quoted as justifying the recent increase in Congressional salaries from $30,000 to $42,000 annually with the comment that "Senators, too, have to eat." Either his colleagues on the agriculture committees will have to develop a similar concern for the dietary needs of the less fortunate citizens of this land, or proposals will have to be developed that bypass the jurisdiction of the agriculture committees completely. ■

—Mr. Ackerman is Legislative Specialist, Washington Office, National Council of Churches.

it says here . . .

FEDS ARREST TWO MORE IN SEMINARIES

NEW YORK, N.Y. — (RNS) — A former Union Theological Seminary student was arrested in the school's chapel by Federal marshals on charges that he failed to submit to induction.

Before his arrest earlier this month — which reportedly involved the New York seminary's first case of "sanctuary" — David Hawk, 25, had taken part in a worship service in support of his actions in which his stand was praised by religious and political leaders.

There was no attempt on the part of the 700 persons present to impede the arrest.

Mr. Hawk entered the seminary's B.D. program in 1965. He left in May, 1968 "to be the Vietnam and draft director of the U.S. National Student Association in Washington, D.C." in 1967, he had joined other Union Theological students in a draft card turn-in, was subsequently called for induction and later indicted by the Government for refusing to submit to induction on July 1, 1968.

During the service of support, Seminary president, Dr. John C. Bennett, stressed that the "symbolic sanctuary of conscience" offered by the seminary community was not an attempt to make the arrest more difficult, but to put it in the context of community concern.

Dr. Bennett read statements of support from Father Daniel Berrigan, S.J., Paul O'Dwyer, Sen. Mark Hatfield (R.-Ore.), Sen. Harold Hughes (R.-Iowa), Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.), former Sen. Ernest Gruening (D.-^ aska), and Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D.-Wisc.).

Mr. Hawk, in his statement, said that while he had resisted the draft, he did not feel he had committed a crime against society or his fellow man. He indicated he would plead not guilty to the specific charges.

Federal marshals also arrested a Jewish draft resister in the synagogue of the Jewish Theological Seminary here after he failed to appear in court for arraignment on charges of refusing induction.

It was the first time such an event had taken place at Jewish Seminary, President Bernard Mandelbaum said.

As Burton Weiss, 23, was led out of the synagogue, some 200 supporters from the seminary community sang a Hebrew song based on the text, "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Mr. Weiss, whose application for a conscientious objector classification reportedly was refused by the Selective Service in 1965, was not a student at the seminary.

However, a petition signed by 113 students at the seminary supporting his "right to refuse to be forced to kill," stated: "Because your conviction and actions have been deepened by contact with Jewish tradition, we invite you to express this moral concern with us in our place of worship."

Mr. Weiss, a former student at Cornell University, has been employed since February 1968 by the Jewish Peace Fellowship as its New York area director.

DELTA MINISTRY JOINS IN PLEA TO NIXON FOR FREE FOOD STAMPS

GREENVILLE, MISS. — A telegram to President Richard M. Nixon to meet "the immediate need of emergency food assistance" in this State was sent March 10 by 32 concerned leaders, white and black, in Mississippi.

In the message, they cited the "extreme and widespread conditions of malnutrition" throughout the State because thousands of poor people have no income with which to buy food stamps.

"Sharp declines in participation in the food assistance programs occurred throughout the State over the past two and a half years," said the telegram, "when counties switched from the commodities to the food stamp program." Hardest hit are Sunflower, Washington, Holmes, Leflore, Quitman and Tallahatchie Counties, the group told the President.

The emergency was also seen to be the result of niggardly child welfare payments, "the lowest in the country, averaging $10.32 per month!"

The telegram urged the President's "immediate consideration and prompt action" to: provide free food stamps throughout Mississippi to all persons eligible who cannot afford to buy them; study and revise the scale so that low-income people can have a more meaningful participation; and conduct hearings in the State to determine additional steps to eradicate malnutrition.

"These steps must be taken to end the shocking conditions of poverty and hunger," the message concluded.

In addition to Mr. Owen H. Brooks, director of the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches, signers of the telegram included Hodding Carter III, editor of the Delta Democrat-Times; **Charles Evers, NAACP field director; Andrew Carr, cotton producer and plantation owner; doctors and social agency, hospital, legal, political and civil rights leaders.**

CHINA'S "PATRIOTIC PRESS" BLASTS CHRISTIAN CHURCH

NEW YORK, N.Y. — (RNS) — Pro-Maoist newspapers — the so-called "patriotic press" — are steadily grinding away at church institutions for being anti-Chinese "under the cloak of religion," according to a report filed by a National Council of Churches' staff member.

Ray Whitehead, Hong Kong observer for the NCC's East Asia Department, surveyed "Religious and Cultural Imperialism in Hong Kong: The View from the Left" in a recent dispatch.

David Hawk (third from right), linking arms at close of service with, from left, Burton Weiss, Jewish draft resister arrested earlier on similar charges; the Rev. and Mrs. Ray Hawk, David's father and mother; David's sister, Carol; the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., Yale chaplain; and Vincent F. McGee Jr., Roman Catholic student at Union Thelogoical who has been convicted for draft refusal.

He noted that a "smile campaign" had generally replaced the leftist violence which erupted in 1967. Newspapers which reflect attitudes of Mao-Tsetung's Peking government are persistent in attacking both "American imperialism" and the Christian churches, he said.

Schools and colleges in Hong Kong, such as Chung Chi, New Asia and Baptist, bear the brunt of the criticism, Mr. Whitehead said, but the American Friends Service Committee, Hong Kong Christian Service and Roman Catholic nuns are also targets.

Mr. Whitehead cited specific press stories alleging that church secondary schools are anti-China, pro-America and use "universal love" as a cover-up for attacks on the Mao regime.

The Mao newspapers, Mr. Whitehead said, do not limit their attention to attacks on the church locally. Much space is given to anti-Vietnam war movements, campus disruptions in the U.S., and revolutionary causes among Latin American Catholics.

The NCC reporter documented the "patriotic press's" strict moralistic outlook, which unholds "moral purity, unselfishness and neighborliness." Scored, he said, are young girls in bars and dance halls, sexy films, gambling, dog racing, prostitution and pornography.

Approximately 10 percent of the 4 million population in Hong Kong is Christian of which the largest group is Catholic.

NCC BACKS SUIT CHALLENGING SELECTIVE SERVICE

SAN FRANCISCO — The National Council of Churches and six of its 33 Protestant-Orthodox member denominations have announced support for 13 Roman Catholic priests and laymen in their suit challenging provisions of the Selective Service Act. They are suing to obtain legal recognition of the Roman Catholic doctrine of the "just war," which dates from the 5th century.

The suit charges that Section 6(j) of the Act is unconstitutional because it recognizes only conscientious objectors who are opposed to all wars, thereby incorporating a religious doctrine into law; it does not protect those whose religious beliefs sanction objection to a particular war.

The Council's support is in the form of a friend-of-court brief filed March 12 with the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth District in San Francisco. *(A detailed account will appear in the next issue of TEMPO.)*

FOOD SUPPLIES TO BIAFRA-NIGERIA GET THROUGH

ELKHART, IND. — The National CROP Hunger Appeal, based here, shipped $250,000 worth of high protein foods and other supplies to hunger victims in Nigeria and Biafra during 1968 and thus far in 1969.

In addition, seven separate shipments, valued at $483,000, are awaiting available shipping space.

The shipments include beans, powdered milk, potato flakes, condensed milk, and high-protein processed foods. In addition, CROP has also made funds available to help finance the Mercy Air Bridge, operated by a consortium of church-related agencies, from the Portuguese island of Sao Tomé to Uli airstrip in Biafra.

CROP is the public community hunger appeal of Church World Service.

Meanwhile, in New York it was reported that the air bridge, maintained by Joint Church Aid-USA, reached a new high in food deliveries from Sao Tomé on March 3, when 15 of its flights delivered 159 tons of relief supplies to Biafra. Another eight flights by the International Red Cross delivered 82 tons that same night. Church World Service, Catholic Relief Services and the American Jewish Committee cooperate in Joint Church Aid.

HUNGER U.S.A.—A CHURCH ISSUE

by Louis Cassels

FIVE years ago, America's churches and synagogues won a notable victory in the field of social action.

Through a nationwide interfaith effort, they mustered enough public pressure to induce Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964, strongest anti-discrimination bill in U.S. history.

They prevailed over formidable opposition because (1) they were united; (2) they had a clear-cut moral issue; and (3) they had a concrete legislative objective.

Religious leaders are now viewing a new opportunity for a joint social action crusade, which seems to contain the same three elements that led to success in 1964. This time, the issue is hunger.

A Senate investigating committee, headed by Sen. George S. McGovern, (D.-S.D.) has amassed evidence that millions of Americans are seriously undernourished. Large numbers of children are existing on diets so inadequate their minds as well as their bodies are hopelessly stunted before they reach school age. Lack of food is an everyday fact of life among Negroes in the rural south, poor whites in Appalachia, Spanish-Americans and Indians in the southwest, and migrant farm workers in all parts of the country.

Men and women whose consciences have been formed by Judeo-Christian ethics may differ sincerely over the urban crisis or the war in Vietnam. But hunger is a clear-cut moral issue on which they can unite.

Both Judaism and Christianity teach that a hungry person has an overriding claim on the compassion of the comfortable. There is no greater sin against charity, in the eyes of either religion, than failing to provide food for a fellow creature who suffers the unremitting torture of an empty belly.

However strong the feelings aroused by the Senate committee's disclosures of widespread hunger, the religious community is not likely to have any significant impact on the problem until its concern is translated into a concrete legislative objective. Nothing much can be achieved by making vague appeals to Congressmen to "do something."

The need for a specific bill to rally behind may soon be met. Sen. McGovern is drafting legislation to liberalize the existing Food Stamp Act, which requires poor families to pay part of the cost of food stamps.

The Senate committee's hearings have shown that many families are unable to pay the amounts charged for food stamps under a sliding scale of prices established by the Agriculture Department and geared to family income.

Under McGovern's proposed amendments, food stamps would be made available absolutely free to all families with incomes under $1,000 a year. And about 7 million Americans fall into that poorest of-the-poor category.

The purchase price of food stamps for families with incomes over $1,000 a year would be lowered, so that no family would pay more than 17 per cent of its total income on food.

Other provisions of the McGovern bill call for enlisting churches and other local citizens' groups in an outreach effort to locate families which, because of ignorance or isolation, do not know about the food stamp program or how to qualify for aid.

Provision would also be made for free transportation of poor families to food stamp offices and to grocery stores.

McGovern's bill probably will be referred to the Senate Agriculture Committee for consideration. It is likely to languish there unless or until it acquires a strong, well-organized and articulate public support. Its chances for passage also will depend, to a degree, on whether it attracts vigorous support, lukewarm support, or opposition from President Nixon and Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin.

Opposition to the bill in the Administration or Congress may center around the fact that it would cost about $2 billion a year.

The question to be resolved is whether a country with a Gross National Product of nearly $900 billion can afford to spend $2 billion on elimination of hunger. It is not only a political and economic question but, in the profoundest sense, a moral question on which religious folk have both the right and the duty to make themselves heard. ■

—Mr. Cassels is the well-known writer on religion for United Press International. Reprinted by permission.

THE MYTHS OF SCHOOLING

(Continued from page 8)

ONE OF YOUR MOST STARTLING INSIGHTS INTO CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT HAS BEEN MAKING PROPHECIES ABOUT WHAT IS SOON TO VANISH. YOU HAVE PREDICTED THAT OLD CONCEPTS OF WORK ARE VANISHING. THAT THE CLERGYMAN WILL VANISH, NOW THE TEACHER IS GOING TO VANISH. . . .

And then the doctor vanishes. He vanishes once we begin to define as a major health goal, the intensity and quality of human aliveness, rather than as the domain of specialists who treat and in a way create a time expansion of sickness. And the social worker also vanishes once we consider development of a structure which has enough elasticity to provide for different characters — which does not impose only one social character on everybody.

YOU ARE ADVOCATING PEOPLE DEFINING THEMSELVES SIMPLY AS PEOPLE.

That's the only title big enough to be fun. We don't have to have a priority label. I tell you there is nothing which you or I really want to learn professionally which we couldn't do by sitting down for three months of study.

SOME PROFESSIONS WOULD REQUIRE THREE HOURS.

Perhaps. But for instance, it would probably take me three months to learn how to repair teeth — to become a dentist. For instance, I never would go to an American dentist. I go in Mexico to a girl who has a marvelous soft touch. She has watched the doctors whom she has assisted for years and is humble enough to know that if she runs into something which is not normal she must call the doctor. My teeth are perfectly repaired by her and I prefer the delicacy, time, and care she takes to repair my teeth. I would much rather go to her than to somebody with a big certificate who has no time for me — especially since I know what she knows and that if something isn't quite Kosher she better refer it to the doctor. This, of course, is terrible malpractice. Imagine the implications. If it became general, we'd all be able to afford to get our teeth repaired. And lots of girls would probably get $120 monthly income, which in Mexico is not a bad wage.

WHEN YOU HAVE SUCH A TOOTSOME BELIEF IN YOUR BRAND OF EDUCATION, WHY DO YOU INSIST, AS YOU HAVE DONE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, THAT GOD ISN'T NECESSARILY ON YOUR SIDE?

I am partly Jewish. And from the roots of my being up, I resent the use of God's name in favor of causes. If you say Hallowed be Thy Name, it means — not touched, not used, not employed — be Thy Name for any of our purposes. Enlisting the use of God's name for a good cause is just as blasphemous, just as much a desecration as claiming His support for a bad cause.

IS THIS TRUE FOR THE CHURCH AS WELL AS INDIVIDUALS?

On the Church I work under the basic principle that evangelization means seek, grasp, understand my now experience in the light of the Gospel. In this beautiful puzzlement which at this moment exists here — which we all grasp together — those who are Christians know that there is no ceiling to it. There's no shutting up its beauty, or the greatness to which it leads. Yet, the church can serve to be the purpose, the locus, place, framework, center, occasion for the celebration of the depth and height of our experience only to the degree to which this very church freely renounces using the power which has accumulated in her as an institution even for good things. There's nothing more difficult than renouncing the power one has to do miracles, to do good. But after all the Christian church usually looks at the crucified God—man or man—God who at that moment in life renounced using the power we all believe he continued to have. If the church wants to continue to help people celebrate their experience she too must very frequently renounce the power not only for doing bad things. For example, she must renounce building more schools for the rich in Latin America so that the rich have better schooling than the not quite so rich (the fraction of 1% therefore receiving better schooling than the 2% have). But she must also renounce use of her power to offer palliative schools in critical areas of social unrest. The Creole (Petroleum) Foundation or Shell Oil or Mr. W. R. Grace is willing to pay, to buy up priests or ministers to run schools in the slums to help the poor understand that as long as private industry fares well, it will provide some education for their children. We must go even further. If the church wants to be the locus at which people can experience the deeper meaning of their Now experience, of social change, then the church needs to abstain from taking partisan positions in the name of the church. This holds for causes which at this moment seem just, causes which as a Christian one has to back in one's own name. ■

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

THE KILLING OF SISTER GEORGE

Produced and Directed by Robert Aldrich

Screenplay by Lukas Heller based on the play by Frank Marcus

With Beryl Reid, Susannah York, Coral Browne

"THE Persecution and Assassination of Sister George by the Inmates of the Boston Municipal Court Under the Direction of the Public Prosecutor": maybe that's what this review should be entitled. Last week by a municipal court order "The Killing of Sister George" then playing at Boston's Cheri Theatre was ordered closed presumably because of its notorious explicit lesbian love scene between Susannah York and Coral Browne. The theatre manager, Mr. Sasso, was convicted and sentenced to a thousand dollar fine and 6 months in jail. He is appealing the conviction, and so at the moment both his fate and that of Sister George in Boston still hang in the balance. The squabble does give me a chance however to say something about the whole question of film censorship and sex-in-cinema.

Sister George clearly bears on its tunic the huge "X" which, according to the movies self-regulation code means "persons under eighteen will not be admitted under any circumstances." In this case the love scene between the two women is quite explicit but does appear very naturally in the flow of the story. It is, after all a movie about lesbians, at least on one level. Also "The Scene" (as the ads now call it) is no more explicit than many heterosexual love scenes we have already seen emblazoned across the screen. Nor is the entire movie "taken as a whole," as the legal language puts it, either offensive or obviously designed to appeal to the prurient interest. I cannot imagine how any court that is really in touch with the history of

Harvey Cox

judicial decisions on these matters could allow the Boston judgment against *Sister George* to stand.

The question arises immediately of course: are there any limits to what should be shown explicitly on film? My own view of this matter is that the limits should be dictated by art, taste and cinematic integrity. Not by the particular moral standards of any one segment of American society. We have no consensus on these matters, so censorship inevitably means the enforcement of someone's standards on someone else. The question of whether we "approve" of the behaviour depicted has no relevance whatever. I did not approve of Steve McQueen's robbing the bank in *The Thomas Crown Affair* but no one suggested censoring that (even though McQueen was a Beacon Hill banker when he pulled off the job and could have been accused of sullying the image of the banking profession). I did not "approve" of the murders in *Bonnie and Clyde* or the suicide in *Romeo and Juliet* or of even the witch's poisoning of *Snow White*. Our feelings or moral approval have little to do with whether we find a movie worthwhile. Sex is appropriate in movies if it advances the artistic intention of the movie-maker. Therefore the form of the sex depends on the film in question.

But how explicit should the sex be? We should bear two things in mind in thinking about this. First, in many cultures, especially those without our peculiar American hangups, sex is treated explicitly with no moral difficulties one way or another. I am thinking here not of Sweden but of India where temple friezes depicting sexual intercourse are interspersed with scenes of cooking, spinning and gardening. The Indians, who see life as a whole, find it strange that we isolate this particular human action for secrecy and embarrassment, and therefore also for titillation and exploitation. Censoring sex in movies is an expression of our western provincialism and will probably disappear when we become a more cosmopolitan culture. The question of why Indian movies, in contrast to Indian friezes, are so devoid of explicit sex is an other one.)

Also, if much of the sex in today's movies is put there for subartistic, sensational reasons, to "appeal to the prurient interest" as the phrase goes, there is something sad about it. Like opium it requires a progressively larger dose. We have come a long way since Gypsy Rose Lee could drive men into a frenzy simply by the way she removed a glove. Kids today now yawn through orgy scenes at underground movies. The appearance of the microskirt and the transparent blouse may not mean that we are getting more virile but that we're becoming jaded. We need more stimulus than our forebears did, not less. Remember those stories about Victorian gentlemen who would pursue a lady across the continent because they had once caught a glimpse of her ankle while entering her carriage? In comparison to that our sexual energies today are virtually comatose.

I am against censoring sex out of films because I am against censorship in any form. No one has to attend movies. And with our new code designations parents know which ones they can fight with their kids about if they object to explicit sex scenes. (Odd, isn't it that the code refers almost entirely to sex, not to violence? We allow our kids to see people stabbed, socked and shot — we just don't want them to see breasts or tongue-kissing?) But though I am against censorship I really think those who are using sex to pull in audiences are fighting a losing battle. In many cities today, in the ramshackle old theatres in decrepit downtown districts you can see 8th-rate "nudie" films whenever you wish. The clientele consists almost entirely of lonely, pathetic old men. The youngsters who constitute the future movie audience don't attend nudies. They are watching *2001* and *In the Year of the Pig*. Sex for sex sake, no matter how explicit, will not attract audiences. It must be depicted in its larger human setting. Which seems pretty sound to me theologically, come to think of it.

Meanwhile back to *Sister George*. Unfortunately, despite (not because of) "The Scene" it is a loser. It tries to tell the story of an aging alcoholic actress who plays in an English daytime TV serial but who must be cut out because her popularity is declining. The actress has begun to identify with the character but this movie's chance to explore the fascinating question of the way we internalize our public roles is muffed. The acting is uneven. The camera work and direction is listless. Some scenes drag on endlessly. The film is utterly forgettable. Sadly, it will probably continue to pull in audiences for awhile because of the publicity the court action has given it and the martyred mien the theatre manager is affecting. The lesbian love scene neither saves nor damns *Sister George*. It has all the qualities needed to flop on its own merits. ■

GENERATION IN SEARCH

(Continued from page 7)

peace and decency—not to go down in history as the Apocalyptic Generation.

And it isn't only nuclear war. Another overwhelming threat is in the population explosion. That has not yet even begun to come under control. There is every indication that the world population will double before the year 2000, and there is a widespread expectation that this will cause famine on an unprecedented scale in many parts of the world. The experts tend to differ only in their estimates of when those famines will begin. Some think by 1980, others that they can be staved off until 1990; very few expect that they will not occur by the year 2000.

That is the problem. Unless we can be surer than we now are that this generation has a future, nothing else matters. It's not good enough to give it tender loving care, to supply it with breakfast foods, to buy it expensive educations. Those things don't mean anything unless this generation has a future. And we're not sure that it does.

I don't think that there are problems of youth — or student problems. All the real problems I know are grown-up problems.

Perhaps I might be thought of as being altogether absurd, or "academic" or hopelessly innocent — that is, until one thinks of the alternatives — if I say as I do now: We have to get rid of those nuclear weapons! There is nothing worth having that can be obtained by nuclear war; nothing material or ideological, no tradition that it can defend. It is utterly self-defeating. Those atom bombs represent an unusable weapon. The only use for an atom bomb is to keep somebody else from using it. It can give us no protection but only the doubtful satisfaction of retaliation. Nuclear weapons offer us nothing but a balance of terror, and a balance of terror is still terror.

We have to get rid of those atomic weapons, here and everywhere. We cannot live with them.

I think we've reached a point of great decision, not just for our nation, not only for all humanity, but for life upon the Earth. I tell my students, with a feeling of pride that I hope they will share, that the carbon, nitrogen and oxygen that makes up 99 per cent of our living substance, were cooked in the deep interiors of earlier generations of dying stars. Gathered up from the ends of the universe, over billions of years, eventually they came to form in part the substance of our sun, its planets and ourselves. Three billion years ago life arose upon the Earth. It seems to be the only life in the solar system. About two million years ago, man appeared and now he has become the dominant species on the Earth. All other living things, animal and plant, live by his sufferance. He is the custodian of all life on Earth. It's a big responsibility.

The thought that we're in competition with Russians or with Chinese is all a mistake, and trivial. Only mutual destruction lies that way. We are one species, with a world to win. There's life all over this universe but in all the universe we are the only men.

Our business is with life, not death. Our challenge is to give what account we can of what becomes of life in the solar system, this corner of the universe that is our home and, most of all, what becomes of men—all men of all nations, colors and creeds. It has become one world, a world for all men. It is only such a world that now can offer us life, and the chance to go on. ■

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April 15, 1969

In Pace With The Changing Church

Vietnam: The people and the chances for peace.

TEMPOsitions . . .

AN APPEAL TO HEAVEN

By Ronald H. Stone

All Americans ought to recognize the right of citizens of the United States to dissent from the policies of a particular administration. The structure of the United States Government is designed to register dissent and to protect minorities from heinous majority policy. The system itself was born out of a movement of dissent which became a withholding of consent from the British government and led to bloody revolution.

In classical democratic theory, e.g., John Locke's TWO TREATISES, the right of the people to withhold consent from arbitrary government and to oppose that government through force is called "an appeal to Heaven."

The "appeal to Heaven" is not the prayer recommended by the sixteenth-century Protestant reformers, but the revolution through force which seventeenth-century philosophers declare a right of man. The only questions about the right of free men to dissent from their government's policies when they are unjust or illegal revolve around which means of registering dissent are appropriate.

The appeal to Heaven of our founding fathers was recognized as a human right; however, it was an extreme step as it declared the sovereign to be ruling illegitimately and recognized a state of war between the citizens and the government. Such a crude instrument was perhaps a necessary protection of the people prior to the development of general franchise, various instruments of registering protest, and ways of insuring the government's responsiveness.

Today, we do not regard a violent revolution as either desirable or expedient. We must come to a more sophisticated understanding of our rights to dissent within the modern democracy, which has ways of registering our dissent as well as extraordinary means for repressing dissent.

Over the decades, we have favored social change within the accepted pattern of representative government. The fundamental way to work for social justice is to develop a constituency which requires its government to be progressive.

The ways of insuring that an administration or a legislature will be responsible to its public are legion, and he who restricts his efforts to discussion, education, and voting can be manipulated by the forces served by the *status* quo. The reformer, particularly on foreign policy questions, has to develop appropriate means for registering his rejection of administration

Ronald H. Stone

policy while still respecting the government itself. Government deserves our respect and prayers, but many administrations deserve a contemporary expression of the appeal to Heaven against their policies.

Men are crying out against injustice and war; they are demanding that they be treated as free men and not votes to be manipulated. Our institutions are not meeting the needs of our people, and they are violating peace and justice at home and abroad. In such times it is our right, it is our duty to join the dissenters to restore our institutions to their rightful place in this society.

—Dr. Ronald H. Stone, past editor, in "Social Action," UCC Council for Christian Social Action, and professor of religion, Columbia University.

The pen and ink drawing on TEMPO's cover, and three others that illustrate the Vo Van Ai interview on Pages 6 and 7, were done by one of Vietnam's most talented artists, Vo-Dinh. They are among numerous other, equally moving, illustrations that Vo-Dinh has done for a book of remarkable war poems written by Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hanh. Both artist and poet now live in self-imposed exile from their war-torn homeland. The book, "The Cry of Vietnam," was published by Unicorn Press, Santa Barbara, Cal. 93101, and is available at $4.00 (cloth bound) and $2.00 (paperback).

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When It's "Mutiny" to Protest A Heartless Killing

THE CASE OF THE PRESIDIO 27

When TEMPO learned that 27 Army stockade prisoners at the Presidio in San Francisco had received harsh sentences as "mutineers" for protesting the guard shooting of a fellow prisoner, it sought the insights of the Rt. Rev. C. Kilmer Myers, Episcopal Bishop of California, who was in the forefront of many churchmen and others protesting this crushing form of "justice".

Bishop Myers' reply, together with a report of the affair by the Venerable George H. Emerson, Archdeacon of the Diocese, follow in sequence. Archdeacon Emerson's expertise with legal matters, as evidenced in this report, is based on his 32 years as a practicing attorney prior to his entering the ministry. (Editor)

Protesting Army prisoners sing "America The Beautiful" during demonstration at San Francisco Presidio stockade, while stockade commander, Captain Lamont reads Army regulations covering mutiny. The men's chief grievance, which Lamont refused to hear, was a guard's gun slaying of a fellow prisoner.

A message for TEMPO from Bishop C. Kilmer Myers:

My archdeacon, the Venerable George Emerson, is a trusted and faithful servant of the church. I believe his view of the lamentable events surrounding the Presidio trial is a correct one. It represents my own view. As an American and a Christian bishop I deplore the army's posture in this matter and urge my fellow citizens to join together in expressing their moral indignations for all men who believe in human dignity to hear.

A Report on The Presidio 27 by George H. Emerson

VERY early in the proceedings, which in time gave rise to the charges of mutiny against the twenty-seven prisoners in the stockade of the Presidio in San Francisco, the Rt. Rev. C. Kilmer Myers, Episcopal Bishop of California asked me to represent him in the presentation of protests to the Sixth Army Command on behalf of our diocese. Working with seven or eight clergymen from other denominations, we tried to arrange a meeting with Lt. Gen. Stanley Larsen, Commanding the Sixth Army of the United States, with headquarters at the Presidio. In this endeavor we were unsuccessful. Instead a meeting was arranged for us with Col. Garnet, staff judge advocate of the Sixth Army.

At our meeting with Col. Garnet on December 10, 1968, we pointedly told him we wanted to meet with Gen. Larsen. In fact, two of our group told the colonel they had been trying to see Gen. Larsen for some time but without success—and they felt that they had been given the "run around." The colonel assured us that Gen. Larsen was not trying to avoid us; that while the general was out of town on that day, he would be back the following week and that Col. Garnet would arrange for us to see him. That meeting the general never quite got around to arranging. There was no excuse given at the time by Col. Garnet of any *habeas corpus* proceedings which would interfere with our meeting the general.

Passing The Buck

Trying to get anything definite from Col. Garnet was futile. When we tried to press him for some positive statement of position, he passed the buck up to the general. We protested that the threatened charge of mutiny against the 27 prisoners was grossly harsh and out of order. Particularly, we argued, in view of the findings of his own investigating officers who admitted the offense of the men could not justify mutiny charges. Then the colonel, somewhat patronizingly, explained to us that this recommendation was only that of the post command. The entire matter would have to move through channels to him for his recommendation to Gen. Larsen on the final decision as to what charges would be preferred. The colonel was careful not to say so, but I came to the conclusion that he was trying to lead us to believe he did not feel mutiny charges were indicated. I had the impression that Col. Garnet wanted to paper over the whole affair, hoping that we might forget about it and, in any event, shunning publicity. I told the colonel that he should disabuse himself of the idea, if he had it, that this was merely a tempest in a small local teapot. Our diocesan office, for example, had received communications from other parts of the country expressing indignation at the Army's position.

To begin at the beginning: the young man whose killing was what triggered the sit-down by the 27 accused mutineers, I'm told was a psychologically disturbed lad whose mother—when he ran home—had tried to have him committed to a hospital because of his mental condition. Instead, the Army put him in the stockade for being AWOL. On the day he was killed, this lad was forced to work under threat of having his crucifix taken away from him. He asked the armed guard in the yard of the stockade if he would be shot if he tried to escape. The guard told him he would have to try to escape to find out. He then told the guard to be sure to shoot him in the head, then ran toward the stockade fence.

Cooperating in Suicide

Moments later the boy was dead, felled by the guard with a shot from his shotgun at a range of less than 60 feet. Not only was this a brutal and senseless slaughter but, to compound the offense, the guard's superiors ruled it a case of justifiable homicide! This was the last in a series of suicide attempts by the 19-year-old, 5 ft. 4 in., 120 lb. youth. The Army's enthusiastic cooperation was necessary to make the last attempt a success.

As a further example of the Army's seemingly callous disregard for human values, of the many attempts at self-destruction tried by these 27 men in the stockade, the Army dismissed them all as "suicide gestures." The fact that one of the men was so nearly successful that when he was taken to the hospital he was believed to be dead—and only by heroic work was he revived—could not sway the Army. The attempt was still classified as just "a suicide gesture."

The Army's own examining psychiatrist found as to at least four of the 27 that they were variously: 1) "sociopathic personality—chronic, severe, manifested by long history of anti-social and asocial behavior—and by a consistent pattern of anti-authoritarian behavior", 2) "anti-social type, 3) "passive-aggressive personality, chronic inability to work in a structured situation," 4) "passive-dependent personality, chronic, severe inability to accept an adult autonomous role." The investigating officer found that these men could be of no use to the Army, nor the Army to them, and recommended that they be separated from service promptly. Instead, the Army charged them with mutiny.

Planned Fear and Terror

The mutiny charge is inhumane and intolerable. It would appear that the Army has assumed a considered posture of ignoring or rejecting the mitigating circumstances surrounding whatever transgressions may have been committed by these young men. In spite of the mitigation or justification existing, and as an act of grave injustice, the Sixth Army appears to have determined to hold these men up as examples so as to create an atmosphere of fear and terror in other enlisted men, men who might, not unnaturally, resent these same oppressive tactics.

The position of the Sixth Army Command in this instance would appear to reflect a complete absence of all sense of proportion, of judgment, of common sense, and of human values; but rather a brutal, punitive, vindictive oppression—beyond all comprehension.

With such examples of inhumanity by the Army before the young men of our country, the concept of a purely voluntary military service presently under discussion becomes laughable. The continuance of consciption becomes questionable. Were this philosophy of military absolutism and despotism to spread beyond the Sixth Army, the military services might well find themselves reduced to the expedient of our British cousins in the 18th Century, when because of their brutality, they had to resort to the press gang to fill the ranks of the military services.

I realize that General Larsen, somewhat belatedly when under the harsh light of national indignation, substantially reduced the sentence of the first of the 27 to be sentenced, only to have that reduced sentence, in turn, reduced again by his superiors. It is fervently to be hoped that the widespread indignation created by the frightful mishandling of this affair by the command structure of the Sixth Army will have some beneficial result. There, and doubtless elsewhere in the military services, some rather fundamental appreciation of the meaning and importance of the humanities and of Christian forebearance is desperately needed.

THE U.S. ARMY VERSUS DISSENT

by Fred P. Graham

PROTEST demonstrations have occurred recently at schools, churches, football games, lecture halls and the Miss America Pageant, and some military commanders are petrified over the prospect that the United States Army may be next.

That is the only conclusion that can be drawn from the massive retaliation that has tended to be the military's reaction to the few protest incidents that are known to have occurred in the service so far. The stern response has kept the lid on protests, but it has also raised legal questions about servicemen's constitutional rights that may not be settled to the military's liking.

When the Constitution was written in 1787 the United States had only 800 men in uniform, and apparently no thought was given to whether or not the Bill of Rights did apply to them. Until about the time of the Korean war, defense lawyers in courts-martial rarely even contended that the Bill of Rights did.

New Lawyers

But now that more than 3 million men and women are in the services, including many Vietnam war dissenters, and because civil liberties organizations are providing lawyers to represent them, a number of test cases are moving through the courts to test their constitutional rights.

The highest military court, the Court of Military Appeals, has ruled that military discipline must not violate standards of due process, and that soldiers are protected by the First Amendment. But the military appeals court invariably balances the soldiers' right of dissent against the services' interest in maintaining discipline, and concludes that the servicemen should have kept their dissent to themselves. So while a soldier does have free speech rights, they are not as broad as civilians' rights, and they are scant protection if he protests too much.

The first test case to reach the Supreme Court on this point is likely to be that of Henry Howe, Jr., a former army second lieutenant at Fort Bliss, Texas, who was dismissed from the service and sentenced to a year in prison after he participated in an antiwar march in civilian clothes. He carried a sign that called for an end to "Johnson's Fascist Aggression" and was convicted of making contemptuous statements about the President.

Cool Response

Meanwhile, three incidents have occurred that resembled civilian groups protests, and while the military played down one with cool skill, it responded to the other two with displays of force that made Father Hesburgh seem like Pollyanna.

The cool response came at Fort Hood, Texas, where 41 Negro paratroopers who refused to go to Chicago for antiriot duty during the Democratic convention last August were quietly court-martialed and the 29 who were convicted were given relatively light sentences.

But at Camp Pendleton, California, in the summer of 1967 when two marine Black Muslims persuaded a dozen of their fellow Negro marines to go in a group to protest to their commanding officer against being sent to Vietnam, they were given sentences of six and 10 years at hard labor. They also didn't get to talk to the C.O.

In the third incident, in October, 1968, 27 prisoners at the army's San Francisco Presidio have been charged with mutiny for staging an hour-long sit-in protest after a fellow prisoner was shot and killed by a guard.

Although the investigating officer insisted that there was no mutiny because the prisoners did not attempt to override military authority, the army decided to try them for mutiny, which carries a possible death sentence. The first three to be court-martialed were given prison terms of 16, 15 and 14 years. A fourth prisoner, tried at another base, drew a four-year term.

But despite the "success" — so far — of this iron-fisted reaction to protests by servicemen, there were signs last week that the top brass is having doubts about its wisdom.

In the first review of a sentence of one of the convicted "mutineers," the Pentagon announced last Tuesday that it has whittled down the 15-year sentence of Pvt. Nesrey D. Sood to two years.

Nobody would be surprised if the Supreme Court's reviews on servicemen's free speech rights prove to be more generous than the ones now granted to soldiers. Yet the Court has always been careful not to complicate things too much for the military, and it is highly unlikely that it would announce a broad extension of servicemen's free speech rights.

Instead, the civilian courts are likely to begin to clamp down on the services' occasional heavy-handed use of such general charges as "conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman," "disloyal statements" and "contemptuous words." This would serve the salutary purpose of cautioning the military against massive retaliation against soldiers who dissent, without transforming boot camp into a debating society. ■

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DEMONSTRATORS IN 116 CITIES PROTEST TREATMENT OF "PRESIDIO 27"

On March 18, crowds of people in 116 communities across the U.S. marched in behalf of unlikely heroes: 27 young G.I.'s imprisoned by the Army for going AWOL (See page three for the story of their sitdown and its repercussions). TEMPO's camera eye attends one of the New York City demonstrations near Radio City at Rockefeller Center. Orderly picketing of some 200 attracts a crowd twice its size. N.Y.'s Bread and Puppet theatre provides dramatic pause, aims its sidewalk performance against "a growing danger of militarism—making it "mutiny" they said, "for a soldier to protest murder." The court-martial meted out harsh sentences (left) in sharp contrast to federal court rulings on similar civil rights cases. Father Mark W. Sullivan (right) unofficial chaplain for the 27, asks for a review of the military court system.

Toward a Church "Truly Catholic, Truly Evangelical, Truly Reformed"

COCU In Atlanta — The Nine Meet Again

by Harold Schachern
Special to Tempo Magazine

ATLANTA — The nine-member Consultation on Church Union (COCU) made progress by inches here, but spokesmen and observers felt that the very length and intensity of their sessions had brought them a long, hard mile toward the unity of American Protestantism.

Delegates from the member churches made "substantial progress" toward finalizing a "Plan of Union" which should be ready for delegate acceptance when the Consultation meets a year from now in St. Louis, Mo.

More important, most felt, was the finalizing of a set of guidelines aimed at helping local congregations unite their efforts and memberships without waiting for national denominations to come to merger agreements.

The Consultation seeks to unite nine major American Protestant denominations into one American Church of more than 25 million members that is "truly catholic, truly evangelical and truly reformed."

Participating churches are the Episcopal, United Methodist, United Church of Christ, United Presbyterian, USA, Presbyterian U.S. (Southern), Disciples of Christ, African Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal Zion and Christian Methodist Episcopal, the latter three being "black" churches.

Discussions during the four days of the Atlanta meeting revealed, however, that many congregations, faced by a variety of local problems, are impatient to await national pacts that would meld them into one denomination.

Wide-Ranging Study

A committee which has spent the last several years studying local situations detailed varieties of local church unity efforts which range from cooperation in anti-poverty efforts to actual merger of their congregations.

A committee spokesman, Dr. George G. Beazley Jr., ecumenical officer for the Disciples of Christ, said American laymen are far better conditioned for the unification of America's splintered church groups than are professional churchmen.

"The American layman is already mobile," he said. "He already is functioning as though a united church exists. When families move from one neighborhood to another, or to a different city, they commonly join a church of another denomination."

(National surveys show that when American Protestants move into a new community, an overwhelming majority select a neighborhood church for reasons other than denominational loyalty.)

Dr. William P. Thompson, guidelines committee chairman and Stated Clerk (chief executive officer) of the United Presbyterian Church, said that local mergers are more common than national denominational headquarters realize.

"They are usually pretty well along before we even hear about them," he said.

At a final press briefing, Bishop James K. Mathews, Methodist bishop from Boston who is chairman of COCU, listed acceptance of the local church guidelines as perhaps the most significant accomplishment in Atlanta, terming them "desperately needed."

"A lot of local churches want to grab the ball and run with it," he said. "The guidelines will permit them to proceed in a disciplined way."

"I was optimistic when I arrived here," he said, "and my expectations have been fulfilled in a very genuine way. Our momentum has picked up."

He and other spokesmen said COCU has gone "incomparably" further than any previous attempts to unite splintered American churches in the entire history of the country.

"Of all the nine previous efforts, none has had either the local involvement or the plenary participation of denominations that COCU enjoys," said the Dr. Rev. Paul A. Crow Jr., general secretary of the consultation.

United Methodist Bishop James K. Mathews, of Boston (right), chairman of Consultation on Church Union, greets the Rev. Clyde Williams, new associate general secretary of the nine-denomination organization exploring church union. At left is Bishop E. P. Murchison, of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop Mathews is also chairman for Christian unity of the National Council of Churches.

Groundwork Laid

Although the consultation did not solve its most difficult problem — that of "mingling" a variety of ministries in the uniting churches, Bishop Mathews said that "at least the groundwork was laid here."

(Spokesmen here have said that delegates in seven previous consultations have had little difficulty with "God, man and the sacraments," but have been stymied about the question of the stature of clergy.)

Bishop Mathews said, however, that he expected to have in hand by this time next year both "an ordinal for ministries and a service of unification."

Speaking to this matter, a distinguished Methodist theologian, Dr. Albert C. Outler, said that traditionally neither belief nor church structure, but the nature of ministries, has kept American Protestant churches apart.

Of the nine participating denominations, only those of the Episcopalian tradition lay claim to apostolic succession, the doctrine that their ministerial orders have been passed along in an unbroken chain from Christ's apostles.

Dr. Outler, professor at the Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, said "the fearful triangle" of "ministry and ministerial order" is particularly difficult in America where the ministry has exclusively American roots and is not "simply a transplant from Europe."

He said that clergymen involved in the COCU discussions "who regard their own orders as exclusively valid can scarcely negotiate the 'mingling' of such superior credentials with other orders deemed invalid or fatally defective."

Curiously, the strongest helping hand in this dilemma was offered by a Catholic priest observer-consultant, Fr. George Tavard, French Assumptionist priest now lecturing in religion at Penn State University.

He cited a paper he delivered at the National Workshop of Christian Unity in Detroit last June in which he said he did not regard his own holy orders as coming solely from the "laying on of hands" of the Archbishop of Rheims.

Recognition and Acceptance

Rather, he said, it evolved more from his recognition and acceptance by the worshiping communities he has served as a "preacher of the word, a minister of the sacraments and a counselor in spiritual matters."

"Pope Leo XIII took a 16th century view when he defined Catholic orders," he said. "We must abstain from that. We must consider the church as it is today."

Catholic priests and Protestant ministers perform similar functions today and win similar acceptance from their congregations, he said, thus their stature in the Christian community should be the same.

Asked if he could convince other Catholic priests of the validity of this argument, Fr. Tavard said he felt he could "if I were given a few hours to talk to all of them."

Roman Catholic observers, appointed by the Holy See, have participated in seven of the eight COCU sessions, but Rome sent a delegate direct in the person of Bishop J. G. M. Willebrands, secretary of the Vatican Commission for Promoting Christian Unity. He is the first member of the Catholic hierarchy to attend a COCU session.

In a major address at a COCU dinner meeting Bishop Willebrands said that Roman Catholics have little right to regard Protestants as "separated brethren" when so many divisions exist within their own ranks.

Similarly, he said, the world errs in considering Roman Catholicism "an example of achieved unity."

"The Vatican Council and the developments of renewal inspired by it have shown us a Church in a struggle for its own interior, organic union."

He said divisions within Catholicism's own frontiers take the form of "almost demonic gaps between social classes, between races, between rich and poor, the educated and not so educated, between generations and between nations and cultures.

"And, if we consider our functional roles, between clergy and laity, theologians and bishops," he added.

He then cautioned the COCU delegates with the question:

"Will this united church you seek truly reflect a community where there are no first-class and second-class Christians based on race, color and social class?"

He said that Catholicism and Protestantism face parallel problems, that of balancing the universal and the local.

Seeking A Balance

Through collegiality, he said, Catholicism is seeking a balance between the two. In contrast, "it seems the churches of the Protestant tradition are reaching out for this same balance by searching for worldwide forms."

"The COCU principles show your own awareness of the danger that a united church, based on a national territorial principle, can easily lose its universal character and become overly-identified with, and bound by, a national situation and outlook," said Bishop Willebrands, who added: "A national church, as a limit of Christian concern, is as unthinkable as a national god."

In discussing the guidelines for local church cooperation, Bishop Mathews said it "will not only help them in their cooperative efforts, but will clear up some of the difficulties they will encounter in the actual merging of their local congregations."

The national plan of union, however, is far too complex and controversial for anything definitive on it to have come out of the Atlanta meeting.

"But we will have a plan of union a year from now," Dr. Crow said. "Between now and then the denominations must raise the question of church union. They must put COCU on their agendas so that their people will be prepared for it."

Delegates, for instance, had to tackle the very tough question of selecting a name for the united church.

As originally proposed in 1960 by Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, now general secretary of the World Council of Churches, the new church was to be at once "catholic, evangelical and reformed," and any name selected must reflect those widespread traditions.

A secret straw vote on a name was taken among the approximately 150 delegates and alternates, but its results were not divulged.

The proposed names appearing on the ballot included "Evangelical Catholic Church," "The Church United in the USA," the "Christian Community in the USA," the "American Christian Church" and the "Church of Christ United."

"The Problem of Freedom in Vietnam Has Become The Problem of Survival"

A BUDDHIST YOUTH LOOKS AT HIS COUNTRY

AN INTERVIEW WITH VO VAN AI By L. I. Stell

"We are in a big prison. If we call for peace, the government pushes us into a little prison for five or ten years at hard labor."

So began many of the pleas for peace that Vo Van Ai has been making in U.S. cities over the last two months. The settings for his appearances were by nature ecumenical. Ai, secretary general of the Overseas Vietnamese Buddhist Association, visited the U. S. for the first time at the invitation of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an interfaith peace organization with some 18,000 members. After visiting scores of churches, community centers and campuses, Ai, his novelist wife Phuong Anh and his two-year-old daughter, Ai Anh, have returned to their Paris home-in-exile.

Again and again, formally and informally, Ai said there is "no liberty, no democracy in Vietnam." By his estimate some 100,000 people are in "little prisons" there because they dared to speak out against the unending war. Most recently, he said, two French newspapers Le Monde *and* Le Figaro, *reported three important political factions had publicly requested a cease fire—facts suppressed in Saigon itself, and unreported in U. S. newspapers.*

Vo Van Ai speaks out of sadness at no longer being welcome in his homeland "where casualties, as well as cries for peace are rising." He speaks of its future, "as a nationalist, not a communist." But perhaps most eloquently, he speaks as a poet:

. . . altars of ancestors
altars of Buddha
have covered the pitfalls
but are opposed to your madness
to your flags
your arms
non-violent resistance smiles at you
at the start of this age
this light smile under the darkness of Naga
dissolves the abyss
today the altar appears as Mirror
do not flee to the battlefield
do not return on your giant footsteps
look at the lost face of the child. . .
(from *"La Reponse du Feu,"* by Vo Van Ai, Unicorn Press)

Are you hopeful that the Nixon Administration, the Paris negotiations will bring peace?

We hope that perhaps in 1969 peace will come. But we have not seen many signs. In Paris we really see only the NLF, the government of Hanoi, and the U.S. Government. The whole population who desire peace, the majority of people in South Vietnam, haven't got their representative in this negotiation. We cannot talk about peace if they are not represented in Paris.

In other words, Vietnam needs a civilian government?

Yes. The present Saigon regime is a government for war, and not for peace. Its support is the U.S. government, since it wasn't really elected by our population.

Is it possible to change the government without another revolution? And if a coup takes place wouldn't the National Liberation Front (NLF) gain control?

You know that the NLF is a political reality in South Vietnam. But there is a majority of people who are not on the side of the NLF or on the side of Saigon, or of the U.S. government.

One view of Vietnam holds that the NLF really do represent the majority of the people. But you say that this is untrue?

You know that both sides contend the same thing. The Saigon government says it controls two-thirds of the territories of South Vietnam. And the NLF says that they control 80 percent of

Vo Van Ai with baby daughter Ai Anh.

the population. But this problem in South Vietnam is very complicated because during the day the U.S. troops or the Saigon army comes into the village and say that the village is under the control of the U.S. troops. And during the night the NLF comes and says that they control the village.

It depends on the time of day who controls it?

Yes, I can give you an example. The peasant. When the NLF appeals to the peasant to struggle against the U.S. aggressor, he follows the NLF because he sees the U.S. troops come into his village to kill his parents, his son, and so on, and burn his village. At first the peasant sees only aggression coming from the U.S. and follows the NLF in its struggle against the U.S. The peasant knows the NLF appeals for independence and for peace. But when Buddhist monks demonstrated in the big cities for democracy and peace, the peasants followed the Buddhists, too. I cannot say whether the peasant is an NLF partisan or a Buddhist partisan. This peasant and all peasants in South Vietnam aspire to peace and independence. And if a government declares and acts willingly for peace, this government can have the support of the whole population. There really is a majority of people who are not under the NLF control, who have not accepted the Saigon government, and who are not represented.

You know that Buddhism has been in Vietnam since the second century. But along our history we have always been under Chinese domination. We have only had five centuries of independence. That was from the tenth century to the fifteenth century. And after that we fell under Chinese domination and French domination. By the eighteenth and nineteenth century, Buddhism was in decline. Many people think about Buddhism as

a religion or superstition, but not as a religion or a faith which saves people under suffering. Yet the core of Buddhist belief is trying to save people from suffering. In the first sermon preached by Buddha in Benaris, India, he said, "life is suffering." Many people take this to mean Buddha then renounced life, and his followers merely go into the forest and meditate — not engage in life's problems to save people.

Now even the woods are filled with soldiers who need saving.

Buddhism is actually engaged in saving people from suffering, from misery, from injustice. But for many centuries, people have forgotten such thinking. Not until 1930 did a new movement arise in Vietnam, a renaissance of Buddhism. When Thich Nhat Hanh or other monks in Vietnam speak about "actualizing," they mean they will live in society with this life principle, with Buddhism. Actualizing means they must teach people to have tolerance and compassion within the social revolution with its economic problems, health problems, political problems, as well as meet their spiritual needs.

In Thich Nhat Hanh's provocative book, "Vietnam, Lotus In A Sea of Fire," he implies that the Confucians, Mandarins took over the "actualizing" task of Buddhists. Then Western nations came in and destroyed the Mandarin system. We Westerners, descendants of colonialists—new colonialists?—then bear part of the blame for the decline of responsible government in Vietnam?

Yes. I think so. On the one hand it comes from Western colonialists. And on the other hand, from the decline of the Eastern thinking too. For example, the problem of reason. Buddhists forgot the true doctrine and thought only about new superstitions. True, we must learn many things from Western civilization and modern countries, but, it's superstitious to accept all such things. Perhaps something is very good in your country, but it's not good for our country. We have our own psychology.

When peace comes and your country finds its own particular way, what place do you predict for the individual—individual rights? How free will he be politically, religiously?

The problem of the individual does not exist so much in Vietnam like in the Western countries because of the mentality of Eastern thinking. As Buddhists we cannot separate the individual and the society. We think that we are interdependent, like the atom of water in the river.

We are like drops of water in a river?

Yes, if you are sick, then I am sick too. I think that in everything we must have the same responsibility for each other.

This is a doctrine that the Christian Church has too. We have this very much in common.

Yes, I think so. And you know, that in this case, we cannot accept the totalitarian regime, or the militaristic regime, because such a regime suppresses human beings. And about freedom, the freedom of democracy for us is not freedom. For us the problem of freedom in Vietnam is the problem of survival. For thirty years we have been at war. And for us, what we hope for, and what we think about, is the survival of our nation. Many politicians in South Vietnam speak about freedom and democracy, but we don't know what democracy is. When the U.S. troops come in South Vietnam, they tell us that they defend South Vietnam against communism for freedom and so on. But you know that in South Vietnam we have no democracy, no freedom. If we talk about peace or negotiation we will be in prison, frequently sentenced to five years of hard labor. The government justifies itself by saying that we are communists.

Would it be fair to say that your appeal for and effort to create a renewed Buddhism is really a form of Nationalism? You are calling upon Vietnamese to be patriots for peace, are you not?

Yes, we know their biggest desire is peace. But the majority of peasants have no ideological struggle. If they struggle or they demonstrate it's only for peace, for security and for independence.

Those desires are also felt by most people here in the U.S. But we do have ideological struggle in thinking about Vietnam. How would you describe American myths or misconceptions?

There is a story in Vietnam about a brilliant young lawyer who went to a Buddhist monk to find out if there was anything else he ought to know in order to lead a more honorable life. The monk listened to the young man talk for some time and then without saying a word he called for tea to be served. He poured his guest's tea into the cup and then kept pouring and pouring until finally despite the custom of honoring age and position the lawyer could stand it no longer and said "The cup is already full. You're wasting the tea." The monk stopped pouring, looked up and said, "Before you can add more knowledge of life to your cup you must first empty it of speculations."

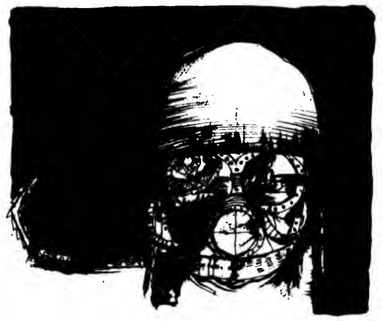
Americans need to empty themselves of their speculations to see the realities in Vietnam. Now, even when you try to help us you do so according to your conceptions, your opinions. You cannot help, really help, unless you let us determine our own fate.

Then are you really saying, "Get out. Before we can really be friends American troops have to go home."

It is very strange for us Vietnamese to hear something like that. One time you think that you must save us and you come with a half million U.S. soldiers. Now when you think that you cannot win the war, you say, "we must get out." For you there is only white and black. You think that between white and black there is no other color. But in white there is the spectrum, a great many colors. The problem is not whether you stay there or get out, but how you can help us determine and let us determine our own fate. I cannot imagine how in one day you can get your half million troops out. You must do it step by step. For example, we appreciate it very much that the U.S. government stopped the bombing in North Vietnam. Through this act you prove that you desire peace. Further if the United States government declares a ceasefire now and calls upon the NLF and the North Vietnamese for a ceasefire too, the whole population will change from hostility against the U.S. government to friendship. For four or five months the U.S. government has given us and the world the impression that they desire peace. If they truly desire peace, there are some more things they must do, like declare a ceasefire. We would like to have a ceasefire. The NLF and Hanoi would like it too. Without it we won't have peace. But because you are very strong, you can say that "We desire peace. We will stop fighting, and ask that you stop fighting too." If Hanoi and the NLF continued to fight, they will lose the population's support.

Which they now have?

Yes. Now they have much of it. But after the Tet offensive, the May offensive and the present one, there are many people who are disenchanted and have separated from the NLF. Contact with the reality of violence and war, made them afraid. Intellectual support of the NLF and actual contact with it in street fighting are very different



experiences. Still many people support the NLF, including many Buddhists. They support the NLF because it claims to struggle for independence and peace. And remember the majority of the NLF is not communist, only its leaders. The religious communities and many non-political groups—non-communist—do not adhere completely to the NLF. But we accept the ends of the NLF, the struggle for independence and for peace.

If a ceasefire comes, who will take over?

In this case I think that the third force, that means the Buddhist force or the peace force would form a new government which would negotiate with the NLF and with the North. Since 1964 there have been many peace movements — the Buddhist force, Progressive Catholics, students, intellectuals, and so on, who struggle for peace. They have the population's support. Such religious communities, and non-communist political groups would form the interim government.

According to Thich Nhat Hanh's book, when the Buddhists helped overthrow Diem the monks were unprepared for their leadership role. Are they ready now?

Now they are better prepared. Especially after the uprising in 1966. Buddhist laymen have worked in political groups like the Socialist Buddhist bloc in South Vietnam. They are more organized about political problems. But now or in the future, the role of Buddhism will be played in the background, not at the center of power. Some laymen will come into power without backing by a religious community or political group. All the power will not be in Buddhist hands. Our role is to educate the masses in social justice. There are many methods of social revolution, but not many based on compassion, responsibility, and on tolerance. And I think the Buddhists can play this role.

Buddhists are already beginning their role of education, are they not?

Every village has a school led by Buddhists. Our new program trains people for social service work in addition to educating children. We are forming a new cadre, to go out and rebuild the country, to help the peasants' social, economic and health problems. Students must study for two years at the same time they work in the village. It's not only theoretical study, but practical study, too.

How long has this been going on? How many

Since 1965 we have had two classes. In each about two hundred students, who are working to help the peasant. And at the same time they train a local cadre for six months. We need many social workers, so they must train their own assistants. They teach agriculture, health, education, economics.

Do they talk about their Buddhism at all?

It depends. Our new study is aimed at social service. They learn not only Buddhism, but Catholicism and Protestantism. They are propagandists for relieving the war sufferings, but not Buddhism.

The people who are for war and against Communism talk about the terror of the Viet Cong assassination of the innocent. People seeking peace talk about the U.S. napalming of children. Both sides are always mentioning terror. Is there anything that we need to know as Americans about our part in the terror?

About the terror of both sides we do not know how to make mathematical comparisons. But the air bombardment by U.S. troops makes tremendous destruction and causes terror that all can see. The first thing noticed by visitors in Vietnam are the effects of American bombs: The marks of napalm on civilians — especially children, the craters, rubble. Nobody sees the 1,000 or so people

(Continued on page 11)

A Church Specialist on Vietnam Looks At

THE CHANCES FOR PEACE

by Gerhard Elston

ARE the peace talks in Paris serious and in good faith? A seven-member special delegation authorized by the President and General Secretary of the NCC was convinced that they were when they met in January with persons and groups concerned with the conflict in Vietnam—the delegations as well as representatives of numerous other Vietnamese groups.

As fighting has increased, there have been accusations of bad faith. Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird was reported denying in Saigon that the United States had intensified the fighting since the halt of the bombing of North Vietnam: "The only escalation that has taken place so far as the war in Southeast Asia is concerned has been the escalation of the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese." (*New York Times*, March 11, 1969). Three days before the *New York Post* reported Mr. W. Averell Harriman saying that current enemy attacks were essentially a response to United States actions rather than a deliberate move to affect the peace talks. *New York Times* reporter Terence Smith shows that statistics tend to support the contention that "the enemy offensive was preceded by a sharp increase in American initiated ground activity." (*New York Times*, March 23, 1969). Editorially, the *Times*, both in December and on March 9, quoted Pentagon figures to show that while the North Vietnamese withdrew most of their troops after the November bombing halt, allied operations increased sharply.

Gerhard Elston

It appears that one of the chief obstacles to peace is U.S. reluctance to be ruthlessly realistic about our actions and how they appear to others, about the nature of the war and its origins, about the Saigon government and its chances of widespread popular support. If we could learn to admit past errors and accept their consequences, we would not only find our stature in men's eyes enlarged, but we should find it not too difficult to pursue one of the several possible paths to a settlement in Vietnam.

Pacification: Another War

We have to be realistic about the nature of the war. While denying stepped-up military activity (despite an increase in the bombing of Southern Vietnam since November), American officials did report an accelerated pacification program, claiming considerable successes. Warnings were issued not to lose by negotiation what we were now winning on the ground. Mr. Laird may well not regard "accelerated pacification" as increased military activity. But it is precisely this "other war" that is the only war that really matters to the Liberation Front: the battle for the "hearts and minds" of people in the villages.

No one can say whether the National Liberation Front would have launched an offensive this spring in any case. But no one who has followed the Vietnam tragedy closely could doubt that the National Liberation Front would have to react with offensive military action to this stepped-up pacification: the village is where they live, the peasants are the people on whose support they count, and it is natural that they will do anything they can to safeguard their "infra-structure" and to draw American troops into the military contest for bases, ridges, routes, and terrain which has caused so many casualties but which is largely irrelevant to what is at stake.

But for us it is time to give up the attempt to create allegiance through "security" enforced by outsiders. Too many successive Saigon governments and too many schemes of pacification or the physical destruction and, above all, the dislocation of literally millions of people has been dreadful to behold and was bound to create disaffection rather than support.

"revolutionary development" have failed, while

Occasionally, believable progress is reported, as in the area around Hue in recent weeks, due to a group of unusually competent, dedicated non-corrupt government cadre combined with growing distrust of the "Viet Cong" in the area. But even where village elders disapprove the Liberation Front, few will ever point out the local "liberation soldiers" — usually their own young people. The generation gap may lead to hot arguments, but villagers will rarely betray their own children and kinfolk to foreigners or to the remote government in Saigon whose soldiers and agents are often feared and distrusted.

Village Is Supreme

You cannot expect that in any society, let alone one where family structures are inclusive and sacred and the emperor's power has traditionally ended at the village gate. Therein lies the story of the Vietnam war. After all these years, it is sad to hear our civilian and military officers on the spot talk about the need for "just two more years" and their plans to strengthen the South Vietnamese army and governmental structures! That is exactly what French officers and administrators used to say when they created their "indigenous" army against the Communist-led independence movement. It was a lost cause then, and it still is.

It is true that there is strong anti-Communist feeling among certain groups in Vietnam, especially in the cities, but also among the 2 million peasant adherents of the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai sects. But that does not necessarily make even these groups into supporters of the essentially military government structure, except by tenuous alliances of convenience. Vietnamese intellectuals have long argued vehemently that it is a desperate error to force Vietnamese into a choice between the Viet Cong and "the generals" because it would force most of them into the Liberation Front which at least does not have to depend on foreigners. It is the continuing war that is gradually turning the country Communist. These people want to be given at least the chance of a choice.

This view is underscored by the recent protest against the present government by the very patriotic front on which the government has depended for political support since its formation after last year's Tet offensive! It was reflected by the unanimous appeal for an end of the war of South Vietnam's Roman Catholic Bishops of January 9, 1968, with its plea: "How can there be peace if those in responsible positions simply make 'flowery promises'; if laziness, dishonesty, corruption and robbery exist in all social classes . . . if good citizens lose faith in the nation's cause and even in themselves?"

The Saigon government recognizes the significance of this violent opposition from non-Communist sources, and this has reflected itself in increasing political oppression: suspension of newspapers, the arrest of labor unionists, of student and faculty leaders and, above all, of religious leaders, Roman Catholic, Buddhist, and others. In several speeches in February, President Thieu insisted that the government would "crush" any religious forces that advocated peace, a coalition, or a neutralist solution, that he would destroy priest and bonzes, if necessary.

Arrests And Assassinations

The arrest of Thich Thien Minh, leader of the Buddhist youth movement, was widely reported in the United States, as was his sentencing to ten years imprisonment. French papers reported the arrest of over 200 other Buddhist leaders the same weekend. Few Americans are aware that Thich Thien Minh had earlier been the object of an assassination attempt which the government then blamed on the Viet Cong. Both Americans and Vietnamese have reported from Saigon that they disbelieve the current evidence and the charges.

The arrest last Christmas Eve of Redemptorist Father Nguyen Ngoc Lan and 28 other Roman Catholic leaders was not widely reported, nor are Americans generally aware that even Republic of Vietnam government figures indicate that political arrests number in the tens of thousands. They should be aware! It is for the survival of that government that Americans kill and die.

There are other options. Vietnam has numbers of talented, well-trained and experienced civil servants and "technocrats," as well as political leaders who have not been tainted by the charges of corruption or devotion to special interests, who have largely withdrawn from the political process or left the country. The society is communal: not only are there strong regionalisms, but a variety of religious and ethnic as well as political groupings that command strong loyalties. It is the impression of the NCC delegation to Paris, as well as that of many observers in Saigon that "there are presently emerging in the Republic of Vietnam certain forces that are intensely nationalistic, not Communist, but which are also in strong opposition to the present regime in Saigon. . . . We believe that the present regime in Saigon does not represent many important segments even of that part of South Vietnam which it controls."

If peace is to be achieved by negotiation, then a broadly supported counterbalance to the Liberation Front needs to be encouraged: whether such a group would be able to hold its own against the Liberation Front, whether the many non-Communists in the Front (which is in itself a federation of three political parties) would join such forces, what role the Vietnam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces (whose prominent non-Communist leaders have been allowed by the National Liberation Front to present the voice of their urban sympathizers) would play—all of this will depend on the wisdom, ability, and persuasiveness of Vietnamese leaders. It would appear clear that there could be much popular support for a Saigon government that regards the making of peace as its first priority beyond what a government whose very survival depends on war can attract.

"Peace Cabinet" Might Help

A broadening or change of government in Saigon could come about, as it has so many times before, through a coup *d'état* or a series of coups *d'état*. But it may still be possible to achieve it through a deliberate bringing-in to the present constitutional structures of those currently under political proscription and persecution by the government. Most Vietnamese are so devoted to their country that this possibility cannot be discounted.

Would such a "peace cabinet", or any future "broadly based government of national union" have to be legitimized by an election? A popular ballot, "one man—one vote," is a distinct possibility and many leaders in political parties advocate this procedure. Skeptics will doubt whether the French type of party parliamentary system which was not persuasively successful in establishing stable government in France, could lead to anything but chaos, another civil war, or a takeover by the largest single group which, at present in Southern Vietnam, is clearly represented by the National Liberation Front. It is hard for Westerners to understand that what may ultimately be decisive—and politically quite adequate—is a national "mood," based on the recognition by the population at large that "the mandate of heaven" has been bestowed upon a certain leader or group of leaders. What matters is that none of the many diverse communities should suffer political or economic oppression or exploitation, and a communal federation of sorts might well be able to insure that: the various communities know well who their leaders are!

Would the National Liberation Front accept such a procedure and live within such a solution? Their printed documents and programs allow for full participation and freedom of all communities. Their rhetoric is inclusive only in the sense that it would welcome all political, religious, and ethnic groupings into a coalition that would carry out the published program of the National Lib-

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WASHINGTON COMMENT

AFTER THE HONEYMOON, WHAT?

by John W. Turnbull

The Rev. Mr. Turnbull is Associate Director of the Washington Office, National Council of Churches

Writing in the March 22 *New Yorker*, Richard Rovere says that the failure of the Nixon administration, after two months in office, to offer to the Congress and the people any general programs in the area of domestic policy is "odd in the extreme, and unprecedented in the modern history of the Presidency." After a couple of postponements, the unveiling of such a general program is now promised for mid-April. (A failure to meet his own stated deadlines has become almost a Presidential habit, notably and understandably on sensitive subjects in particular: the D.C. City Council appointments, the ABM decision, and the statement on campus unrest come immediately to mind.)

What might be called the "hundred days syndrome," made famous by Mr. Roosevelt in 1933, has certainly affected our assumptions about how a new President should behave, and it seems extraordinary that, as Mr. Rovere says, he should be "asking for nothing in the very period in which he could expect the most." In the time-honored cliche, the commentators have referred to this period as the President's political "honeymoon" — and the conventional political wisdom now is that "the honeymoon is over."

Mr. Nixon's measured pace seems especially incongruous in a time when a sense of crisis, not to say impending doom, is so pervasive, and when the style of most politicians' behavior seems to border on the frantic. But then, Mr. Nixon finally won the Presidency essentially by standing faithfully and stolidly by while his fellow-contenders wore themselves out: perhaps he believes he can not only survive his hard-won office but make it work for him and the country by a similar studious reserve. Certainly no one is likely to accuse Mr. Nixon of being lazy, unambitious, or "above politics," so we must look for a political meaning in his conduct of his office.

John Turnbull

What Domestic Program?

In search of a program, Mr. Rovere suggests a quite straightforward explanation of the Administration's failure to present a domestic program: it has not got one and never has had, and is still struggling to put one together.

If that is so, and the evidence certainly suggests that it is, then the difficulties the President and his advisers are having are doubtless not just technical or philosophical but political — the question being, where will a base of political support be found for this or that course of action? Where, for example, in a Congress controlled by the opposition party, will the necessary coalition form behind the Administration, and behind what kinds of proposals would it be likely to form? Given the uncertain state of public opinion, the fact that Mr. Nixon is a minority President, and the ominous feeling that's abroad that a radical left-and-right polarization of attitudes is in the making on several critical fronts, it is not surprising that Mr. Nixon has appeared to be picking his way very carefully down a very thorny path.

It is perhaps indicative of the temper of the time that a man apparently pursuing so moderate and cautious a course should end up not so much pleasing everybody a little, as disappointing everybody a little. Take the message on electoral reform, for example. Openly admitting that the proposal was a compromise put together to win as broad a base of support as possible, Mr. Nixon got a lukewarm reception from both the stand-patters and the reformers, both of whom saw the proposal as combining not so much the best features of their plans as the worst features of all.

Handful of Mavericks

Even more dramatically, the ABM decision, which represented a capitulation to neither the hawks nor the doves, does not seem to have stemmed much of the tide of complaint on either side. Certainly the military-hardware fans were not pleased by the relatively cautious "advances" that are to be made in missile deployment, even less by the shift in rationale for the system from city-defense to site-defense, which provides less ground for indefinite expansion.

On the other hand, though the teeth of some of the opposition were drawn by the scaling-down of the ABM plans, the opponents are showing remarkable resilience, and Congressional approval of the necessary appropriations is by no means a foregone conclusion. To be able to say even that much about a program alleged by the Administration to be vital to our national defense, points to another situation "odd in the extreme" — for the first time in memory more than just a handful of mavericks in Congress seem prepared to challenge the sanctity of the defense budget. The challengers now include some venerable Southern conservatives and some of the newest and most promising members of the President's own party. If it is so far not a terribly exciting Congress, it also does not appear to be a simply compliant one, and Mr. Nixon can certainly expect more trouble rather than less as he begins to send his legislation up.

Trying hard to avoid stalemate or even worse, rebellion on one front or another, the President evidently is betting on his capacity to remain flexible or, in the current jargon, "keep options open." The trouble with that posture from his point of view, and its merit from others, is that it leaves the field wide open for initiatives from elsewhere, putting the President in danger of becoming hardly more than a broker among contending factions.

Fractured Coalitions

A weak Presidency? The fracturing of old political coalitions, the massiveness and intractability of our national problems both domestic and foreign, and the built-in inertia of the Federal bureaucracy — all may be combining to shape a relatively "weak" Presidency more by historical circumstances than by anyone's conscious choice or even unconscious preference. By the same token, however, the opportunities are increased for successful political initiatives from elsewhere, at least on issues of relatively narrow scope.

The remarkable ascendance of the human issue on the national scene is a case in point. Hardly more than a matter of weeks ago, the executive agency responsible for food programs (the Department of Agriculture) seemed chiefly occupied with explaining its own incapacity to reshape these programs to meet the hunger crisis, while on the Hill, members of Congress, especially from areas where hunger is most acute, devoted their energies to denying that it existed.

Today the situation is quite different, thanks chiefly to quiet but strenuous efforts on the part of a few legislators and a few citizens. Both on the Hill and downtown, everyone is vying with everyone else to get on the bandwagon of an issue that suddenly has political mileage. (It has now received the ultimate badge of an issue's political viability: the trading of accusations that people are making "political capital" of it.) Indeed, the danger now may be that the issue will become so faddish as to overshadow longer-range attention to the fundamental causes and fundamental remedies of hunger.

Some Given Realities

It may be that the political center of gravity in the next four years is going to be more on the Hill than in the White House — more so than it has been in some time now. And the reasons have to do not just with the temperament and "image" of the President (who seems to arouse less emotion, positive or negative, than any holder of the office since maybe Coolidge) but importantly with some of the given realities of politics toward the end of the sixties.

Mr. Nixon's renunciation of extravagant promise-making both in his inaugural address and on other occasions expresses, of course, a good conservative instinct: a recognition of (some would say a fixation on) the limits on the possibilities of government or anyone else to resolve the whole range of human problems. Conservatives have always had a better grasp than Liberals of the built-in imperfections of the human condition (called Original Sin by theologians). When they have not simply used this insight as an excuse for inaction or, worse, for repressive action against those whom they too readily brand as threats to the fragile structure of social order, they have often edged society along toward more real progress than those have in whose rhetoric the celebration of progress or even revolution played a more conspicuous role.

Today, in addition, the pressures of a nation and a world in crisis are perhaps more likely to produce response at points in the political system less difficult to get a leverage on than the massive power (and concomitant immobility) of the Presidency. In this fact lies the challenge of this time to politicians and citizens alike.

it says here . . .

ABM CAN SPUR ARMS RACE, COFFIN WARNS

NEW HAVEN — (RNS) — The anti-ballistic missile (ABM) race will be to President Richard Nixon what the Vietnam war was to President Lyndon Johnson — "his undoing" — the Rev. William Sloane Coffin said here.

Mr. Coffin, Protestant chaplain of Yale University, has been a strong critic of U.S. Vietnam policy.

He attacked the anti-ballistic missile program as a "poor bargaining point" for world peace.

Mr. Coffin said that if the President is to be a peacemaker and not just a peace talker, he must "stop this minute-by-minute killing in Vietnam, and he has got to halt the arms race."

He added that a good way to do this would be for the Government to dismantle 100 Minuteman missiles and invite the Russians over to see them dismantled.

One of the "Boston Five," the clergyman was convicted with Dr. Benjamin Spock and others last year on charges of conspiring to urge young men to evade the draft. He is free on appeal.

POLITICAL AND MILITARY EXTREMISTS HIT

WASHINGTON, D.C. — (RNS) — Congressman George E. Brown (D.-Cal.) told a United Methodist gathering here that the United States is as likely as any other nation to make foreign policy mistakes.

The veteran lawmaker participated in a quadrennial convocation sponsored by the United Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns. In a series of hard-hitting remarks, Mr. Brown described the U.S. as a military nation in which major decisions are made by military men and policy judgments are based on the projected effect on national defense.

Foreign policy was one of several topics holding the attention of the delegates to the convocation. Another was extremism — of the right and left.

Dr. Franklin H. Littell, president of Iowa Wesleyan College, Mount Pleasant, and chairman of the Institute for American Democracy, warned against the dangers of extremes from both sides in the crises in cities and on U.S. campuses.

He said that churches and synagogues have a significant role in keeping the American system open for change through orderly processes while preserving maximum freedom for individuals and groups.

Citing some examples of extremism, Dr. Littell said: "While churchmen have neglected the needs and development of the police, the extremists of both right and left have been concentrating on them.

"The John Birch Society has disciplined cells in most of the major police forces of both cities and states and, in many of them, the rightist influence has become so strong that they are openly pushing books and pamphlets of a Facist character.

"On the other hand," he continued, "the Communists and the black extremists seek constantly to force confrontations which will provoke violence and discredit the police in the public eye."

The polarization process, said the Methodist educator, is nowhere more evident than on the campuses. To preserve a free, democratic society, he summoned the churches to action.

LIBERAL TO HEAD CONSERVATIVE SCHOOL

NEW YORK, N.Y. — (RNS) — The Rev. Dr. George W. Webber, an authority on the urban ministry, has been named president of New York Theological Seminary, long known as a stronghold of conservative Protestantism.

Dr. Webber's appointment reportedly was opposed by Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell, president between 1966 and the end of 1968, who has been critical of a strong emphasis on social action.

Dr. Webber has assumed the presidential post on a part-time basis until the beginning of the summer term.

He has been a professor at Union Theological Seminary. A United Church of Christ minister, he was a founder in 1948 of the famed East Harlem Protestant Parish here, an ecumenical experiment which has become a laboratory for urban ministries.

Four years ago he became director of the Metropolitan Urban Service Training project (MUST I), an ecumenical project which trains church and community groups. He left the post of director last year but continues with MUST, which has headquarters at New York Theological Seminary.

NEW YORK — The nation's first black Congresswoman, Mrs. Shirley Chisholm (D.-N.Y.) told a major meeting of Church Women United here that "the racism of the American economy" is the most persistent and dangerous enemy of America's black people. She warned the church women, here for CWU's Board of Managers meeting, that black people are no longer content with "tokenism, gradualism, and see-how-far-you-can-com-ism".

CHURCH PRESSURE GROWS TO REFORM ABORTION LAW

SYRACUSE, N.Y. — The New York State Council of Churches has joined a growing list of councils and denominations urging change in current abortion laws. However, the New York council has come out for repeal of all abortion laws, leaving the matter to individual conscience. According to press reports, the Council has recommended passage of a bill introduced by an Assemblyman from Ithaca repealing all New York laws on abortion. The bill is given little chance of passage at this session, but the New York State Council of Churches has broken new ground in its support of a total-repeal proposal.

IOWA GOVERNOR BACKS LIBERAL ABORTION LAW

DES MOINES — (RNS) — Iowa's new governor, Robert D. Ray, has expressed support for legalized abortions in specified instances.

In his inaugural address, Gov. Ray said, "In order to protest a mother's health, prevent the birth of a defective child, or end a pregnancy caused by rape or incest, abortions should be legalized under strict medical supervision."

An abortion bill failed to get out of committee at the 1967 session. At that time, the Iowa Medical Society had not announced its stand. The Iowa Council of Churches and the Iowa Civil Liberties Union support liberalization of the law.

FIVE CHURCHES IN JOINT ACTION FOR CHANGE

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. — "Maximum leverage for change" is the name of the game in Northern California, where five denominations have joined forces in order to shape the future of society. The five, all members of the Northern California Council of Churches, are the area units of the United Methodist Church, the United Church of Christ, the Episcopal and American Baptist Churches and the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. Each denomination is pledged to pool all its urban work in the Northern California area. Said to be the most widely-based interdenominational Protestant urban agency, the five-church social action grouping will be directed by the Rev. Robert Davidson of Chicago. Mr. Davidson has been active in Chicago urban planning and the training of churchmen of churchmen for urban change activities. Predicting that the average Northern California church member may get somewhat anxious as the action group deals with areas of controversy, Mr. Davidson called for faith from church members, courage from pastors, and insight from denominational leaders. The new urban-work agency of the five denominations is titled the Joint Strategy and Action Commission of the Northern California Council of Churches.

A MEMORY FROM ANOTHER YEAR — When Dwight Eisenhower died Friday, March 27, the nation mourned, as the New York Times put it, "with a sense of loss but not of tragedy . . . of sorrow but not of desolation . . . of nostalgia but not of despair." As he belonged to all Americans, he also belonged in a special way in the hearts and memories of a few thousand church people who watched him apply mortar to the cornerstone of The Interchurch Center, in New York City, October 12, 1958. He performed this incidental act in a long and useful career with the grace and easy generosity of spirit that were so characteristic of him, and which this photo truly captured.

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(Continued from page 7)

assassinated by the NLF. What we see and hear is the bombardment of thousands of tons of bombs and whole villages destroyed. We cannot understand the massiveness and intent of such destruction. We hear the U.S. government contend that it comes to Vietnam to defend us. When we hear those words and we see such horror, we cannot understand. It is so tragic.

So many Americans ask, "What can one person do?" What kinds of things can you list for me which are most helpful from your standpoint?

I think that the first thing, and the most important thing that you can do is to inform people about the Vietnam problem. If you would like to inform people you must have the information from Vietnam. The true realities, but not them from only one side.

What is the best source of information? The best movies, the best books, do you think?

It's difficult to say because in each book there are some very good things, but other things that are not true. They are ideological to their political system. And it is very difficult to find a book which really presents the problem of Vietnam. I see only one good book, written by a Vietnamese, the book of Nhat Hanh, *(Vietnam, Lotus in a Sea of Fire)*.

In general journalists here have ignored the struggle of many peace movements, the third force. Do you know that since August, 1968, twenty-five thousand students from Saigon have struggled for peace. Nobody speaks about them. Few peace movements in the world support them. Why? You know about the great battles. Everybody speaks about the great battles. But the peace movement—the many peace movements since 1964 in South Vietnam—and people ignore.

What other kind of support could an individual give? I want you to be specific.

I mentioned the need to find and share information. Secondly, you can help provide material support for people who work for the relief of suffering in South Vietnam. We now have about four million refugees. We need many things to help such people. The government does nothing for them. ■

TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES

With Harvey G. Cox

Reviewing THE THOMAS CROWN AFFAIR

with Faye Dunaway and Steve McQueen

SINCE I missed *The Thomas Crown Affair* its first time around, I caught it on a recent jaunt to Granville, Ohio — a town I heartily recommend as a grand place to catch old movies. I wanted to see it for a number of reasons. First, it was made in Boston and my daughter's fourth grade class was let out early one day to witness the filming on Beacon Hill. (If I'd known, I would have dismissed my theology seminar as well.) Also, the critics had acclaimed its inventive camera work and composition. Besides, ever since Faye Dunaway collapsed over the wheel riddled with bullets in *Bonnie and Clyde* I have not needed much of an excuse to watch her. So I saw *The Thomas Crown Affair* in the heartland of America in a theatre that used to be a Baptist Church.

Too bad. *The Affair* was not really worth the expedition to Granville. True, the multiple screen photography is arresting and, by and large, not overdone. The shots of Back Bay, Cape Cod, Beacon Hill and Anthony's Pier Four were picturesque. Even the Massachusetts Turnpike looked good in full color. Faye Dunaway was bewitching in the twenty-six separate ensembles she wore. But something was missing. What?

Acting and a story, that's what. Although a well photographed movie can do a lot, it's got to have *something* else going for it or you catch yourself glancing at your watch (i.e. when Miss Dunaway is not decorating the screen). This movie has none of these standard components. The plot is incredible: a fortyish Boston banker who organizes bank robberies to stave off boredom when he tires of flying his glider or zooming through the sand in his beach car. Even more improbably, the film asks us to believe that Faye Dunaway, arriving at Logan Airport in a flesh-tight microskirt and carthweel shades, is an insurance investigator. I know type-casting is wrong, but this is ridiculous. Unless the whole thing is a put-on which may just possibly be the case.

Predictably the lady private eye falls for her quarry and we are treated to an awkward studio rewrite of the bizarre cop-and-suspect conversation Dostoyevsky created for Raskolnikov, and conjured again by Norman Mailer in *An American Dream*. We know McQueen and Dunaway are playing games at three or four levels — hinting, covering up, dissembling. And in the hands of a skillful script writer this part of the film could have soared. Instead it nosedives. Even such a competent actress as Miss Dunaway cannot help appearing silly. McQueen never has a chance.

There are some choice scenes, including a chess game which recreates the erotic tension and playfulness of the famous eating sequence in *Tom Jones*; and a well paced depiction of the first robbery. But it's just not enough. *The Thomas Crown Affair* proves that even with the grooviest camera work available and two handsome people to watch, a movie doesn't make it if the writers are inept.

Incidentally, whatever happened to the old convention which required the criminal to get his come-uppance at the end? I always thought it was a stupid rule and those who sympathize with the civil liberties of crooks will be delighted to know that in this post-production-code epic Thomas Crown gets away scot free. In the last frame he is sipping a martini in a Europe bound jet. Crime does pay—if you're a Beacon Hill bank robber. As for special agent Dunaway, she did better when she was robbing banks instead of chasing bank robbers. Maybe she should go back to it.

THE CHANCE FOR PEACE

(Continued from page 8)

eration Front. But this may well be a negotiatable point. It is well to remember that the published program of the "Alliance" does not differ materially from that of the National Liberation Front, nor does that of the Buddhist Socialist Bloc in Vietnam as published in Paris in behalf of the United Buddhist Church, and even an appeal to their church by a group of Vietnamese Catholics to "speak and look to the future," while it is held to broad outlines, would not seem to be in conflict. It is urgent that other Vietnamese groups should present their programs now, for consideration.

Moreover, it is important to note that Jean Lacouture in *Vietnam: Between Two Truces* reports that years ago at the Indo-China Peoples' Conference in Phnom Penh the Liberation Front was debating hotly with the leadership of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam over the right to establish a broad coalition not controlled by the party apparatus. The NCC delegation in Paris gained the impression that this right has been conceded to them. They also gained the impression that all Vietnamese parties are motivated by an overriding, and passionate nationalism. While many years ago different men chose different paths to achieve independence for their country, there is hope in the fact that all of them have their nation's welfare at heart, that many of the leaders know each other well, and that the recently reported fact that the South Vietnamese have sent an officer to join their delegation in Paris whose brother is serving the delegation on the other side does not reflect an exceptional situation by any means! Nor can we exclude the possibility that off-the-record negotiations have been going on in Paris, in Saigon, or elsewhere that might well include all Vietnamese parties to the conflict, as well as "neutralists."

Mr. Elston is Director of Vietnam and Asian Affairs, Dept. of International Affairs, National Council of Churches. He has been to Vietnam three times in the last two years, and last January was a member of the NCC delegation to Paris mentioned in the article.

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Three Faith Groups Support Historic Suit

ON OBJECTING TO UNJUST WARS

by Dean M. Kelley

IN a "friend-of-the-court" brief filed in the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, in San Francisco, the National Council of Churches urged the Court to rule in favor of two Roman Catholic boys and eleven priests who have filed suit against the Selective Service System. The two young men, James McFadden and Leslie Bowen, have been denied classification as conscientious objectors because they are not pacifists.

They ask the Court to rule that they are entitled to CO status on the basis of their "religious training and belief" in the Roman Catholic "just war" tradition. If they are not entitled to CO status, they ask the Court to declare Section 6 (j) of the Uniform Military Training and Service Act unconstitutional, because it favors adherents of "peace churches" (Quakers, etc.) at the expense of Roman Catholics and others who believe it is wrong to participate in "unjust wars," though they may participate in "just wars."

SAN FRANCISCO — Interreligious representatives discuss at news conferences here, implications of suit by eleven Roman Catholic priests and several Catholic laymen to effect changes in draft laws that would redefine and broaden concept of conscientious objectors. Aim of the suit: to legally recognize position of those who object to compulsory war service in wars considered "unjust." From left: The Rev. Dean M. Kelley, of the National Council of Churches and author of the report on this page, and James McFadden who is threatened with prosecution for counselling others to obey their consciences in applying historic Catholic doctrine of the "just war" to the conflict in Vietnam.

In Jeopardy Under Law

The eleven priests have petitioned the Court to restrain the U.S. Attorney from prosecuting them for counseling young men to obey their consciences in applying the Roman Catholic doctrine of the "just war" to the Vietnam conflict. They consider that the recent conviction of Yale Chaplain William Sloane Coffin and others for counseling resistance to the draft proves that they are in jeopardy under the present law if Catholic "just war" objectors are not eligible for alternate (non-military) service as COs. Their suit was filed last May and was dismissed by the Federal District Court on the ground that the two boys had not exhausted their remedies within the Selective Service System and the priests had not been prosecuted. The priests contend that the law itself has a "chilling effect" upon their freedom to counsel young men according to the teaching of their Church.

The eleven priests are: the Rt. Rev. John Tracy Ellis, professor of Church History, University of San Francisco, president, American Society of Church History, and president, American Catholic Historical Association; the Rev. William J. O'Donnell, assistant pastor, St. Joachim's Church, Hayward, chaplain of the Newman Club, Chabot College, Oakland; the Rev. Peter J. Riga, professor of Theology, St. Mary's College; the Rev. Joseph R. Sonntag, O.F.M. (Franciscan) appointed by Provincial of Franciscan Order on the West Coast to counsel on draft matters; and the Rev. Dominic De Domenico, O.P. (Dominican) assigned to the Church of Sacred Heart, San Francisco.

Also, the Rev. Robert Brophy, S.J. (Society of Jesus), former chaplain and professor at University of San Francisco; the Rev. James Edward Straukamp, S.J. (Society of Jesus) assistant professor of history, California State College, Hayward, Cal.; the Rev. Francis Bauer, O.F.M. (Franciscan) doctoral student, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, Cal.; the Rev. N. Ronald Lambers, S.J. (Society of Jesus) assigned to social action project in San Jose, Cal.; the Rev. Eugene Schallert, S.J. (Society of Jesus), professor, University of San Francisco; and the Rev. Rod Garvey, C.S.R. formerly chaplain to St. Mary's College, Cal.

Another plaintiff is Thomas Maloney, divinity student at Alma College, Los Altos, Cal.

The case is on appeal to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, seeking an order for a three-judge Court to decide the Constitutional issue. Since the suit was begun, Leslie Bowen has refused induction and has been indicted for his refusal.

Several *amicus* briefs have been filed with the Circuit Court on behalf of the Catholic appellants, including one by the American Friends Service Committee and one by three Jews. Thus, members of all three faith-groups are seeking a broadening of the "conscientious objector" provision to include objectors to the current war. They feel men should be asked to decide their stand on the basis of the war in which they are actually called to serve, irrespective of their views in regard to some "hypothetical future war".

First Brief in SS Case

The *amicus* brief by the National Council of Churches is the first such brief to be filed in a selective service case, and the first on any subject for some of the denominations. The National Council is composed of thirty-three Protestant and Orthodox denominations which have an aggregate membership of 42,500,000. Six of those denominations have joined in the brief in their own right: The American Baptist Convention, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), the Lutheran Church in America, the Reformed Church in America, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., and the United Church of Christ. Each of these denominations has supported the position of conscientious objection to a particular war. Only objectors to participation in *all* wars are exempted from military service by U.S. law, as presently defined.

The McFadden case seeks to broaden that definition. The church groups hope by their formal intervention to demonstrate that there is widespread interest in the plight of young men who cannot conscientiously participate in the present war, yet who are denied the exemption given pacifists because of a difference in theological doctrines about the justifiability of war.

Fundamental Questions

Roman Catholic doctrine has held since the Fifth Century that adherents may not participate in unjust wars, though they may participate in just wars. The just war may be distinguished from the unjust through the application of such criteria as these:

1. Is the war declared by proper authority?
2. Is the evil to be avoided greater than the actual or potential evil resulting from the war?
3. Is the war defense against an unjust aggression?
4. Can the war achieve its intended end?
5. Have all means of peaceful resolution of the conflict been exhausted? etc.

Each Catholic has an obligation to apply these criteria to any conflict in which he is expected to participate. If he finds the war to be unjust, he is obliged to obey his conscience and to refuse to participate in it, even if this refusal entails disobedience of civil authority.

This is the same stance of conscience which many (but not all) Quakers and adherents of other "peace churches" take toward *all* wars. The Universal Military Training and Service Act, Section 6 (j) exempts them from military service but requires them to perform alternate civilian service that benefits the nation.

Appellants contend that they cannot be adjudged guilty of a felony (refusing to perform military service) for which other citizens (absolute pacifists) are held guiltless under the law, when the only difference between their exercise of conscience and the pacifists' is theological.

Although many Roman Catholics do not have conscientious scruples about fighting in the current conflict, *some* do. The Catholic bishops of the U.S. issued a statement in November encouraging those who object to such participation to obey their consciences. The appellants' brief makes the point that if such objectors are not entitled to exemption and are therefore compelled to refuse induction, the U.S. Department of Justice should begin prosecuting all of the 180 Catholic bishops, archbishops and cardinals of the U.S. for counseling resistance to the draft.

The NCC brief reviews the many cases in which the courts have recognized the rights of conscience and concludes:

> *If the First Amendment protects citizens in their conscientious refusal to work on Sunday, to stand up for the singing of The National Anthem, to repeat the pledge of allegiance to the flag, to dance in co-educational couples, or to affirm their belief in God, how much more important it is that the First Amendment should protect them in their conscientious refusal to take human life.*

The *amicus* brief was drawn up by Charles H. Tuttle of Breed, Abbott and Morgan, New York City, General Counsel of the National Council of Churches.

The Rev. Mr. Kelly is Director for Religious and Civil Liberties, National Council of Churches.

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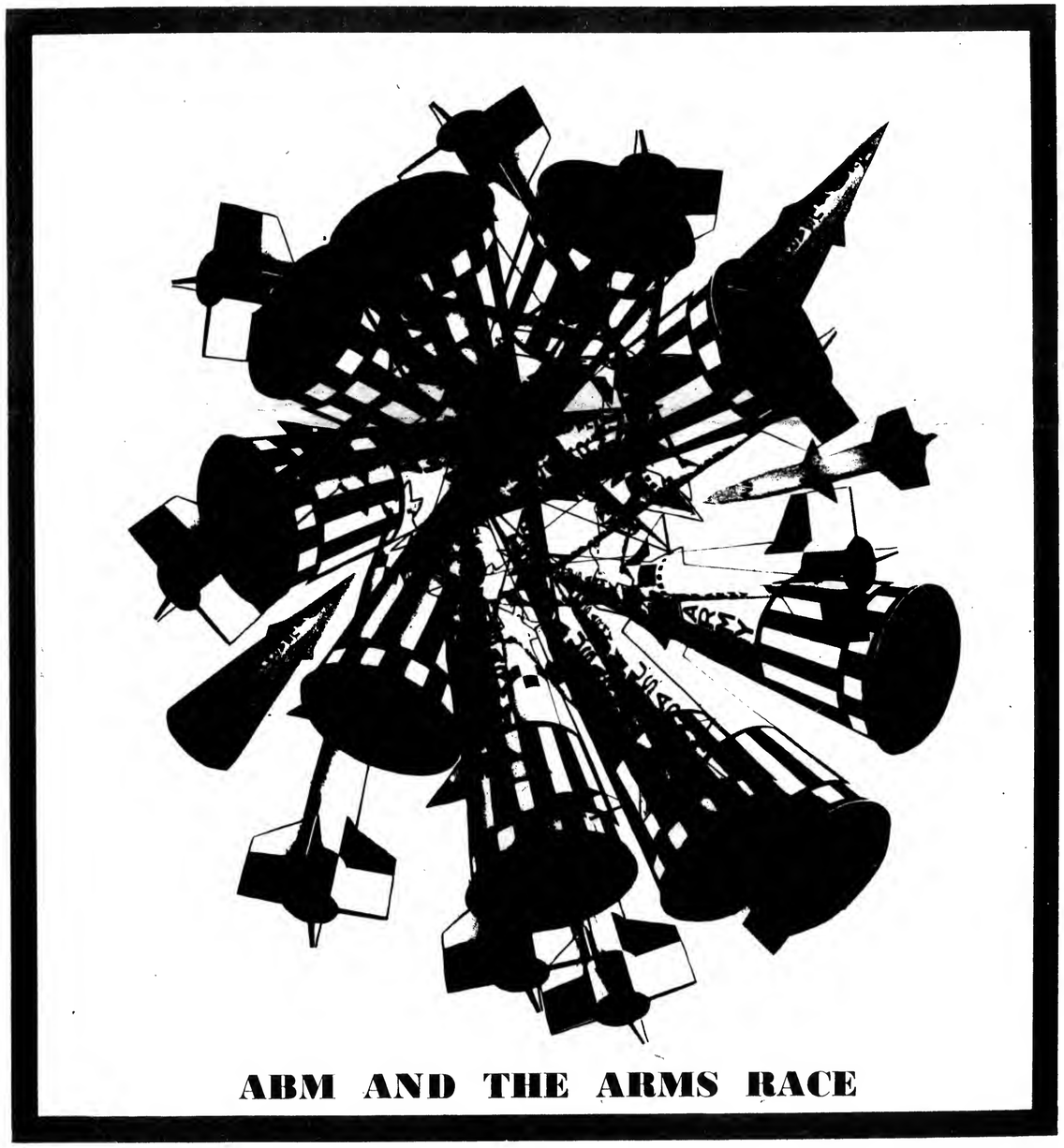
In Pace
With The
Changing Church



ABM AND THE ARMS RACE

TEMPOsitions . . .

History's Dirty Secret

by Martin E. Marty

EVEN where there is no consensus, men can act. Sometimes an individual will find that he cannot change an immoral law or end an unjust war. But he cannot himself be an accomplice. One may argue: can you be pure, if all the rest are impure? But he can spread his concept of the pure by defying what he sees to be wrong. He does not begin by seeing the social consequences of his act so much as the conscientious necessity for taking it. Yet others are moved.

The gesture allows for a man to take the way of the cross when society does not allow for it. He may have to be a victim. Yet his action, like that of the persecuted before him, can awaken the conscience of others. The man of the gesture is already a man of the future; he lives where he hopes others will as time passes. He may seem to be isolated, but if he acts in the context of a community, a social purpose can be implied in the gesture of the lonely.

The Power Of Witness

Gesture speaks out of community to community, witness is, in this context, gesture in the plural. It is a representation of community. Witness is superior to gesture theologically. . . .

Witness may take the form of (such) public testimony, argument, demonstration, and non-violent non-cooperation. Through such actions, people become responsible to each other in their attempt to bring about change. They recognize that existing parties and organizations are part of the system and will not be likely to help effect change. Witness' approach to power lies somewhere between persuasion and aggression; it implies at least minimal organization, knowing that the defense of the existing pattern is organized and is responsive only to counterforce.

Being Forceful Without Force

When the Church becomes "forceful," it has moved beyond gesture and witness in that it seeks immediate change and cannot wait for long and quiet awakening of conscience, but . . . it also cannot count on a coalition which could form an immediate majority. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference under Martin Luther King developed this technique further than it had previously been developed in the United States. Since it insists on non-violent means, it does not set out to play God, as some of the pro-violent minorities inspired by Herbert Marcuse do. Recognizing that majority conscience is hard to summon for support without direct action, this forceful means seeks to effect immediate change by conscience appeals, demonstrations, boycotts.

Violence

Once again, history's dirty secret comes to the fore. A summary may be in order. The Christian can never write an a priori defense of violence because violence means potentially depriving another of life and thus violating the law of God. In this reading, killing even in self-defense is not to be justified but occurs only when an "ethic of distress" is operative. In the statements of the Sermon on the Mount, the Church's most sustained recall of Christ's teaching on such subjects, no allowance is made for defense of self or nation.

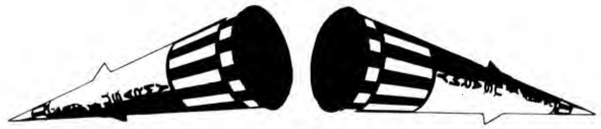
While no defense in advance or no programmed violence is tolerable, the Christian recognizes that the line between non-violence and violence is relative and not absolute; there are more ways than one of killing, as Christ himself recognized in his diagnoses and proscription of hate. And when counteractive violence occurs, it takes its root in a violence already on the scene; the new force has not introduced but has met violence.

For all these reasons, we place violence last, as a last resort and not as a justifiable option, even though it may necessarily be utilized in extreme situations and when all other recourse has given out. It is part of the technique of brinkmanship which the non-violent and which all people in politics employ, though successful political agents do so with restraint. Sometimes the threat of violence prepares a climate wherein non-violent action becomes a relief, a tolerant, welcomed, and effective instrument. Without the threat, no change would be foreseeable.

Martin E. Marty

The language of violence, when this means killing, would inevitably have to be de-escalated in the Christian vocabulary. The penultimate words are conflict and separation, the ultimate words for Christians are peace and reconciliation. When people habitually resort to the threat of violence, they also threaten the permanent breakdown of community and thus defeat some of their own purposes. Non-violent and other kinds of political action also leave scars, but not necessarily permanent wounds. Recall? We are not looking for Utopia, but for a usable future.

From "The Search For A Usable Future" by Martin E. Marty, Professor of Modern Church History, University of Chicago Divinity School. Published by Harper and Row (1969 - $4.95).



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A First-Time Dialogue On Common Concerns And Old Frictions

NCC MISSION TO THE VATICAN

By The Rev. Robert A. Graham, S.J. (via Religious News Service)

"SIMPLE consultations with no implementation" is the description by one participant of the two-day meeting with Vatican spokesmen and with the Pope by a delegation representing the National Council of Churches in the United States.

This is a diplomatic understatement.

It is true that the discussions remained in the sphere of pure dialogue without any agreed consensus. Yet the framework of the exchange marks it as more than just an episode in the history of Protestant-Catholic relations in the United States.

It was the Vatican's first formal introduction to the ecumenical problem as it exists in America. It also set the stage for other ecumenical moves both in the United States and on the international scene.

In the carefully drafted address to Pope Paul, Dr. Robert K. Marshall, president of the Lutheran Church in America, reviewed the religious history of the country and the relation of the Churches to the national life. After alluding to past tensions between Catholics and Protestants, he pointed to the working group founded three years ago by the National Council and the U.S. Catholic Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs.

He announced that another group has been formed to study the relationships of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and the National Council.

SUCCESSFUL INITIATIVE

If the Rome "consultations" were planned as preparation for the work of this new study group the initiative could not have succeeded better.

The delegation from the United States consisted of six churchmen in high National Council and denominational posts. These were joined on invitation by two Catholic representatives officially dealing with ecumenical matters in the name of the American Catholic bishops.

Their opposites included representatives of the Vatican's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity and also representatives of other Vatican organs. These included members of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, the Secretariat of State and other Vatican agencies dealing with such ecumenically related questions as education, missionary activity, development and peace.

The discussions were interrupted in the middle of the second day for the papal audience at which Paul VI, in a prepared discourse commented with appreciation on various points suggested by the address of Dr. Marshall and also suggested by the agenda being discussed by the group elsewhere.

Observers commented after the meeting that the agenda, whether by accident or design, dwelt as much on common concerns of both Catholics and Protestants as on points of friction that divide the Churches.

A matter of obvious satisfaction on the part of the Unity Secretariat was the active presence of other Vatican spokesmen. This, in their eyes, had the advantage of officially underlining that the ecumenical problem is not the sole concern of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity but should pervade the thinking of other Vatican circles as well. The peculiar American problems of ecumenism were regarded as important to bring to the attention of the Vatican leadership.

The discussions followed an agenda prepared in advance by the National Council delegation. They included the following questions: problems of authority and the "underground church," the development of church councils at state and local levels, mixed marriages, the impact of ecumenism in America at the international level, common seminary education, Jewish-Christian relations and diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

UNDERGROUND CHURCH TOPIC

According to participants the discussions were pertinent and irenic, but everyone regretted that shortage of time did not permit fuller discussion.

One particularly absorbing topic, it appears, dealt with the challenge of the so-called underground churches, defined as practices often ecumenical in nature carried on outside the knowledge and without the sanction of the "official Church."

The problem of church leadership in face of these manifestations that are on the one hand faddish and on the other so widespread as to be symptomatic of something significant in the religious field, affects both Catholic and Protestant institutional structures.

Rev. Dr. Robert J. Marshall

Rev. John W. Williams

Bishop James K. Mathews

Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy

Rev. Dr. Robert Dodds

Rt. Rev. John E. Hines

Linked with the stirrings in the new generation is the question of the possible need to modify church life in America in its traditional relationship to society around it. This issue was cited by Dr. Marshall in the papal audience. Those with an eye to the experiments of small Christian groups today speculate that these have a revolutionary plan perhaps destined to reform church life as has happened through similar movements in the past. What should be the attitude of the official church leaders in the face of such a challenge, asked the participants of each other — naturally without any conclusion.

The worldwide, church-sponsored aid and development programs originating in the United States also came under consideration. The Pope himself alluded to this when he said that the witness of the American ecumenical spirit, activities and attitudes is not confined to their own country. "The relations between Roman Catholics and Protestants in the United States," he said, "have in many ways implications for the general ecumenical and — we would add — missionary movements throughout the world."

A special group of the World Council of Churches is already concerned with this problem but the unique nature and scope of U.S. church activities abroad suggests the need for coordination and cooperation closer to home on a specifically American basis.

OTHER TOPICS IN FOCUS

Theological education today is another common concern. Various current projects for Catholic-Protestant cooperation, even for mixed theological seminaries, were reviewed.

Catholic spokesmen, it is reported, stressed the peculiar importance for the Catholic Church of the religious formation of the theological student, particularly at the undergraduate level.

Also stressed was the search for common approaches to theology and the problem of widespread "dissatisfaction" with traditional theological emphases which seem not relevant to the contemporary scene. The relations of theologians and church officials were also briefly discussed, according to one source.

An important and detailed report by Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, general secretary of the National Council, on the rapid growth of church councils embracing Catholic membership occasioned further discussion.

The question of mixed marriage was set forth by one of the participants but, according to later information, time was lacking for more than a basic exposition of the problem. Among comments solicited by the presentation was the suggestion that the problem of mixed marriages needs clearer thinking on the theology of marriage itself.

Though the delegation of the National Council was earlier reported in the press to wish to discuss particularly the question of Vatican-U.S. diplomatic relations, it is said that the matter of such relations had a low priority and was discussed only briefly.

One member of the NCC delegation ventured the opinion afterwards, on the basis of the views expressed, that the National Council would be perhaps willing to restudy the whole question in the light of current conditions in the ecumenical and political scene.

The Protestant visitors were: Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, general secretary of the National Council of Churches; United Methodist Bishop James K. Mathews of Boston; Dr. Robert J. Marshall, president of the Lutheran Church in America; Presiding Bishop John E. Hines of the Episcopal Church; the Rev. John W. Williams, vice-president of the Baptist World Alliance and Dr. Robert Dodds, director of Ecumenical Affairs of the NCC.

Accompanying the group were Catholic Bishop Ernest L. Unterkoefler of Charleston, S.C., and Msgr. Bernard Law, director of the U.S. Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs. ■

Are Non-Believers Really Believers After All?

RELIGION CONFRONTS IRRELIGION:

A Dialogue On Unbelief

by Religious News Service

THE idea that our time is one of widespread non-belief—a common theme of sermons, editorial comments, seminars and dialogues—is coming in for widespread re-examination with interesting results.

While the new approach of believers to non-believers is still only in its earliest stages, two basic concepts are emerging and finding acceptance:

—That, as among the "separated brethren" of the Christian traditions, the points which unite believers and non-believers are often more significant than those which divide.

—That, under some definitions at least, the number of non-believers seems to be extremely small, though the variety of phenomena which might be called "belief" is bewilderingly large.

At a discussion held under the auspices of a university and a Vatican secretariat, a group of some 30 scholars, Protestant, Roman Catholic and Marxist, subjected the phenomena of non-belief to penetrating and many-sided scrutiny. While it raised more questions than it answered (as it was probably intended to do), the meeting made a substantial beginning toward working out a religious approach to the question of non-belief.

It also gave one of the most startling illustrations yet of the new openness of the Vatican to ideas and activities which would have been "unthinkable" a decade ago.

Professor Harvey G. Cox (LEFT) of Harvard Divinity School and Father Henri de Lubac, French Jesuit theologian, were among international group who participated in symposium on "The Culture of Non-Belief," held recently at the Vatican in Rome.

The questions considered at the international symposium on "The Culture of Non-Belief," sponsored jointly by the Vatican Secretariat for Non-Believers and the Sociology Department of the University of California at Berkeley, were treated in a basically academic style. But the participants in the discussion, held at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome with audiences of up to 4,000 for some of the public discussions, were clearly aware that belief and non-belief are matters of more than academic interest.

Widely discussed in recent books and articles, these questions are also a matter of deep concern to countless individuals.

Chiefly A Western 'Crisis'

One of the points that emerged in the symposium is that the "problem of belief" arises intensely only in the monotheistic religions of the West and Middle East—virtually not at all in some forms of Buddhism, Taoism and many other religions of the Far East.

Professor Robert Bellah of Berkeley, who noted that this is chiefly a Western crisis, traced it back to the Greek philosophers who significantly influenced Christian and Islamic thought and whose logical categories have dominated both theology and science in the West until very recent times.

" 'Unbelief,' like 'theology,' is a product of the Greek mind, one might almost say, of the mind of Plato," Dr. Bellah noted. "It is in Book X of the 'Laws' that Plato argues for necessary theological beliefs: the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the moral government of the world. Unbelief in these propositions is a crime and punishable with five years of solitary confinement for a first offense and death for a second.

"The problems of 'unbelief' arose with the first stratum of free intellectuals to appear in human history."

The Role of Literacy

Today as in ancient Greece, Dr. Bellah observed, the problem of belief remains associated with a particular class—that of "self-conscious intellectuals." It has become widespread now, whereas it was restricted to relatively small groups in the past, because of the growth of mass literacy.

Several speakers at the symposium said, however, that the ideas produced by these "self-conscious intellectuals" are not truly "non-belief" but merely a different form, system or expression of beliefs—based ultimately, to a large degree, on the same Greek foundations.

One Catholic scholar, Father Herve Carrier of the Gregorian University, commented that "for the Secretariat for Non-Believers, the crucial point is this: Is humanity divided into believers and non-believers, or are all men believers though they may think and believe differently?"

Many participants upheld the opinion that belief and religion cannot be considered coextensive—that religion is far more than a system of creedal propositions which call for assent and that belief exists not only outside of the Churches but even among those who do not accept the concept of the supernatural.

The Great Marxist Myth

It was noted at the symposium that Marxists, like Christians and Moslems, also form a part of the Greek tradition that has experienced the "problem of belief" in its purest and most acute forms. Dr. Bellah said that Marxists, despite their denunciation of religion, "live in the grip of a great archetypal myth."

At a reception for the participants in the symposium, during which he expressed his approval for continuing research on non-belief, Pope Paul VI gave a working definition of what the term means to his secretariat: "Those attitudes of negation which modern man assumes—whether in cultural expressions, in sociological and political terms, or in practical and unthinking ways—with regard to that religion which believes in a transcendental, personal God, the beginning and end of the entire universe, including man."

Playing rhetorically with another definition, however, he said that he, too, is a "non-believer" because he does not believe "that the development of modern thought leads of necessity to the denial of God."

One recent book on the problem of belief, "The Religious Significance of Atheism" by Alasdair MacIntyre and Paul Ricoeur (Columbia University Press), makes several pertinent points:

—That most well-known atheist thinkers have basically rejected only one concept of God—Bertrand Russell, for example, the God of Sir Isaac Newton; Jean-Paul Sartre, the God of Leibnitz.

—That a far more prevalent form of non-belief is that of "the secularized unbeliever, who sees no point in actually denying the existence of God because he never saw any point in affirming it in the first place."

In the contemporary context, Mr. MacIntyre believes, the disagreements between theism and atheism have become "culturally marginal."

"Almost all the great skeptics and atheists of the modern Western world have been morally conservative, often intensely so," he writes.

Theism And Atheism

Mr. Ricoeur, speaking as a Christian (as distinguished from Mr. MacIntyre's "anthropological" approach), emphasizes both the contrasts and the interactions of theism and atheism more than does Mr. MacIntyre. In his view, both Freud and Nietzsche (the originator of the "God is Dead" slogan) have developed atheistic systems whose confrontation with religion will ultimately strengthen and purify it by making it find new, more vital forms.

Some similar hope must have inspired the formation of a secretariat at the Vatican for dialogue with non-believers and undoubtedly was prominent among the motives of the Protestant and Catholic scholars who joined in the international symposium on non-belief, described by Vatican spokesmen as the first event of its kind ever held.

The chairman of the five-day discussion was one of America's most prominent young sociologists, Peter Berger of the New School of Social Research. Other American Protestant scholars at the symposium included Dr. Harvey Cox of the Harvard Divinity School and Dr. Martin Marty of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago.

If it achieved no more than to illustrate that non-belief is a phenomenon as varied as belief, the symposium certainly will stand as a landmark in the history of religion's approach to irreligion. But another accomplishment, most promising for the future development of dialogue, was the meeting's frequent return to the idea that men considered non-believers share many metaphysical concerns with believers

Prof. Bellah stressed in particularly strong terms the centrality of belief in human life.

"The conclusion grows ever stronger," he said, "that religion is a part of the species life of man, as central to his self-definition as speech." ■

ABM AND THE MAD MOMENTUM OF THE ARMS RACE

Written for TEMPO

BY LEONARD S. RODBERG

THE American public in the last decade has been presented with the possibility for four "gaps which ostensibly could destroy the confidence we possess in our national security. The first three have now been admitted by the Defense Department to have been non-existent or greatly exaggerated; the fourth, currently being used to support the case for an anti-ballistic missile (or ABM) system, will probably prove to be just as unreal.

A good military man will always make a conservative judgment of his opponent's capabilities and plan accordingly. Unfortunately, in an era of rapidly changing technology and vast institutions which support it, this time-worn policy leads, not to greater security, but to an ever-expanding arms race and ever-diminishing safety for the nation.

In 1960 we were told that there would soon be a "missile gap" between this country and the Soviet Union. If we did not enter upon a crash program of missile-building, the Soviet Union would soon have a preponderance of missile power and would have us at her mercy. As a result, we built nearly two thousand intercontinental missiles, each capable of destroying a city. By the time we completed this program, we learned that the Soviet Union had built no more than several hundred missiles, and Secretary of Defense McNamara has testified that, in retrospect, it is clear that we built far too many ourselves.

Several years ago we were told that the Soviet Union was building an extensive anti-missile system which would threaten our ability to retaliate in the event of nuclear attack from Russia. We entered upon a $5 billion program to upgrade our ICBMs, introducing enlarged boosters which could each carry up to ten individually-guided nuclear warheads. Now that this program is underway, it turns out that the Soviet Union is not building a large ABM system after all but has only installed a small system around Moscow, and Pentagon authorities assert that we can already penetrate this system with ease. But the new program goes on.

During the past two years two new "gaps" have been used to justify the deployment of an ABM system costing, initially, between $5 and $10 billion but leading ultimately to a system which could cost as much as several hundred billion dollars. First we were told that the Chinese were rapidly developing an intercontinental missile capacity, and we had to build the Sentinel ABM system to intercept any Chinese ICBMs that might be launched by a Chinese "madman." Now however, it has turned out that the Chinese program has not developed as rapidly as we had expected—and, indeed, is no further along than it was two years ago — but the Pentagon has come up with another rationale to justify our proceeding with the deployment of an ABM system.

President Nixon announced in mid-March that he was ordering the go-ahead on a revised system — which he renamed the Safeguard system—to protect our land-based missiles against a recently-discovered buildup in Russian missile power. Again the Defense Department has looked into the future (this time, to 1975) and foreseen a massive Soviet missile-building program which demands that we respond by constructing a defense for our missiles. After the past performance of the Pentagon, and in light of the circumstances of the revelation, we have a right to be skeptical, especially when viewed against the backdrop of the vast destructive power we have arrayed against the Soviet Union and the enormous effort she would have to expend to build the missiles, missile defenses, and anti-submarine forces needed to threaten our ability to retaliate.

The Safeguard system itself, if it is indeed intended as a protection of our missile sites, is a particularly poor choice for that task. The Pentagon has simply taken a system designed as a "thin" anti-Chinese protection of our cities and moved it out to the Midwest where our missile sites are located. However, it still contains the same highly-vulnerable radar system, without which the system is totally vulnerable. It still contains the expensive interceptor missiles of the original Sentinel, system. Indeed, it has been estimated that, using the Safeguard system, it will cost between $25 and $100 million to protect each $4 million Minuteman missile — if the system works at all, which many experts doubt. It has now been revealed that the first phase of the system, to cost $2 billion, is expected to protect only 60 of our 1000 Minuteman missiles, so it will have to be substantially expanded if it is to provide the protection that is promised from it.

The Pentagon has already described the next phases in the $6-7 billion program it is now planning, encompassing a nation-wide network of radars and interceptor missiles to protect against a Chinese missile force — when it comes — and Soviet sea-based missiles. Regardless of what its intentions are now, the Soviet Union will have to respond to such an extensive system by continuing the expansion of its missile forces, just as we renewed our missile-building program when we thought they were building a large-scale ABM system.

Thus we go up the arms spiral, with no apparent end in sight. It is clear that what Secretary McNamara referred to as this "mad momentum" can be stopped only by a mutual agreement with the Soviet Union to halt the further installation of ICBMs and ABM systems. Because of the complex dynamics of the arms race — in which each side responds to what he thinks the other side might do five to ten years hence — unilateral steps alone seem inadequate. It is now nine months since the Russians indicated that they were ready to talk with us on steps to halt the nuclear arms race, but we have not yet indicated that we are ready. Meanwhile, the multiple warheads are being tested and, when installed, will introduce a dangerous new element of instability into the strategic picture. And the Defense Department proceeds with the installation of a missile defense system which will destroy forever the stable strategic balance we now enjoy. The Nixon Administration must get started now on the long-delayed missile talks with the Soviet Union. There still seems hope that such talks with the Soviet Union could forestall these dangerous developments. Meanwhile, every effort must be made, through congressional action, to delay the testing of multiple warheads and the construction of the Safeguard system while these talks are going forward. ■

Dr. Rodberg is Associate Professor of Physics, University of Maryland; and Visiting Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies.

ABM By Any Other Name: A Missile In Search Of A Mission

Written for TEMPO

by SENATOR GEORGE McGOVERN

"Our Existence Is Endangered By A Witless Rush To Follow The Grim Science Of Weaponry Wherever It Might Lead Us."

NOW that the dust has begun to settle around President Nixon's decision to build a modified antiballistic missile system, henceforth to be known as "Safeguard," it has become even more clear that the ABM is truly a missile in search of a mission.

Heralded as a new, less provocative approach, Safeguard has instead turned out to be only a slight modification of its predecessor, using the same basic components and, but for more emphasis on "hardpoint" missile site defense, with essentially the same mission as the ill-fated Sentinel.

The Laird-Packard-Nixon conclusion that our Minuteman sites have become vulnerable and need protection brings to nine the number of reasons, many of them contradictory, which have been offered to justify an investment of $5, $7, $30 or $100 billion in the concept of ballistic missile defense. Each one seems less persuasive than the last.

Originally it was seen as a means of protecting our population against the Soviet ICBM threat, denying them the ability to inflict unacceptable damage on the United States in the event of nuclear war. In the frame of reference of Pentagon strategists, the country is more "secure" when we have the ability to rain destruction on any other nation without inviting a similar fate for ourselves.

But it was clear in 1959, when President Eisenhower overruled the army's plans to go ahead with the Nike-Zeus system, that a nationwide defense against any relatively sophisticated nuclear foe is impossible. Today we are still aware that the Soviet Union, in order to preserve its deterrent, would surely deploy the penetration aids or additional missiles needed to nullify our ABM system.

A second justification, and an underlying fallback argument of nuclear arms devotees generally, has been the argument our ABM will be helpful even if it does not work because, by forcing the Soviet Union to respond with more offensive missiles, we can require that they divert their limited resources to arms at the expense of other programs to strengthen the Soviet System.

But, even if we can neglect the inherent inhumanity of consciously seeking to bleed a nation's resources, the ABM still does not hold up under scrutiny. The relative cost of overcoming it is much less than the cost of building it. In a contest between American defense and Soviet offense, the United States will precede its adversary into bankruptcy.

A Better Kerosene Lamp

It has been argued that the technical experience of actual deployment can help us work out the bugs in ABM components, the Spartan and Sprint missiles, and the missile site and perimeter acquisition radars. According to such authorities as former White House science adviser Dr. Jerome Weisner, however, it is the basic approach—missiles seeking to shoot down other missiles—which is ineffective and unwieldy. Perfecting the Safeguard would be like building a better kerosene lantern for an electric light market.

Once the idea of an anti-Soviet system had been placed at least in abeyance, ABM proponents found a new threat; the possible emergence of a Chinese intercontinental ballistic missile capability. Perhaps we cannot counter a sophisticated attack from the Soviet Union, it was reasoned, but whatever the Chinese have by the mid 1970's will be so primitive that our ABM should be able to handle it—at least until they develop something more effective.

This reasoning remains in the pro-ABM arsenal, and we are left to wonder why it is that our massive retaliatory forces have been sufficient to deter the Soviet Union but would not deter China, and whether it is worth many billions of dollars to provide a questionable measure of protection during the brief period of time—estimated to last from zero to ten years—before the Chinese develop penetration aids or weapons enough to overwhelm our defense. We are asked to assume that the Chinese are insane and incredibly stupid as well.

The anti-China rationale was accompanied by the argument that an ABM built on the "area defense" concept, using Spartan missiles with ranges of up to 300 miles, could protect us from an accidental launch; this assumes, of course, that the missile accidentally launched is not equipped with penetration aids. Even then, however, we have to wonder whether our ABM would be "turned on" at all times. If it were activated only in periods of international crisis, when we might have reason to believe an attack is imminent, then the accidental launch would have to be obliging enough to coincide with such a period in order for the ABM to work. If, on the other hand, the system were kept on constant alert, we would approach the point where the risk of our own defensive missiles getting away from us would exceed the danger of an adversary losing control of its offensive missiles.

Senator McGovern

Another intriguing argument raised on behalf of the Sentinel was the assurance that it would "complicate" an attack from the Soviet Union; that it would at least save some lives. Interestingly enough, this line of reasoning was accompanied by claims that the Soviet Union would not respond because they would recognize that the system had no capability against them. The two conflicting arguments were never reconciled.

USSR Response

It seems probable, however, that through the eyes of Soviet planners the Sentinel system—and the Safeguard modification as well—would appear as a real threat to their deterrent. If so, their response would be to deploy more than enough new offensive missiles to overwhelm it, on the assumption that it would work with full efficiency. The net effect, instead of "saving more lives," would be even greater destruction and more American deaths in a nuclear exchange.

The beginnings of a Soviet ABM system around Moscow brought another curious argument for building one of our own. Our competitive nature has been stimulated by an appeal to "keep up with the Joneses" on an international scale; if they have an ABM and we don't, they will take the lead in this aspect of the arms race.

Yet, as former Defense Secretary McNamara pointed out many times, this is an odd way indeed to respond. If the Soviet galosh deployment around Moscow threatened our deterrent—and it does not—the obvious answer would be to add more offense, not more defense. We are doing so, in my judgment, unnecessarily and imprudently.

The Soviet Union made a wasteful mistake in starting construction of an ineffective ABM. Apparently they are recognizing it as such, because they slowed the deployment at between 70 and 100 interceptors (the Safeguard is estimated at 8 to 10 times as extensive). I find no merit at all in the contention that since they have erred we must commit the same error on a much grander scale.

Next came the Nixon Administration's new element—the need for protection of our Minuteman missile sites. As we might have expected, a new spectre, the Soviet SS-9 missile, has been exposed as proof that, in Secretary Laird's words, the Soviet Union is "going for a first strike capability." He found no doubt whatsoever that the Soviet aim is to attain enough power to destroy our ability to retaliate.

Here we must look at some numbers. First, we know that about 400 warheads in the one megaton range (50 times the Hiroshima and Nagasaki blasts), would obliterate the Soviet Union as a viable twentieth century society. I suspect that much less than that, perhaps as few as 25, would suffice as a deterrent against a Soviet first strike, for it is hard to conceive of any rational human being deciding to order nuclear war when he knows that the 25 largest cities in his own country will be destroyed in return.

But even assuming that we must have a credible 400-warhead second-strike threat, it is clear that we have already accumulated overkill far in excess of the need. At present we have 1,054 land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles, enough to destroy the Soviet Union several times over. In addition we have some 656 sea-based missiles on Polaris submarines—a credible deterrent all by themselves. Further, we have 646 intercontinental bombers armed with nuclear weapons, a significant number of which could still penetrate Soviet air defenses. Finally, we have large numbers of intermediate range missiles deployed in other parts of the world.

As things stand now the Soviet Union is many years away from having either the technical capability or the numerical missile strength to make Secretary Laird's conclusions reasonable. Yet we are, nevertheless, adding further to our offensive capabilities — multiplying them, really—by moving ahead with Minuteman 111 and Poseidon missiles and with multiple warheads. If deployment is completed the warheads from just one of our 41 nuclear submarines could destroy 160 Russian cities. Clearly our deterrent is not threatened; it is not even mildly troubled.

A Bargaining Ploy?

So we come to the ninth and final justification. We are, it is said, building Safeguard as a bargaining ploy, to stimulate the Soviet Union into serious discussions on mutual arms limitations.

Soviet leaders have, however, made their interest in arms talks quite clear on repeated occasions during the past year. Clearly we need no ABM lever to pry them toward the negotiating table.

Nor does it make much sense to build a system which we hope to negotiate out of existence. Can we not achieve the same results by a threat to deploy?

But the most persuasive response to the idea that Safeguard can be a useful bargaining tool is also the most important reason why it should not be built. We must recognize that new weapons systems involve much more than a waste of resources, serious as that is in the face of pressing domestic concerns. As has been the case with Vietnam, we must understand that the concept "negotiate from strength" cannot be employed capriciously because it can easily mean "no negotiations at all."

I am convinced that we are in 1969 at the threshold of a new and much more deadly dimension in the arms race cycle, brought about by the ABM and by a more recent development in weapons technology, the multiple independently-targetable reentry vehicle or MIRV. We have little time to stop it.

Our MIRV would involve placing several warheads atop each of our new generation of offensive missiles. The submarine launched Poseidon can carry six to ten and the Minuteman III can carry three to six. Fired from a single launcher, each warhead could proceed to a separate target, thus vastly increasing our offensive might without adding more missiles. Poseidon could, for example, raise from 656 to 6,560 the number of warheads we can fire from our nuclear submarine fleet.

But since we already have great overkill ability with respect to Soviet population and industry, the natural targets for these thousands of new warheads would be Soviet missile bases. Certainly it would not be unreasonable for the Kremlin to conclude as much, and we must be mindful that in terms of the arms race the unsettling potential depends much more upon how they view a system rather than upon how we describe it.

"WE WON!"

The same holds true for the ABM. While we talk in terms of protecting our deterrent, we can be sure that militarist factions in the Kremlin are picturing Safeguard as the first step in a thick anti-Soviet system, whose only difference from Sentinel is that it starts toward thickness from a slightly different direction.

A Surprise First Strike

If we continue with both MIRVs and the ABM, therefore, the Soviet Union could easily conclude that we are planning a surprise first strike, using MIRV-equipped missiles to catch a large proportion of their retaliatory forces on the ground and relying on our missile defense to intercept those that still get through.

It seems extremely unlikely that if we jump out ahead of the Soviet Union in this progression they will be willing to "negotiate from behind." Rather, they will want to catch up, to overcome the vulnerability which they will certainly feel. The arms race cycle will be off again.

If they follow the path we are charting, however, it will no longer be a race to maintain the delicate balance of deterrence. Instead, we will be moving toward a situation in which the side striking first could hope to "win" a nuclear war, whichever side that is. Many people feel, with good reason, that if we ever reach that state of affairs nuclear war will be inevitable. The slightest provocation could convince one side or the other that it was about to be attacked and that it must therefore get its missiles in the air.

Clearly we must have a freeze on deployment of new weapons—and it must come soon. The United States is testing MIRVs, the most provocative part of the combination, but they are not yet operational. The Soviet Union can probably detect these tests, as we could detect any multiple warhead tests which they might carry out.

Once they are ready for placement on Poseidon and Minuteman III missiles, however, the chances for arms control agreement will be irretrievably complicated. Since satellites cannot detect MIRVs, it is probable that once deployment is started, nothing short of continuing on-site inspection at each site would make either side secure in believing MIRVs are not being secretly mounted.

Negotiations will take time. I suggest, therefore, that because of our lead in MIRV technology we can well afford, while discussions proceed, to halt our own testing. At the same time we can certainly afford to forego deployment of the Safeguard ABM, because it is unnecessary and ineffective in addition to its character as an arms race offensive.

The Pentagon will find dangers in such a course, as military planners seem always able, when appropriations are at stake, to perceive new threats, imagine new designs for our adversaries and discover new evidence of their sinister intentions.

I suggest, however, that our existence is far more endangered by a witless rush to follow the grim science of weaponry wherever it might lead us. It is time we explored a more hopeful route.

WASHINGTON REPORT

ABM: A WEAPON IN SEARCH OF A RATIONALE

by Allan M. Parrent

THE "thin" Sentinel ABM system announced by the Johnson Administration in September, 1967, has now, after unexpected public opposition, much-publicized senatorial and scientific advice against it, and a month-long review of the program by the Nixon Administration, been rechristened the "Safeguard" system and offered again in revised form to the public.

The modified system, estimated to cost $6-7 billion, is designed (1) to protect our land-based retaliatory forces against a direct Soviet attack, (2) to provide a light area defense of the U.S. against a possible Chinese attack during the next decade, and (3) to protect against accidental launchings. The first deployment, or Phase 1, will cover two large missile sites. located in Montana and North Dakota, and will be completed in 1973. It will reportedly consist of 400 to 600 long-range (Spartan) and short-range (Sprint) defensive missiles. In addition to these two sites and Washington, the Administration plans to proceed with ABM site acquisitions in nine additional areas: Southern New England, Michigan/Ohio area, Florida/Georgia, Texas, Whiteman AFB (Missouri), Warren AFB (Wyoming), Southern California, Central California, and Upper Northwest. These sites will then be available for use in connection with the next phase of the program, should the planned yearly assessment of the political and military situation so dictate.

Relatively speaking, the Safeguard system might be seen as an improvement over its predecessor. Theoretically at least, it takes the missiles away from population centers (although there is Washington, D.C., and the other proposed locations are specified only in broad geographical terms). Also in theory, it is more consonant with the U.S. policy of deference rather than attempting the impossible and uselessly expensive task of protecting U.S. cities against nuclear attack (although there is the area defense). Also it tones down the rather ludicrous rationale that it is a "Chinese-oriented" system (although that rationale is far from eliminated). In actual fact, the Safeguard system really satisfies none of the fundamental objections levelled against its predecessor.

The Need

A basic feeling among ABM opponents is that the ABM is a weapon in search of a rationale. It has been defended for varied and often contradictory reasons. It was to be first a heavy system, then a thin system, then a very-thin system. It was to provide city defense, then area defense, then missile defense, as well as being a defense against accidental launchings. It has been Chinese-oriented and it has been Russian-oriented. It has been hailed as a bargaining point in missile talks with the USSR while at the same time it was declared to be (1) no threat to the USSR, and (2) aimed against the Chinese threat (which presumably would somehow disappear should U.S.-USSR missile talks be successful). There were "marginal" reasons for Sentinel deployment while the even thinner Safeguard system is "vital for the defense and security of the U.S." These rapidly changing rationales, several of which are combined in the new plan, only give further support to the contention that once a new weapons system has been developed, a justification for this deployment can always be found, even though it may take a while to find one that sounds logical. It was only when these various rationales began to be seriously challenged that fear was expressed over a supposed Soviet drive for a first-strike capability through development of a 20- or 25-megaton SS-9 missile.

The fact is that our offensive deterrent is so massive and so dispersed that it needs no such protection and in fact, except for two Minuteman sites containing 350 missiles, will not receive much protection under this system. The bulk of our deterrent is composed of 646 Polaris and Poseidon missiles on submarines and 630 long-range bombers. These, combined with the remainder of our 1,054 Minuteman ICBMs and thousands of shorter-range missiles in Europe and elsewhere, provide an arsenal of deterrence to which nothing of significance will be added by the Safeguard system.

In spite of Secretary Laird's newly-revealed concern about the Soviet construction of the SS-9, there appears to be no real evidence of any new element of danger that would require the Safeguard ABM system. Laird alone views the SS-9 as a malevolent Soviet attempt to achieve a first-strike capability, omitting from his narrowly military calculations any realistic estimate of Soviet intentions, political realities, and the views of a host of experts in Soviet and Chinese affairs. If the situation were as dire as the Secretary of Defense implies, the Nixon Safeguard proposal would do little to counter it.

Effectiveness

The main thrust of most of the testimony of the scientific community is that the ABM system will not do what it is supposed to do. It has not been sufficiently tested and there is no evidence that it will work under combat conditions. It can be penetrated rather easily by enemy missiles using various "penetration aids" or decoys to confuse the radar, and the radar itself is very susceptible to other nuclear explosions which, under real combat conditions, could thereby make the whole system inoperative. Dr. George Rathjens of MIT has testified that the Safeguard system would be useless in a nuclear exchange because of the vulnerability of its radar. Senator Cook, freshman senator from Kentucky, was approached by one of the subcontracting firms scheduled to work on the ABM and told that the system in its current state of development would not work and should not be deployed. The change to the Safeguard system does nothing to alter this picture.

The Cost

The cost of the old Sentinel system was originally announced at $3.5 billion. This was later increased to $5.5 billion and the last informed (though unofficial) estimate was $9.4 billion. This was only for a "thin," Chinese-oriented system which was to protect 15 U.S. cities. Some of the proponents and virtually all of the opponents of that system, however, saw this as only the first installment toward a "heavy" Soviet-oriented system which would have cost anywhere from a conservative $40 billion to several hundred billion.

While both Administrations have declared that a massive ABM defense system would be wasteful folly, and that their respective programs were not preludes to full ABM systems, there are ABM proponents who still advocate such a system. Only at the last minute and with reluctance did the Joint Chiefs of Staff give up their unanimous recommendation for a "damage-limiting," city-protecting, heavy ABM system. There is also the ever-present "mad momentum intrinsic to the development of all nuclear weaponry" about which we were warned by Secretary McNamara. It is the built-in, self-produced "action-reaction phenomenon" which fuels the arms race and which causes uneasiness about this "minimum program" and its declared nonprovocative nature. Even if the system does not escalate, government studies have shown that new weapons systems, in addition to failing to perform up to expected standards, generally cost 200% to 300% more than originally estimated.

Effect on the Arms Race

President Nixon stressed the defensive nature of the Safeguard system and said it would not affect the Soviet retaliatory capability. In reality, however, we cannot expect the Soviet Union to be as certain of our professed defensive intentions as are the people of the U.S. Former government officials have admitted that our missile buildup in the early 1960's was based on inaccurate information concerning Soviet intentions and capabilities, resulting in our building more missiles than we originally planned or required. This can happen with both offensive and defensive weapons. When the ABM is combined with development of multiple-warhead missiles (MIRV), according to Soviet affairs expert Marshall Shulman, Russia could very easily be led to think the U.S. was adopting a first-strike nuclear strategy. The U.S., adopting the usual "worst plausible case" or "greater than expected threat" strategy, overreacted to the small, 67-missile Soviet ABM system (on which work is now halted) by increasing the U.S. offensive capability to the point that the USSR became more vulnerable to possible U.S. attack than it was before building its ABM defense. Can we not expect a similar reaction from Soviet strategists, or are we to assume that they are more rational than we?

Many experts believe that the nuclear powers are now at a point where, possibly for the last time, the strategic balance can be stabilized by agreements which can be verified. Escalation to a new level of armed might, especially when ABM is combined with the MIRV which can multiply nuclear capabilities several-fold, will bring a new and dangerous degree of uncertainty into the strategic balance, create a most unstable situation, and possibly push the arms race beyond any hope of limitation based on verification. It will then be impossible for example, for observer satellites to tell how many warheads are in the nosecones of ICBMs. This is a moment of opportunity which may not occur again and should not be passed by lightly, especially in view of the questionable nature of the benefit to be derived from, and even the need for, ABM deployment.

A final argument involves the recent U.S. ratification of the nonproliferation treaty. A newly deployed ABM system and the dangers inherent in that deployment seem quite contrary to the spirit and intent of that treaty. If the ABM is in fact looked upon as a bargaining point in such negotiations, it will serve this purpose much more effectively as a potentiality than as a *fait accompli*.

The China Argument

Although it was toned down, the substantially discredited argument the ABM system was designed to defend against a Chinese nuclear attack is still part of the deployment rationale. Even Senator Russell discounted this argument, seeing along with many others that "the Chinese are not completely crazy" and would not attack the US and its massive retaliatory force with a miniature and still non-existent ICBM force. Expert Sinologists agree that there is no reason to believe China would act more irrationally with a nuclear capability than any other nation. What the China argument really does is (1) to gain acceptance for a strategy which, by justifying weapons to guard against the possible irrational behavior of a potential enemy, can be used to support any level of armaments; (2) to increase the credibility of the Chinese deterrent and the prestige of China as the Asian nation which put fear in the heart of the mighty U.S.; (3) to contradict the argument that the ABM can be used as a bargaining point in US-USSR missile talks, since if there is a Chinese threat it will remain, regardless of the outcome of such talks; (4) to isolate China further and undermine efforts to bring her into the international community.

Effect on National Security

A final question to raise concerning the ABM system is, will it contribute to our national security? A major emphasis among non-governmental witnesses, especially scientists, at the Senate ABM hearings has been that it would not so contribute, and that in fact it would tend to decrease security. One reason had to do with the probability that an escalation in the arms race would result in a possible overcompensation on the part of the USSR which would make the US less secure. Another had to do with the likelihood that it would have an adverse effect on missile talks with the Soviets, causing the nuclear giants to by-pass one of their last opportunities for verified arms limitations. Another had to do with the cost involved and the consequent neglect of those domestic problems which present the nation with the clearest and most present threat to its security.

Six or seven billion dollars is no small addition to already enormous defense expenditures, and most would agree that, as always, that estimate

(Continued on page 11)

it says here . . .

NCC GROUP OPENS MEMBERSHIP TALKS WITH U.S. ROMAN CATHOLICS

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The new study committee named by the National Council of Churches' Executive Committee and the U.S. Catholic Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs (BCEIA), charged with the task of studying the possibility of membership of the U.S. Catholic Church in the NCC, met here for the first time on April 8.

The 14 members of the group, which officially includes seven Catholics, six Protestants and one Eastern Orthodox, spent a day at the Holy Family Roman Catholic Church in New York, at the United Nations, exploring the structures of their respective organizations, their program interests and certain "churchly assumptions," said Dr. Robert C. Dodds, who headed the NCC committee

Co-chairmen of the committee are Archbishop (Cardinal-designate) John J. Carberry of St. Louis, chairman of the BCEIA, and Dr. John Coventry Smith, moderator of the United Presbyterian Church in the USA. Dr. Smith chaired the organizational meeting. Msgr. Bernard F. Law, executive secretary of BCEIA, heads the committee for the Catholics.

The appointment of the 14-man committee was made by the two parent organizations late last year after a larger working group of some 36 Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox disbanded. This original group, which began meeting in 1965 to study broader areas of Catholic-NCC cooperation, had fulfilled its function and agreed that the time had come for more specific structural studies, NCC spokesmen said. They emphasized that the group was limited to making a study of the question, not presenting a plan for membership.

Commenting on the meeting, Dr. Dodds said: "Bishops and denominational officers tend to be cautious about any changes in their institutions until they see that the changes are beneficial. Far from expecting an ecumenical slowdown, however, I anticipate continuing progress. The creation of this study committee means that we have reached a new and important stage. We are at a point where we must examine the relationships between our organizations. The options which lie before us and the implications of each option must be studied with great care."

Substantiating his comments was one made by Archbishop Carberry, who said of the first meeting: "It was an initial step with a fine exchange of ideas in good spirit concerning the NCC and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. We begin to see many problems that have to be carefully studied and weighed."

Dr. Dodds anticipates that the work of the committee will take from two to three years to complete and predicts it will initiate a number of studies and possibly pinpoint areas where more collaboration may take place on an interim basis.

The next meeting of the committee is scheduled to take place in October.

* * * * *

CHURCH AID HELD STEMMING STARVATION IN BIAFRA

NEW YORK, N.Y. — "Oversimply stated, the Joint Church Aid air bridge, plus the International Committee of the Red Cross air bridge, have prevented mass starvation in Biafra." This first hopeful report from his recent on-the-spot inspection tour was qualified, however, by James MacCracken, executive director of Church World Service, through which the American churches are channeling material and financial aid.

"When I visited the refugee camps and hospitals for newly arrived refugees, all of the horrible pictures of starving Biafrans which we have seen for the past year came to life — and not very much life at that — before my eyes."

Mr. MacCracken also saw refugees who had just come out of the bush, "the most starved, kwashiorkered beings I have ever seen, which leads one to wonder whether there are not hordes of refugees still in the bush in Federal (Nigerian) territory."

The CWS director reported that feeding stations are being operated efficiently by the ICRC, Roman Catholic CARITAS and the World Council of Churches. "WCC," he said, "is the accepted name and password for the Protestant effort throughout all Biafra."

* * * * *

PEACE ORGANIZATION CALLS FOR IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE

BOSTON, MASS. — A nationwide organization of church, civic and political leaders has called for an immediate cease-fire in Vietnam and a non-military settlement based on free elections.

In news conferences called here and in New York, St. Paul and San Francisco, spokesmen for the Negotiation Now Committee urged the U.S. to take the lead in breaking the present deadlock in the Paris peace talks.

The group noted that one-third of all American deaths in Vietnam have occurred since the start of the peace talks last November.

The Committee is described as "an organization of organizations." It includes the National Council of Churches, the United Auto Workers, the YWCA, the American Jewish Congress and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. In addition, most major Protestant denominations and half a dozen Roman Catholic bishops are members. Signing the appeal for the NCC was Council president, Dr. Arthur S. Flemming.

NEW YORK—Two films about lonely people—"Rachel, Rachel" and "The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter"—received the joint award of the National Catholic Office for Motion Pictures and the Broadcasting and Film Commission of the National Council of Churches. In "Rachel, Rachel," (top photo) Joan Woodward plays a school teacher in a small town who goes out on a date with an old friend, played by James Olson. In "The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter," Alan Arkin, playing a deaf mute, befriends teenager Sondra Locke.

COUNCIL ASKS STUDY OF MARIJUANA

SYRACUSE, N.Y. — The New York State Council of Churches, through its Legislative Commission, is supporting bills which would remove marijuana from the same legal classification as narcotic drugs. Stating that "it seems clear that the dangers of marijuana do not approach those of the narcotic drugs," the Commission noted that the penalties for its possession and sale are much stricter than for the "dangerous narcotic drugs such as LSD and methradine." It supports a bill which would create a special agency to conduct clinical experiments on marijuana, "as its effects are not fully understood."

* * * * *

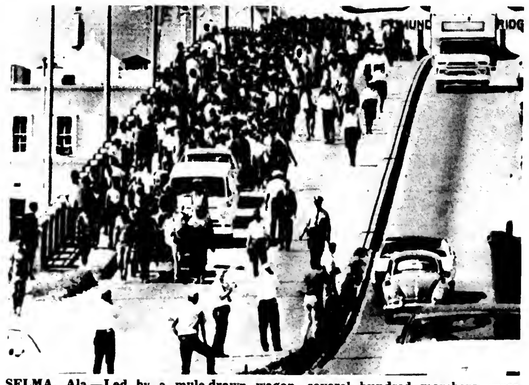
NEW MEXICO ENDS CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

SANTA FE, N.M. — (RNS) — New Mexico has joined the states which have abolished capital punishment. When Gov. David F. Cargo signed the bill he told newsmen: "This is a religious matter with me. I believe 'Thou shalt not kill.'" The bill was backed by the New Mexico Council of Churches.

The bill, passed by the state's House of Representatives and Senate, bars capital punishment unless a person is convicted of killing a police officer or jail guard in performance of their duties. It also authorizes execution when the defendant is convicted of a second capital offense.

New Mexico is the 14th state to outlaw capital punishment.

it says here . . .



SELMA, Ala.—Led by a mule-drawn wagon, several hundred marchers cross Selma's Edmund Pettus Bridge in a memorial observance of the first anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination. Demonstrators and police clashed at this bridge during the famed Selma to Montgomery trek in 1965.

PENTAGON MISTAKES COST $10 BILLION

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Pentagon has compiled a list of 68 major weapons systems that cost nearly $10 billion. That sum is slightly more than all the money the government proposes to spend for education in the year beginning July 1.

The $10 billion list was typed on plain, white paper, not the usual blue-topped Defense Department publicity releases. And it was available only to those who knew of its existence and asked for it.

This was understandable for the $10 billion list was a catalogue of abandoned projects that included mistakes and misjudgments on weapons systems fit only for the museum or the scrap heap.

The largest item is the nearly $1.5 billion devoted by the Air Force to a new, manned bomber, the B-70, which ended up a museum piece.

Another big one is the $511 million the Air Force invested in a futile attempt to build a nuclear-powered airplane. The figure does not include $500 million that the Atomic Energy Commission poured into it and the $14 million the Navy contributed.

Birds, animals, fish, Indians, Greek gods and press agentry provided names given to some $4 billion worth of hardware that went nowhere. There was $2.7 billion in Air Force missiles; $993 million for Navy missiles, and $339 million for Army missiles.

The Navy sank $271 million into airplanes, while the Army spent $268 million for tanks, trucks and other combat equipment that didn't work.

The Air Force's version of a mobile Minuteman ballistic missile that could be fired from a train shuttling across the Western plains cost $108 million.

The Air Force also sent $405 million into the wild blue yonder on Dynasoar, a spacecraft that was supposed to land like a plane.

The Navy spent $361 million on Seamaster, a jet-powered flying boat designed for reconssaissance and mine-laying but which ended in the disaster of two test model crashes.

Unmentioned in the Pentagon list is a $300 Army missile system whose details, including a description of it, are still secret.

And one searches in vain for mention of the $60 million the Army spent early in the nuclear age to built 60 atomic cannon. They were 84 feet long, weighed 85 tons and were so cumbersome they needed tractors fore and aft to move them. A series of accidents in the narrow streets of old world Germany preceded their fadeout as obsolete.

—William McGaffin and Robert Gruenberg in The Chicago Daily News.

* * * * *

PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS FORM ECUMENICAL COUNCIL IN ARIZONA

TUCSON — Eight Protestant denominations, which formerly comprised the Arizona Council of Churches, have joined with the Roman Catholic Diocese of Tucson to form the Arizona Ecumenical Council.

The Rt. Rev. Robert J. Donohoe of St. Agnes Catholic Church was elected president of the new interdenominational organization at a historic meeting of delegates convened at First Methodist Church.

The action brings to four the Roman Catholic dioceses in the nation which have affiliated with Protestant and Orthodox State Councils of Churches. But this is the first time a Catholic body has been an initial member of an interdenominational group. The other interdenominational councils are in New Mexico, Nevada and, most recently, Texas.

ABM OPPOSITION AND ARMS RACE PROMPT CHURCH ACTIONS

In many local churches and church councils across the nation, discussion and concern are mounting over the proposed development of anti-ballistic missiles — "thick" or "thin" — and the need for U.S. ratification of the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Treaty.

An appeal urging Congress to oppose the development of any anti-ballistic missile system, including the modified Sentinel system called Safeguard, has been forwarded to Washington by the General Board of the Church of the Brethren.

In the statement, adopted at its spring meeting, the Board declared that such systems would reduce the possibility of diverting funds toward meeting human need in the fields of poverty, education and the rehabilitation of the nation's cities.

The statement to Congress also expressed the conviction that any ABM plan would escalate the arms race, jeopardize negotiations with the Soviet Union on armaments reduction, and increase the chance of an accidental nuclear explosion.

The Board instructed its World Ministries Commission staff to "develop an appropriate action plan immediately." Chairman of the Brethren General Board is Dr. Raymond R. Peters.

In Akron, Ohio, the congregation of Trinity Lutheran Church has approved a resolution presented by "a concerned group of members," dealing with the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

"The Church," said the document, "should seek to fulfill its responsibility by *demanding*, in a voice that cannot be disregarded, that national and world leaders find and put to use immediately an adequate alternative to war and the threat of war."

The resolution, which asked church members to write and wire their senators, said: "We, the members of Trinity Lutheran Church, Akron, Ohio, out of our conviction that to seek peace is the clear responsibility of the Church and its members, urge immediate ratification of the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Treaty . . . and urge that Akron, state and national church organizations, and individual members, take immediate action to make known their support of this important treaty to our government."

Meeting on March 13, the Board of Directors of the Council of Churches of Greater Trenton (N.J.), adopted a strong statement on "Militarism" in which it called on "our elected representatives to hold up all plans to proceed with an anti-ballistic missile system at this time."

Citing the late President Eisenhower's warning of ten year's ago about "the effects of the military-industrial complex upon America and its domination of American thought," the statement declared:

"We are faced with an urgent issue which might well determine the extent of that domination, both now and in the years to come."

The statement also stressed "the imperative that we restore civilian control of such critical matters" and suggested that "our energies be devoted to efforts to achieve an effective arms control agreement with the other major world powers." Signers of the statement were the Rev. Edward R. Hanson, president, and the Rev. David D. Mellon, executive director of the Greater Trenton Council.

Only one hour before President Nixon announced on March 14 plans to go ahead with a modification of the proposed ABM system, the Board of Directors of the Interfaith Action Council of Greater Flint (Mich.) unanimously adopted one of the strongest of these resolutions.

"We stand totally opposed to the building of any new ABM system, no matter what the name or how sophisticated," declared the resolution.

Reasons given included the conviction, "along with a multitude of experts," that such systems will not make the country any more secure; that a "thin" ABM system now is probably a prelude for a "thick" system later — "We can afford neither!" — and that any new system "will most surely kindle a new round of the already dangerous arms race."

The resolution underscored its Point 5 that "the greatest insecurity facing this nation is our continued failure to meet human needs . . ." and declared that the decision against further arming "may be the single most important decision of this year and perhaps in the decade to come."

* * * * *

SENATE AND HOUSE TAKE UP FARM LABOR BILLS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Fifty-five members of Congress have joined in introducing a bill (H.R. 9954) to extend the National Labor Relations Act to cover agricultural workers. Congressman James G. O'Hara (D.-Mich.) principal sponsor of the bill, said that it will "substitute law for the present chaos which marks labor-management relations in agriculture."

In the Senate, the bill (S.8) was introduced by Sen. Harrison A. Williams Jr. (D.-N.J.) with 19 co-sponsors.

Hearings in the House began on April 16 and the House Sub-committee was set to hold hearings the first week of May. In the Senate, hope was expressed that its version of the bill would be reported to the floor later this spring.

At the recent Farm Labor Issues Conference held here, the National Council of Churches was represented by Dr. Jon L. Regier, associate general secretary for the Division of Christian Life and Mission, and the Rev. Henry McCanna, director for Church and Community, DCLM.

letters

BOUQUET FOR TEMPO

I would like to commend you and the members of your staff on your publication TEMPO. It is the most significant piece of religious journalism I have been acquainted with.

It is current and deals with issues and concerns that I share. I appreciate the stands that you have taken on certain issues and I appreciate even more your willingness to take a stand. I find it replete with helpful suggestions for dynamic church programs.

You have an editorial excellence few can boast of. I appreciate receiving TEMPO and I plan to subscribe for certain lay leaders in our church this coming church year.

Rev. Don Beal
First Christian Church
No. Platte, Nebraska

POLICE STORY NEEDS BALANCE

I believe that the article by Mr. Andreotti in the February 15 issue of TEMPO leaves your readers with what I consider a mistaken view of police-community relations. Mr. Andreotti is a very controversial individual in this work and most of his philosophies have been disavowed in law enforcement areas.

He pictures the police officers as uneducated and insensitive individuals who are doing an incompetent job.

I feel that there is a desperate need for better understanding between clergy and police.

Robert J. Barton, Director
Police-Community Relations
Metropolitan Police Dept.
St. Louis, Mo.

SOCIAL ACTION AS END

The reports of the Chicago Convention on Christian Education (TEMPO, March 15) are disturbing in what they leave out. They leave out no problems but they do leave out any evidence that Christian solutions were offered. I did not find Christ seriously mentioned in the whole issue. The divisions in the church are not basically over social action but over social action as an end in itself . . . .

Rev. Vernon S. Broyles Jr.
North Ave. Presbyterian Church
Atlanta, Ga.

BULK SUBSCRIPTIONS

TEMPO is doing a very fine job in developing better public relations; and, in my opinion, every interested church member should read it. I am enclosing a check to the order of TEMPO for $6.00 to cover a two-year subscription.

Are bulk rates available? For example, if we wanted 25 copies mailed to the church to be available in the library or on the table, what would the cost be?

O. A. Rosborough
Dunedin, Fla.

(Bulk subscription rates to TEMPO are available, when sent to a single address: 10-99 @ $2.85 per year; 100-499 @ $2.50; 500 and up @ $2.00. ED.)

Weapon in Search of a Rationale

(Continued from page 8)

is far too low. The proper measure of defense costs is seen not so much in the percentage of GNP as it is in opportunities foregone. In the 1959-1968 decade the US spent over $551 billion on defense, twice the amount spent for new private and public housing, nearly twice the amount allocated to education by federal, state, and local governments combined. We cannot live in a riskless world. We must balance the supposed risks of not deploying an ABM system against the risks of proceeding with it and the risks of neglecting other matters of an even more urgent nature that bear equally upon national security.

Mr. Parent is Director of Program, NCC Department of International Affairs, Washington, D.C.

BOOKS:

THE ECUMENICAL ERA

by Cynthia C. Wedel

Dr. Cavert

The American Churches in The Ecumenical Movement, 1900-1968, *by Samuel McCrea Cavert (Association Press, $9.95) outlining the development of church co-operation and unity in this country since 1900.*

"Everyone is talking about the Ecumenical Movement, but nobody knows much about it." There is truth in this paraphrase of the familiar statement about the weather. Newspapers and popular magazines headline ecumenical events. The word "ecumenical" has become part of our vocabulary. Yet many who are eager for greater unity among the churches have only a hazy notion of the origins and development of the movement. Those who oppose greater unity are often equally ignorant and base many of their arguments on false premises.

Against this background, Dr. Cavert's book fills a real need and does so in an exceptionally interesting and helpful way. Although the book is scholarly and well-documented, the fact that Dr. Cavert was himself a participant in most of the events which he records gives it a vividness which is rare in definitive books. Those of us who know Dr. Cavert might wish he had made it more personal, but he has deliberately chosen not to do so. Nonetheless his intimate knowledge of the people involved and the facts recorded add a dimension to the book which no future historian will ever be able to duplicate. This makes the book unique and irreplaceable.

While recognizing the beginnings of modern ecumenism in the 19th century and earlier, the author defends his choice of 1900 as a beginning point by saying, "(This) may seem arbitrary, since the year 1900 marked no sudden break with the past. Yet the twentieth century has witnessed such an acceleration of the movement toward Christian unity in America . . . that there is ample justification for taking 1900 as our starting point. There is good historical reason for calling the twentieth century the ecumenical era in America."

Most of us who read this book have lived all of our lives in this ecumenical era. We may wonder what all the fuss is about. Friendly relations between churches seem obvious and natural. For us the first chapter, which describes church life in America prior to this century, provides unpleasant but essential background. It is hard to believe the rivalry, persecution and name-calling between followers of the Prince of Peace. Important, too, is the fact that most early steps toward inter-denominational cooperation, some going back to the early 19th century, were largely lay movements. It seemed to be the laity, not church officials, who felt the scandal of division and saw the need for joint action. Has this changed in our time? So much of the Ecumenical Movement today is official and "churchly." Much of the criticism — from right-wing conservatives and left-wing radicals — seems to come from the laity. Has the official church taken over and, unintentionally perhaps, pushed the laity out? Are lay people less concerned about the church today? Or can we discern new lay interest in the growing number of local ecumenical activities, lay centers of renewal, and even in the "underground church"?

The Ecumenical Movement today is in its conciliar phase — councils of churches at world, national, regional and local levels are the institutional form it takes. Here again, both conservatives and radicals are questioning the council concept and structure. Dr. Cavert's book explains the development of this particular form of ecumenism. A more accurate knowledge of how and why the World Council of Churches — and in the U.S.A. the National Council of Churches — came into being is essential to those who are seeking either to maintain them or to replace them with something else. To critics of the N.C.C., Dr. Cavert's objective listing of "the steady day-by-day services (of the N.C.C.) to the member denominations in their basic tasks of evangelism, education, missions and social welfare", which do not receive the publicity of some of its activities in social action and public affairs, would be illuminating.

Like all believers in the Ecumenical Movement, Dr. Cavert knows that we are at a turning point today. His final chapter points ahead to more church unions, closer fellowship between Catholics, Orthodox and a wider range of Protestants. Forms of ecumenism may change. The basic movement will advance. To quote Dr. Cavert again, "The contrast between the denominational system as it was at the beginning of this century and as it is two generations later is nothing less than phenomenal. . . . One is impelled to say, 'This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes.'" ■

Mrs. Wedel is Associate General Secretary of the National Council of Churches for its Division of Christian Unity.

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

SATYRICON

Directed by Federico Fellini

THIS is a preview, not a review, a glimpse at a movie which is still being made. During my recent trip to Rome to participate in the Vatican sponsored consultation on "The Culture of Unbelief" I slipped away one afternoon to meet a lifelong idol, Federico Fellini, and to watch some of the production of his new film of imperial Roman life based on THE SATYRICON of Petronius.

I have been a Fellini fanatic for years, so I hereby warn my readers that this preview will be anything but impartial. Ever since LA STRADA and THE NIGHTS OF CABIRIA I have counted on Fellini to find the pulse of the times, film it with unfailing cinematic generis and drop a hint to us on how to stay human despite it all. I have never been disappointed. In LA DOLCE VITA he hit just the right mixture of fascination for and disgust with our current delicious decadence. And he ended that movie with Marcello Mastroianni trying to hear the voice of the girl-angel calling him from his stupor across an unbridgeable gap.

In 8-½ he put his own ego on the block and made a film about how impossible it is to make a film. In JULIET OF THE SPIRITS he probed the fantasy life of a lonely neglected wife. Even in his frothy confection BOCCACCIO 70 he exposed the silliness of advertising and sexual prudery. Through it all Fellini, whose love-hate relationship with Catholicism is worth a study in itself, has generously sprinkled his films with Christian metaphors and breezily refused to surrender to the darkness which has entrapped Bergman and has almost, but not quite dimmed out the luminosity of Antonioni. Fellini is the film-maker of pathos, grotesquerie and comic hope.

Federico Fellini

In SATYRICON he has undertaken a task that will tax all his abilities. The original SATYRICON was written at a time we now call the "decadent" period of the Roman empire. Fellini got interested in the period, as did most of us, not primarily from reading Roman history but from the movie depictions of debauched Roman orgies we furtively watched on Saturday afternoons. They were stock-in-trade of 1930 films. But Fellini is not making a 1969 version of a Cecil B. De Mille epic. He apparently believes Roman society in the "decline" was in many ways very much like our own. He neither judges nor celebrates the sexual license and sensate delight of the time. Rather he tries to look beneath it to a whole civilization undergoing a trauma of transition. It was also an age of the death of the gods, the breakdown of authority and moral confusion. It was an epoch of blood sports, violence and ethical anomie. But unlike either those prissy chroniclers of the period who castigate its immorality or the leering voyeurs who are titillated by its sensuality, Fellini sees it as human beings living life in the best way they know how.

Although I could only catch a tiny peek at what was being done, what I did see, plus my previous knowledge of Fellini, strongly suggests that SATYRICON will radically recast many of our cultural images of the late Roman empire.

But will it do any more? Fellini of course may know, but he isn't telling; at least he didn't tell me. A very observant American writer who is doing a book on Fellini says SATYRICON will be entirely diagnostic, not prescriptive, a faithful and affectionate reflection of the time of Petronius: but no "message."

I scarcely want to accuse Fellini of harboring some message for man either up the sleeve of his famous fur-lined parka or under the crown of his wide brimmed black felt hat. But Fellini is too generous and expansive a man himself to settle merely for depiction or diagnosis. He can hardly conceal his fondness for all kinds of people, especially ugly, misshapen and deformed ones and beautiful innocent looking ones. Remember the monstrous prostitute in 8-½ and the angelic waitress in LA DOLCE VITA. Fellini loves them all: he has inundated the set for SATYRICON with dwarfs, acrobats, incredibly obese women, ugly men from the back alleys of Rome, at least one giant plus an armless and legless man. The set looks like the mixture of a love-in and a freak show. The weird cast of SATYRICON suggests to me that Fellini has picked up where the last scene of 8-½ left off. In that movie, in a giant circus ring, the beleaguered director assembles all the people he knows, in life and in film, and lets them prance and cavort in a huge festive circle. In SATYRICON he seems to be assembling a mad mosaic of every type of human being, a multicolored collage of humanity. Like the last scene of 8-½ SATYRICON, if the wildly mixed cast is any clue, is a bawdy prayer for "all sorts and conditions of men."

Fellini doesn't have to try to give us a "message." If he did try he would probably spoil it. All he has to do is be himself: reveling in the sheer diversity and improbability of human life itself. His SATYRICON (not to be confused with a hurried imitation now being released by another Italian moviemaker, GIAN LUIGI POLIDORO, in a cynical attempt to put down Fellini) may be Fellini's greatest film. The subject is timely, the cast is inspired, from what I saw of the sets (by Danielo Donatti who won an Oscar for his sets in JULIET OF THE SPIRITS), they are superb too. But beyond all that my confidence rests in the fact that the greatest director of the age (in my view) is now trying something of unparalleled scale and daring. Anything less than a masterpiece will disappoint me. ■

THE ARTS AND THE WHITE HOUSE

by Roger E. Ortmayer

AT the beginning of the second week in March, the usually self-assured Rogert Stevens was visibly shaken. Well he might have been. He had been called to the White House on March 15, and dismissed from the post he ably filled as Director of the National Foundation on the Arts.

The dismissal was direct and partisan. *The Washington Post* of March 11 reported a "White House source" as saying: "To keep a Democratic Party fund raiser would be an admission we could not find a Republican to fill the job."

The next day the paper speculated about a successor. Four aspirants were noted: Shirley Temple Black, Huntington Hartford, Mrs. Norman Chandler and Nancy Hanks.

The first three could only be received by the arts communities with shudders. Mrs. Black was identified with the marvelous art form of the movies as the sweet dimpled child of the '30s. As an adult she has been most notable for supporting conservative political causes in California, backing motion picture censorship, and resigning from sponsorship of a film festival that got mixed up with a bit of the avant-garde.

Huntington Hartford's art involvements have been focused on his Gallery of Modern Art on Columbus Circle in New York City. He commissioned frumpy architect Edward Durrell Stone to design the museum, and as Stone is doing these days, he came up with something pretty, the feel of a harem in Bagdad in the time of Omar Khayyam. Hartford's understanding of what is "modern" is capped by Grandma Moses, currently on exhibition. He has been trying to give his gallery away, as it threatens to bankrupt even the heir of A & P.

Mrs. Chandler, wife of the board chairman of the *Los Angeles Times*, is something else again. She is a woman who seems to get what she wants and she is devoted to the arts in an establishment sense. Los Angeles probably would not have its arts center, including the spectacular orchestra hall, without her.

Nancy Hanks is an "arts" person, currently president of the Associated Councils of the Arts in New York. She has had ties with the Rockefeller Foundation and presumably the Rockefellers are much concerned with the National Foundation.

Congressman John Brademas, who chairs the House sub-committee on Education and Labor that takes responsibility for the National Foundation on the Arts, has been, naturally, rather perturbed about what is happening. He has insisted on a non-partisan policy in the Foundation's administration and polity. The abruptness of Steven's dismissal and the curious list of possible successors is disquieting to such expectations.

No one should be too much surprised. The art level of the White House nosedived when its new occupants promptly removed works of such contemporaries as Motherwell, Jenkins and Stella, who had somehow showed up in the hallways and offices of the west wing during the Johnson years. Replacing them are pretty landscapes and nostalgia such as "A Stag at Bay." It has been said that in five years of New York residence, Nixon never managed to visit Lincoln Center.

Nevertheless, there are Republicans who are highly visible, knowledgeable and devoted to the arts. One such person—who knows the twentieth century cannot be wished away by eliminating today's working artists and dusting off 19th century romantics—should head our fledgling art programs. The issue goes far beyond a few painters and poets, as the public sector becomes involved in those arts long treated in this country as private. What in fact has happened, is that the United States leads today's art world. Our government is proud of this position and hopefully intends to give those working in the arts *appropriate* support. ■

The Rev. Mr. Ortmayer is Executive Director, Department of Church and Culture, National Council of Churches' Division of Christian Life and Mission.

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In Pace With The Changing Church
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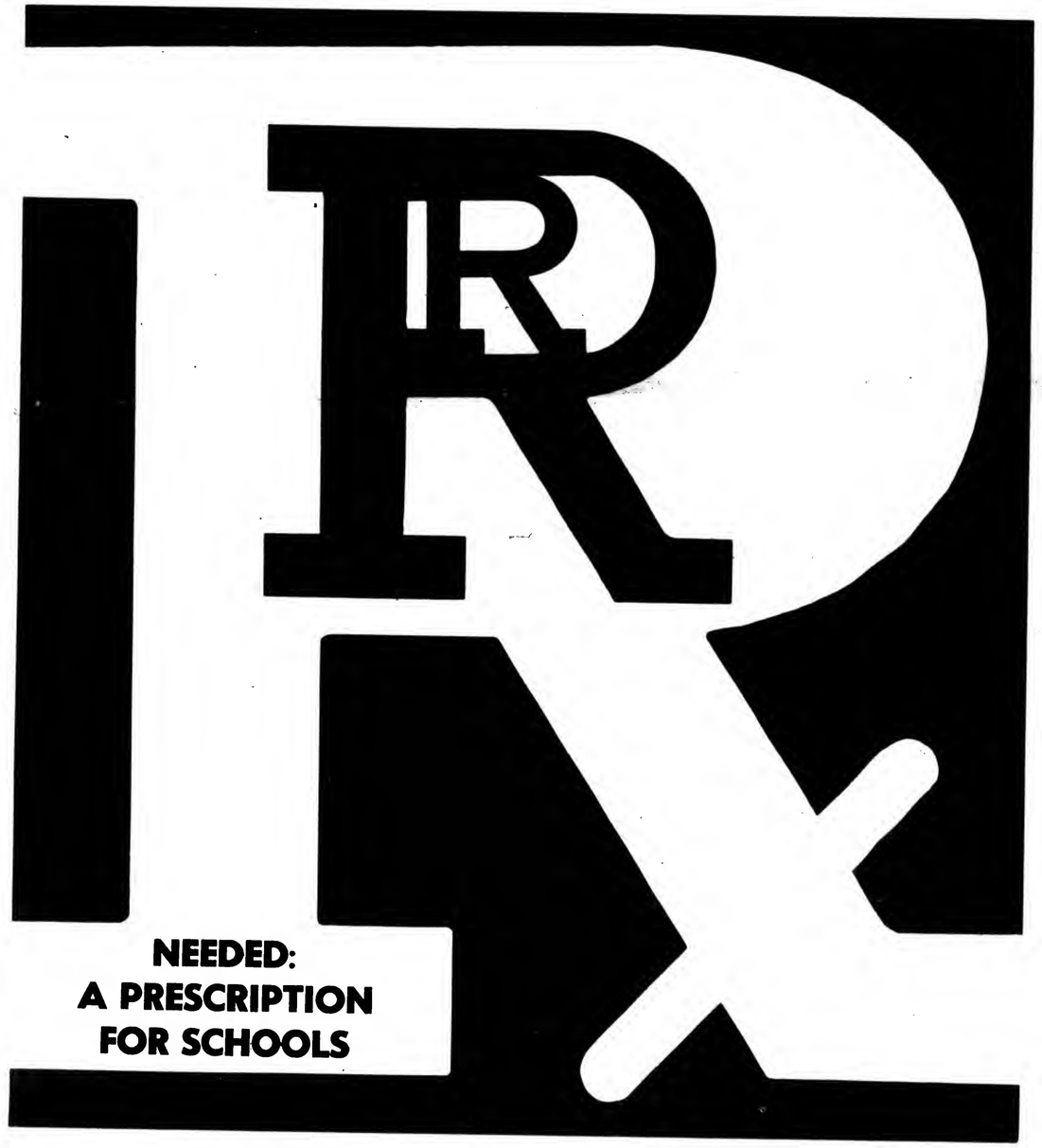

TEMPOsitions . . .

The Tragic Irrelevance of Ghetto Schooling

Guest Editorial by Bryant George

THE quality of education in inner-city schools can no longer remain solely a matter of concern for professionals and school boards. Institutions from the private sector have a stake in this matter and must act. Coalitions of students and their parents have taken this issue to the streets of the cities across the country in demonstration of their tragic loss of faith in the ability of public schools to educate. Ghetto communities seek control of their schools in the interest of an education that is relevant to the lives they lead and the cultures they represent. Ghetto church leaders are fighting with their backs to the wall to maintain faith in the public education concept.

The ghetto parents' tragedy is experienced, too, by parents and citizens in the wider community who until now had questioned neither the process nor the product of the schools they endowed with their taxes. Teachers were next to God, and kids were admonished to obedience. Parents who questioned policy outside of the P.T.A. were considered overprotective nuisances or cranks. **The community** was simply the locale in which the school resided, and it joined with the curriculum only in first or second grade units that introduced children to their "Neighborhood Friends" — the friendly policeman, the fireman, and the neighborhood butcher. These images have changed. Students feel drenched with irrelevance and drop out of school. Police teams are stationed within schools to guard the learning atmosphere. Parents are coming to feel as concerned and, in many cases, as **qualified** as school personnel to supervise the learning process.

As early as 1954, with the Supreme Court outline of the damage resulting from racially 'separate but equal' educations, community task forces mounted studies and assaults on the **de facto** inequities in northern inner-city schools. Bussing and Higher Horizons programs — both attempts at integrated, quality education — were tried and abandoned as inadequate solutions. Textbook revisions and Federally-funded teacher workshops were tried as ways of acculturating black kids into white learning systems, but the academic retardation of ghetto kids continued rampant. One entire school system of 60,000 teachers and supervisors locked one million children out of the classroom rather than permit community control to be realized on even a demonstration basis.

A cult of the *label* was spawned by teachers' college researchers who declared that, after all, the children of the poor and the non-white were in fact "culturally deprived" and "disadvantaged": only specialists could teach such children. Ordinary teachers, exonerated by this rationalization, petitioned for stipends as compensation for their presence in the ghetto schools. Black Spanish-speaking communities watched these charades and observed no appreciable decrease in the number of drop-outs or in the number of teenaged unemployed. (At least 55 per cent of the high school students from central Harlem in New York City continue to leave school before graduation.) With increased numbers and growing impatience, communities vowed they would not permit another generation to emerge from schools as functional illiterates. They would challenge every program designed to prove the self-fulfilling prophecy that entire groups of kids were uneducable.

The good news is that kids in urban communities are learning some of the most important lessons of their lives in the midst of this conflict. They are learning that their parents and other members of the local community and the city at large care deeply about the quality of their learning experience. They feel that some churches have stopped acting as referee and have declared "for the child." They feel a part of this significant coalition.

THE movement for community control seems clearly the most promising next step in assuring a meaningful education for all children. The school is the only institition which receives all of the country's children during some period of their lives. Teachers are now the largest single occupational group in the American labor force. Education is the largest community expenditure in the nation's economy. We are all enriched when these resources combine to produce a well educated citizenry.

Churches desirous of maintaining neutrality in things of Ceasar must abandon this lofty pose and fight alongside the people for an equal, quality education for all. ■

—The Rev. Bryant George is Associate Executive Secretary for Mission Strategy and Evangelism, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Brane Kroker, Elsa Kruuse

ART AND LAYOUT: Heff Heisler

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbot, David M. Ackerman, John Fisler, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, David Poindexter, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell, Mass Tilghman, Albert Tippit, Glen Trimble, John W. Turnbull.

Subscription Correspondence: TEMPO, P.O. Box 81, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010

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After Five Years . . .

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE DELTA MINISTRY?

by Bruce Hilton

Born into slavery, 105 year-old woman registers to vote for first time at Greenville, Miss., with help of Delta Ministry.

IN the "old days"—1965 and 1966 especially—you could count on reading the name of the Delta Ministry in your local newspaper every once in a while. Usually it was in connection with some controversial act — involvement in a strike or a demonstration or being denounced by some senator or bishop.

But it has been a long time since the Delta Ministry, a National Council of Churches long-term project with the poor in Mississippi, has been "news." And people often ask: "Is the project still alive? Or, if it is, has it become so moderate and 'safe' that it doesn't bother anybody any more?"

It's good to report that the Delta Ministry is alive and well in Mississippi!

Before reporting some of the things which currently keep the staff of approximately 35 people busy, let me suggest four reasons why you don't hear much about it today:

1. Although Mississippi and the deep south were in the spotlight in 1964 and 1965, attention has shifted so radically to the Northern ghetto and the Vietnam peace question that most newspapers and TV programs find little interest in reporting what's happening in the South today.
2. The efforts most needed now in the struggle for justice in Mississippi are different —and far less spectacular—than they were a few years ago. In 1964, the very presence of concerned people, with as much publicity as possible, was an important weapon. Today, the emphasis is on economic and political organization, carried on by people with specific skills and—preferably—by local residents rather than highly publicized outsiders.
3. The nature of newspaper and television news demands either spectacular actions or a "name" which is instantly recognizable in a headline in order to compete for limited space and air time. The Delta Ministry has always resisted a press build-up for anyone on its staff, sticking doggedly to its original concept that its mission is to strengthen *indigenous* organizations and promote *local* leaders.
4. By the same token, DM has insisted that for all the projects in which it cooperates, credit should go to the local organization. DM conducted training seminars for all the successful black candidates and played a key role in the campaign of Charles Evers, in the last general elections, but the credit and publicity went to the men involved and their sponsoring county organizations.

A recent visit to the delta area, a vast, flat area of rich cotton land, showed the Delta Ministry staff engaged in everything for tornado relief to school boycotts for desegregation and decent schools. These were some of the activities, selected from among many others:

● Grants totaling $10,000 had been secured by DM for voter-registration groups in seven counties.

● $12,750 had been raised and spent in a 3-month period for families too poor to buy food stamps under the Government program.

● DM was supporting a black citizens' group in Leland in a long struggle for decent schools, including compliance with Federal desegregation orders.

● Tutoring centers were operating in five counties, staffed by students from Northern colleges recruited by DM.

● Tons of food raised through "Hunger Project '69" by DM and five national denominations were distributed to the victims, black and white, of tornadoes which struck Hazelhurst and Mendenhall.

● DM's second annual Conference on Educational Change was held in Mound Bayou, bringing delegates from 14 counties to discuss practical strategies for improving Mississippi's woefully inadequate schools.

● DM provided experience and advice as part of the planning of the National Black Economic Development Conference held in Detroit, April 25-27.

FREEDOM CITY—after more than three years of struggle and pain—is now a growing operation which, within another year, will have about 300 residents. The people who live there will have built their own homes, planned their community and learned job skills the plantation never gave them. Delta Opportunities Corporation, the organization founded by the Delta Ministry but governed by local leaders from nine counties, has expanded its operations and recently was refunded by the Office of Economic Opportunity by $367,777—despite the determined opposition of powerful Southern politicians.

The late Senator Robert Kennedy visited Delta Ministry's Freedom City during tour of poverty areas in Mississippi.

The project has changed over its first four years as the needs of the Freedom Movement have changed. Originally staffed, in the tense and dangerous days of 1964, by five white "outsiders," the DM is now almost completely made up of black Mississippians — 28 in all — with only two black "outsiders" and five whites.

The Delta Ministry Commission is more active and effective as the responsible governing body than ever before under the chairmanship of the Rev. Andrew Young, executive vice-president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Active members of the Commission, which meets twice a year in Mississippi, include such national figures as the Rev. Channing Phillips of Washington, D.C., and Representative Julian Bond of Georgia, as well as people who are "known" leaders only in their local communities.

Financially, the Ministry has had an uneasy stability; there have been no disastrous financial cuts since 1967, when six of us had to be lopped off the staff. But there is always the danger that faddism, which affects denominational board members as well as newspaper editors, will endanger the "long-range" concept with which DM was originally set up. In the glare of the spotlight on the Northern ghetto, funding agencies are in danger of forgetting that America's urban problems are inextricably tied up with its Southern rural problems — and that promises were made to the black people of Mississippi in setting up DM which must be kept.

The Delta Ministry, then, approaches its fifth birthday as an active, indigenous, loosely structured arm of the Freedom Movement — an important and increasingly accepted factor of life of Mississippi. This is why, a year ago in April, one of the two mule trains in the Poor People's March to Washington began its journey from Mount Beulah, the DM headquarters near Edwards, Miss. Dr. King had visited there 10 days before his death to confer with DM leaders about the march. He knew that Mount Beulah, like the ministry it serves, had become a symbol to the poor of Mississippi of the support by the churches in this country and around the world in their continuing struggle for justice. ■

—Mr. Hilton was a staff member of the Delta Ministry for two years (1965-67), living in Greenville with his wife and four sons. He continues as a consultant and speaker on Mississippi while serving as promotion director for the NCC Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature, which co-sponsors literacy programs in the Delta. He is author of The Delta Ministry, *published March 23 by The MacMillan Co., which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue.*

What It's Been Like In New York

COMMUNITY CONTROL OF SCHOOLS: THE CHURCHES' ROLE

by John F. Fisler

BLACKS, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and American Indians are mobilizing to gain control of the educational destiny of their children in New York City and cities across the nation.

Many of these efforts are being led by churchmen, and in some places church groups have begun to assume responsibility as they see clearly that the major focus of the equal rights struggle has centered on the public schools of the inner city.

Spot checking across the nation, Grace Goodman of the United Presbyterian Church's Office of Strategic Studies last fall identified church involvement in public education issues in Boston, New Haven, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Buffalo, Camden, N.J., Chicago, Detroit, Columbus, Ohio, St. Louis, Los Angeles, Oakland, Portland and San Diego, among others. Organizations established in these cities are joining the struggle directly or in coalition with other community groups.

In addition, churchmen in some places occupy key positions. In Los Angeles, for example, the Rev. James E. Jones, United Presbyterian, is the first black to be elected (by fellow members) president of the board of education. In New York, the Rev. Milton Galamison, also of the UPUSA and long-time leader of the fight for quality education, is board vice-chairman.

National church agencies are beginning to gear-up for involvement in the search for relevant education in the ghettos. Last fall the National Council of Churches assigned some of its social justice staff to work with New York City groups in the school crisis, and helped form the Interreligious Committee for Community Control of Schools.

The Board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian Church formed a Public Education Task Force and assigned staff to work with both church and secular agencies to put together a national coalition. Dr. Thelma Adair heads the Task Force; Dr. Bryant George is at work on the latter assignment.

The United Church of Christ has the Rev. Alexander Harper working full-time on urban education, and its racial justice staff has been working in New York and elsewhere helping parents to organize for a greater role in running the schools.

New Joint Project

Perhaps the most significant proposal for national action has come from the boards of education of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, U.S., United Presbyterian and United Church of Christ denominations. They are seeking the assistance of other communions in setting up United Ministries in Public Education, with a desk in the Washington Office of the National Council of Churches, that would relate the churches to governmental and non-governmental agencies. The joint project would seek, also, to increase the concern and competence of church members for improving education. The Rev. J. Blaine Fister, Religion and Public Education executive in the NCC's Division of Christian Education, has been giving assistance to the communions in this effort.

Because New York City has been the major battleground for reform of public education, it is instructive to note the church involvement that emerged during its school crisis.

The Metropolitan N.Y. Synod of the Lutheran Church of America established early last fall a Public Education Task Force which has conducted a well-organized parish education and action program.

The United Church of Christ, Metropolitan N.Y. Association, has employed a full-time staff to conduct a similar program.

The Council of Churches of New York City, formerly called The Protestant Council, early went on record supporting school decentralization and was the first local Council to employ a full-time public education specialist — Mrs. Dorothy Jones —who since left the staff for a special graduate program at Harvard University. *(See interview on pp. 6 & 7)*

Other Groups Active

The Presbytery of New York City and other local denominational units endorsed school decentralization and have chosen to work with the Interreligious Committee or other coalition efforts. The United Methodists, who sponsored the formation of the Metropolitan Urban Service Training have centered much of their activities around the MUST public education team of Rae Hendrix, Betsy Pugh and George Younger and the N.Y. Conference social action director, the Rev. John Collins.

The Interreligious Committee for Community Control of Schools was formed in November, with Dr. Charles S. Spivey, Jr., NCC Social Justice executive, and Dr. M. L. Wilson, NYC Council of Churches board chairman (now its president) as co-chairmen. Some 25 local and national organizations, including Brooklyn Catholic Charities and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, sent representatives.

The Rev. Calvin Marshall (second from right) leads Clergy Vigil at offices of New York State Commission of Education, seeking reinstatement of a local school governing board in Brooklyn, N.Y. To his left: the Rev. Augustin Batelle, minister of Spanish language Presbyterian church in the Bronx, N.Y.

The ICCC has worked primarily on decentralization legislation under the direction of John Lassoe, director of Christian Social Relations for New York's Episcopal Diocese. He also has important positions with the legislative commissions of the New York State and New York City Councils of Churches.

With the religious forces finally organized; they were able to play a major role in bringing together the Coalition for Community Control, which is being directed by Doris Todd, Mr. Lassoe's assistant, and whose chairman is Dr. Francis Keppel, former U.S. Commissioner of Education and now president of the General Learning Corporation. The Coalition has some 30 civil rights, education, community service and religious organizations involved in the Albany lobbying effort.

Militant Action

Surely the most involved and most militant church group for community control of schools in New York is the Clergy Vigil—formed last fall at the peak of the school crisis in Brooklyn's Ocean Hill-Brownsville experimental school district. Such black church leaders as the Rev. Calvin Marshall, minister of the Varick Memorial AME Zion Church, Brooklyn; the Rev. William A. Jones, Bethany Baptist Church, Brooklyn; the Rev. Timothy Mitchell, Ebenezer Baptist Church, Queens; the Rev. Herbert Daughtry, House of Hope Pentecostal, Brooklyn—rallied to the support of the Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, chairman of the OH-B governing board, and then helped Mr. Oliver to secure help from church leaders outside the local area.

Although a number of white churchmen had gone several times to Ocean Hill-Brownsville to stand with the community against the massive assault of the United Federation of Teachers and its allies—seeking to discredit and destroy this experiment in community control—it was not until December 13, 1968 that the Clergy Vigil became a "movement" of black, white, Puerto Rican, Catholic and Jewish clergy pledged to "impose a moral and spiritual 'trusteeship' over the entire school system."

Outraged at the terms of the strike settlement, and the actions of the state trustee, the clergymen occupied the offices of the State Commissioner of Education, James E. Allen, and presented four demands:

1. Reinstatement of Dr. Rhody McCoy as unit administrator of Ocean Hill.
2. Removal of the trustee, Dr. Firman.
3. Reopening of Junior High School 271.
4. Reinstatement of OH-B local governing board.

The Rev. Calvin Marshall emerged as the charismatic leader of the clergy in the almost daily confrontations with state or city education officials which occurred from December 13 on. The Rev. Lawrence Durgin, minister of the Broadway United Church of Christ, was elected co-spokesman with Mr. Marshall for the group. The Clergy Virgil vowed "to maintain a religious presence at the centers where the issues of power and justice are being played out."

Catholics Join Forces

Since the Clergy Vigil began, some 200 ministers, priests and rabbis have participated in the various sit-ins, sleep-ins, and other types of confrontations. The group has become more organized and now has the backing of the 1,700-member Synod of Priests of the Roman Catholic Church in New York State, which voted its support March 29, 1969 and has given its legislative support to a strong community control bill.

The Clergy Vigil has sponsored three bus expeditions to the Capitol at Albany, the latest on April 17, when Dr. Durgin issued these words to the assembled legislators, most of whom were hostile to the forces for community control of schools:

"This is to serve notice on you that you are no longer dealing with a church as usual. The church is redefining its vocation as the advocate of the poor and the voice of the voiceless. Unless the governmental structures can rediscover their vocation as the defender of the defenseless and the supporter of the poor, governmental structures and the Church are headed for a massive confrontation. You and we are on a collision course."

Such is the mood of one firm-minded church group involved in the education struggle.

The drive for community control and self-determination is exceedingly strong in New York City and is becoming increasingly so in other major cities.

Church groups can and should become involved and assist in an orderly transfer of power. But if the Church stands on the sidelines in silence or indifference, it will only make it all the more possible for angry frustration to take over.

—Mr. Fisler is Director for Interpretation, Department of Social Justice, National Council of Churches. He has been close to the New York City school crisis since its inception.

Local Control Means Also Local Fiscal Control

THE SCHOOL IN THE GHETTO: THE ECONOMIC FACTORS

by Father Robert C. Chapman

THERE are some hidden issues involved in the question of community control of schools, and importantly among them are economic issues which do not readily come into clear focus.

When we speak of "control," we are speaking of the effective exercising of power. Power, to be sure, is what people in ghetto communities all over the country are seeking to wield. They wish, particularly with reference to public education, decisively to participate in the educational development of their children. Their expectation and confidence is that if they can succeed in this objective, the groundwork will be laid for the equipping of their children to become more able than their forebears to provide for home and family, and to function positively as citizens in our highly complex and pluralistic society.

The means they have chosen (and it is only one of countless measures that must be tested) is tried and true. Community Control of Schools, as they call it, is a philosophy which actually has been furthered in white communities everywhere under the name of the Neighborhood School Concept. In both cases, the neighborhood, or community people exercise control over their respective local school systems.

Such control places economic leverage in the hands of the local people,

Books With Half-Truths

The books from which American children learn in school are saturated with half-truths, misrepresentations of fact, omissions and outright falsifications. This is so consistently so, and, nationally speaking, so universally so, that it is exceedingly difficult for many Americans to perceive this truth in the full depth of its profundity. This sad reality is one of the functions of what the Kerner Commission referred to as "institutional racism." We cannot see the forest for the trees.

Upon reflection, however, we recall that Maximilian was a valiant prince, but Pancho Villa was a scoundrel; George Custer was a brave general, but Sitting Bull was a cunning rascal; Patrick Henry was a patriot, but Malcolm X was a peddler of hate; Napoleon was great—but who ever heard of Toussaint?

The common denominator of all of these giants of history is that each man stood squarely for the advancement of what he conceived of as his own people. On that basis, each has earned a place of respect in human history. Each deserves to be sung as a hero of his people, by his people. In that context, each has earned the right to be heard of and read about by all of the people. Variously, they address the rightful pride and healthy self-image which should abide in us severally and corporately. The historical strivings of peoples to achieve an uncrowded place in the sun, to walk in untrammeled dignity and to aspire produce far more similarities than contrasts as age proceeds unto age.

Toussaint And Honest Abe

As a valid part of the process of becoming truly free human beings, little blond, blue-eyed boys and girls should be able, by their education, to thrill as much to the terrific Toussaint as little black, red, yellow and brown boys and girls are taught to salute the honest Abe. Man, as God made man, is of a kind. Our public schools fail to deliver this socially vital, deeply theological truth. As tho the world of human achievements is singularly white, our schools establish half-truths in the young minds of all of our children, and our equally blinded auxiliary institutions (for all of our institutions teach), perform admirably the task of confirming us in the wrong. This is not only poor education, it is injustice. We victimize, with blinded mental sight, those who are least able to defend themselves — our children. All of our children. Ultimately, of course, they must become as sightless as we, as mutually suspicious and fearful of each other as we, as ready to destroy each other as we almost are. Tragedy.

What is the hidden economic issue here? It is quite simple to uncover. Community control of schools, if delivered in the fashion requested by ghetto communities, will include control of monies. Money is then a lever. Many of the local school districts — if not a majority of them — in our largest cities, would be under the fiscal control of non-whites. The souls of these persons still smart from the welts of being written-out of existence. The districts could, and would demand of text-book publishers and authors that they not only salute Napoleon, Abe, and Maximilian, and Custer and Henry, but that they erect the long-overdue pedestals for all of the Toussaints, Panchoes, Sitting Bulls, Malcolms, and Martins, and establish these men thereon. The power to refuse to purchase dishonest and crippling books would be their bargaining strength. If the enforced change (unhappily moral suasion is a dream in a society where money is God's most imposing challenger) were to take shape in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit and but a few more major cities, America should have taken a giant stride in the direction of the attainment of good-quality education. Truth has the quality of goodness.

The Name of Urban Renewal

Walk with me, now, to view another scene. It, too, speaks of community control of schools. Economics stands in the shadows — in the shadows of those tenements we are now approaching. For months, now, all of the run-down flats in the square block bounded on the north and south by Black and White Avenues, and on the east and west by Brown and Yellow Streets, have been boarded-up. In the name of Urban Renewal, the city has laid claim to the block. In the name of progress, a new school will rise on this site. The ghetto families, who suffered there, have long-ago been removed — other tenements, in this, and in other sections of the insufferably overcrowded slums. Only the rats remain. Tomorrow the bulldozers come. Awakened by the roar, black faces, brown faces, perhaps even an occasional white face, will appear at the windows across the streets. The people are watching. Teen-aged boys —high school drop-outs, that is, will saunter by to peer for a while. Jobless men, standing idly by, will gaze for a spell. The people are watching. Little ones will be excited. That's going to be their new school!

Working And Watching

There won't be many black men on those bulldozers. Soon, the concrete foundation will be poured, and the steel girders, like huge, playground monkeybars, will climb skyward. Not many black faces. Not many non-white faces among the workcrews. The people can testify, for they are watching.

The cement trucks, sand trucks, and the staccato tattoo of the riveting, play confusing symphonies in the ghetto streets. Men, many men, are at work. Other men watch.

The new school is rising! Masons, carpenters, electricians, sheet-metal workers and plasterers stream in and out of the near-finished building. Affluent America is doing its thing — work. The other America is doing its thing — looking-on.

Every late afternoon, the symphonies stop abruptly — and the silence chills the ghetto in the summer. Home go the workers — that is, out of the ghetto.

Who can say? Maybe the North Vietnamese really are bad people. But our American slums are prisons. Our American slums de-humanize.

The school will be finished next week. The workcrews will work in another neighborhood. Work. When this building opens in the fall, white building superintendents will replace the builders. The people will watch. The men, the boys, the women and the children will have to meet them, welcome them, cooperate with them, say "Good Night" to them each evening.

With Community Control of Schools, *that* community would have insisted on more jobs for their own, non-white men. With Community Control of Schools, an ably qualified non-white building superintendent, would lock the gates in the evening, cross the street, climb the stairs, and say, "I'm home, honey."

More equity. More justice. Hidden economics. ■

Father Chapman is Director for Racial Justice, National Council of Churches' Department of Social Justice.

"WE ARE TALKING ABOUT SOME VERY BASIC CHANGES IN AMERICAN EDUCATION . . ."

Quality education for children of the ghetto

"... the only way black people in this country will be recognized as equal is when they control their own destinies."

Interview with Dorothy Jones, by John F. Fisler

A specialist in public school decentralization, Mrs. Dorothy Jones spent the entire New York State legislative session in 1968 working on school decentralization as a participant observer for the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, headed by Negro educator, Dr. Kenneth Clark. She is a former director of the Office of Church and Race of the then Protestant Council of the City of New York, where she worked almost exclusively on public education problems and represented the Council as a consultant to the Planning Board of Brooklyn's controversial I.S. 201, which set up the experimental school complex in that neighborhood. Mrs. Jones came to the New York Council from the City Commission on Human Rights, where she was education specialist for several years. She is currently studying education administration at the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University.

Mrs. Jones is interviewed here by the Rev. John F. Fisler of the Department of Social Justice of the National Council of Churches.

Mrs. Jones, everyone across the nation is talking about quality education, wanting it for their children, but no one has defined it. What is your definition of quality education?

Quality education probably has as many definitions as the people who define it. My own working definition is: any system of education that prepares a child adequately to function in the society in which he finds himself. That is, a school system or process that gives the child all of the skills he will need, along with the positive attitudes and self-confidence, that he will need in order to earn a living, to function as a citizen, to raise a family. To me all of these ingredients are necessary before we can call any educational system "quality education."

Do you feel that the goal of American education now is to reform our educational systems to bring this about, and if so, what kinds of reforms are we talking about?

I think at this stage we are talking about some very basic kinds of changes in American education. Over the years we have done some pretty fair jobs in preparing a large proportion of people to go through school and on to higher education, into industry and business, and to function with a fair degree of success. Unfortunately, today in city after city the statistics show us that this is no longer happening. Increasingly a majority of children attending public schools in many, many cities are simply failing in the work the schools assign them. No. American public education is not meeting its stated goals. Children are graduating from high school unable to read properly, unable to communicate effectively, frequently unable to fill out job applications legibly and clearly, unable to cope with college work or even with college admissions, and unprepared to earn a living in industry. American business and industry are demanding people capable of coping with today's advanced technology. They are not getting them.

Is this a general trend as you see it?

This is true in just about every city I can think of. In New York City, for example, in the standardized Achievement Tests, one out of three children is recorded as finishing elementary school ill-prepared for the more advanced work in the secondary schools. This to me is failure. In addition, we note again in city after city that the population in the schools is changing.

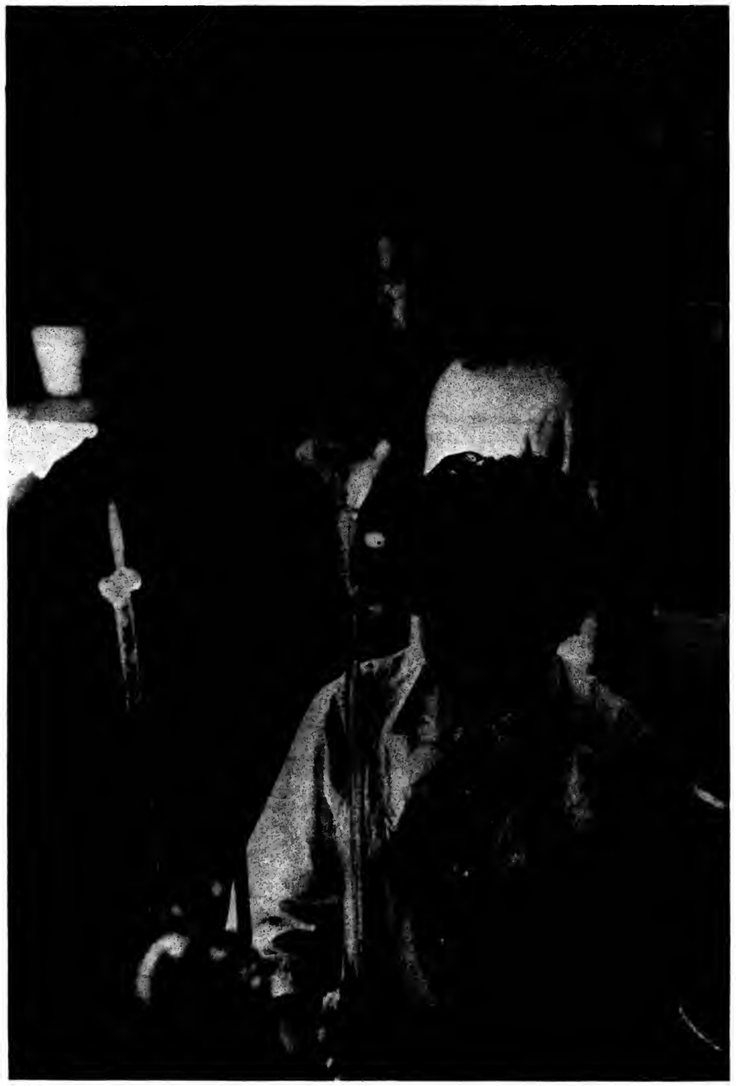
Increasingly, urban public schools are becoming places where the have-nots of our society—Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, Orientals, Indians — are being educated, whereas the white middle-class is increasingly being educated in suburban schools. But both in cities and suburbs, parents are complaining that their children are not getting the kind of education that will serve them in the future. In the case of cities, increasingly the minority populations are complaining that the ingredients that make for a healthy self-image for their children are missing. All of this adds up to the need to develop some revolutionary improvements in our approach to education. The alternative is the kind of chaos that we now see beginning to develop in our school systems.

Most suburban whites that I know are satisfied with their school systems. They are preparing their children primarily for college and they seem to be moving along in a fairly satisfactory way. Although we do have the usual difficulties of school budgets, I don't note much dissatisfaction in white suburbia.

I think you're right that in many instances parents are not dissatisfied. But talk to the young people themselves: Talk to them in their freshman and sophomore years in college, when they begin to question the value of the kind of education they have been getting. I think you'll find that many of the young people who are involved in demands for changes at the college level are also highly critical of the preparation they had before they went to college. This is where you begin to see dissatisfaction with the suburban schools. Their complaints are that the approach is too parochial, in the non-religious sense, and does not prepare them for the realities of life in American society. They object that in most schools they have attended the population is very restricted. There is too much sameness. They resent having been left out of the potential variety of American life, of not having learned the true facts of American history.

Well, the Black and Puerto Rican communities, and even the Mexican-American and American Indian communities, are now up in arms regarding the whole question of education. Is it true that this is now the number one concern in these communities and, if so, why?

Despite the fight for better housing, for fewer restrictions and the right to live where they want to, I think it is true that in community after community major emphasis is being placed on schooling and I think this is for several reasons. First of all, it doesn't do much good to have a fair housing ordinance enabling a person to live where he wants to if he can't afford to live there. It doesn't do much good for organizations like the Urban League and the NAACP to open up job opportunities if people have not had the training and education to take such jobs. So in each of these struggles we come back to the need for proper education to prepare people to take advantage of opportunities once they are available. Second, as we talk about progress, about making life better for people, we're talking about the future. And when we talk about the future, we are not talking about what the children would be like compared to elderly people like us. We are talking about the kinds of lives our children are going to lead in a complex future. So again, we must talk in terms of improving the schools. People can see the schools. It is very difficult to fight a school system but it's even more difficult to fight a real estate lobby or a big business that doesn't want to hire minority people. Logically, schools are the places to start in making a total change in the community.



Have the black people of America given up on school integration then?

I would say, on the contrary, school integration in general has given up on the black community! That's really only partly a facetious statement. The reality is that the Supreme Court's 1954 decision has never been effectively implemented in a way that affects change in the lives of the great mass of black people in this country. A few children in the North and a few more in the South have been desegregated. But integration is a goal that essentially has not been realized anywhere in this country.

I make a distinction between desegregation and integration because they are very different processes. One can desegregate people simply by moving them around physically. It's a matter of logistics, of administering decisions. Integration, on the other hand, is a process that involves the development of attitudes of mutual respect, mutual acceptance and understanding. If we look at the Kerner Commission report and all the other studies that have come out in recent years, I think we can see that this has not yet begun to happen in this nation.

How do you see the present situation?

In North and South, the vast majority of black children are attending predominantly all-black schools, which are more inferior in many ways than they were originally. This is one aspect.

Second, in schools which have been desegregated, people have found that in itself has not worked a kind of magic in the lives of their children and they are looking for something more. The goal of the black community has always been to achieve equality within our American society. For a long time, many of us thought that the implementation of the Supreme Court's decision in Southern schools and the implementation of the spirit of the decision (since it applied only to the South) in the North would accomplish this goal. But it has not happened. When children have been transferred, it's usually been on the basis of a white community, "the haves," sharing what it has with the "inferior" children from the "have not" community. This in itself doesn't develop a sense of equality on either side. Even with busing programs, the voluntary open-enrollment programs, the city-suburban transfers — all of these have affected only a minority of children in the black community. The vast majority through all of this have stayed in their segregated schools.

What is the attitude of the black community toward school integration?

There have always been people in the black community who were not concerned about integration as such. Many of those who were concerned hoped that, this way, perhaps their children could get a good education. The abstract concept of integration was not important to many of them. It was to me, and I worked hard at it for a long time, but even I in the last two or three years have come to the realization that we have been pursuing a myth, which is not going to become a reality in the foreseeable future.

My concern is: what are we going to do for the children who are in school now who cannot wait for this dream to come true? They are living the nightmare of today and we must do something about it! My own decision has been to work toward self-determination for minority communities that includes the concept of community control. It includes developing black businesses, providing economic independence for the black community. It includes all the things for the black community that wave after wave of immigrants developed in their own communities before they could enter the mainstream of American life. We've tried to go a different route. It has not worked and I'm convinced that the only way black people in this country will be recognized as equals is when they control their own destinies.

In that connection, some people in New York City are saying that the drive for community control of schools cannot be turned back, that it will happen in New York City and it will happen in other urban centers across the nation. How do you view community control and decentralization?

I view them both as necessary and inevitable for the black communities, and not only for minority communities but for the white communities in the nation as well. School systems today are in general controlled by the people who control their various communities, but very rarely are they from the minority communities. The attitudes, the orientation, the expectations of the staff of each school are determined by the people in charge, who often are remote geographically and almost always socially, from the people whose children they teach.

I think you made a distinction between decentralization and community control of the schools.

Yes. In a city like New York, decentralization is necessary whether or not there is community control. The school system itself decided some years ago that it needed to decentralize administratively in the same way that a large business does. At a certain point, business becomes too large to have all decisions made from the front office, and therefore decides to break down the structure and allow many decisions to be made by local management. This is what the school system in New York had in mind when it began to talk decentralization — simply to change administrative procedure so that local principals and district superintendents could make some of the decisions which originally were made at headquarters. It was just a coincidence that this plan developed at the same time that parents and local community leaders in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and other minority areas of New York began to seek ways of making the school system more responsive and accountable to their clients —the black and Spanish-speaking parents of the city.

(This is Part I of a two-part interview. It will be concluded in the next issue.)

WASHINGTON COMMENT

THE EMERGING DOMESTIC PRIORITIES OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION

by David M. Ackerman

THE ability of any new Administration to set priorities and establish new directions for government policy in its first few months in office is severely limited by the sheer inertia of what it inherits. The President can replace only about 2,000 of the approximately 2.6 million civilian employees of the government (albeit key policy personnel), and for the first year is largely bound by a budget constructed by the previous Administration. President Nixon has the additional limitations placed on his freedom to maneuver of having been elected with less than a majority of the votes cast, and of being the first President since Buchanan in 1848 to have had elected with him a Congress completely controlled by the opposition party.

Nevertheless, a new Administration is far from helpless. It can make changes in the way the programs and funds it inherits are organized and administered; it can nibble at the edges of its predecessor's proposed budget; it can begin to propose new initiatives to Congress; and perhaps most important it can by its rhetoric largely shape the nature of the nation's public dialogue.

David M. Ackerman

What any new Administration does in each of these areas reflects a prior political decision as to the mood and desires of the country. When President Kennedy assumed office in 1961 he used a variety of techniques to convey a sense of decisiveness and movement in an attempt to galvanize the country into action. When President Johnson took office in his own right in 1965, he perceived the opportunity to move quickly to convert his overwhelming victory at the polls into concrete social legislation.

A Breathing Space

President Nixon obviously evaluates his political situation quite differently. In his inaugural address he stated his belief that in the last few years "America has suffered from a fever of words; from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver; from angry rhetoric that fans discontent into hateds; from bombastic rhetoric that postures insead of persuading." Though guilty himself of the "bombastic rhetoric that postures" during his campaign (notably on law and order, and on the capture of the Pueblo), he has since his election been muted in his public statements. He has sought to convey a sense not of urgency and need but of deliberateness and control. His guiding political conclusion has been that the country needs a breathing space, a time for reflection and reconsideration, a period in which to renew its energies and clarify its goals.

To achieve a breathing space, then, for himself and for the country has been his first priority — a political priority rather than a substantive one. Consequently, he has deliberately sought to be undramatic. His administration has focussed more on the *review and reorganization* of what the government is already doing and how it is doing it than it has on headline-catching program innovations

The President has, for instance, taken great pains to get his staff and Cabinet functioning in such policy advisory bodies as the National Security Council, the Urban Affairs Council, and the Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy. He has issued well over a hundred directives to government departments and agencies requesting assessments, reports, and reviews on everything from tax reform to possible amendments to the Pension and Welfare Disclosure Act. He requested Congress to extend the authority granted the President under the Reorganization Act of 1949 to reorganize the programs and agencies of the Federal government, subject only to Congressional veto. He has reorganized the Labor Department's Manpower Administration, established common boundaries and headquarters locations for the regional offices of the Departments of Health, Education and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; Labor; the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Small Business Administration; and transferred the administration of the Job Corps and Headstart from OEO to Labor and HEW respectively. Finally he has established precedent by personally visiting each of the major government departments.

None of these moves, though far from being unimportant, are particularly exciting. In short, to achieve the priority of cooling the political temper of the U.S., the Nixon Administration has, for the most part, refrained from making proposals. When it has made programmatic decisions, such as the decision to go ahead with a modified ABM system or the decision to eliminate 59 Job Corps centers, it has, predictably, aroused political tempers. But for the most part, the Nixon Administration has achieved the breathing space it wanted.

Issue Priorities

No modern President, of course, can long postpone making substantive program choices. Particularly when the Congress is controlled by the opposition party, he cannot leave a legislative vacuum untended for long and still hope to leave his imprint on the government. Consequently, under increasing pressure both from within and without his own party the President has over the past month begun to reveal publicly his domestic program. Here, too, the pace is deliberate and cautious. In an implied criticism of his predecessor, the President has said, "It will be the goal of this Administration to propose only legislation that we know we can execute once it becomes law. Merely making proposals takes only a typewriter; making workable proposals takes time."

President Nixon visits scene of last year's riots in Washington, D.C., with Mayor Walter Washington and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney

He has, nevertheless, unveiled his revisions of the Johnson budget and begun to make his own proposals to Congress. Though specific details of many of his proposals are still lacking, it is clear that the primary domestic issue priority is *inflation*.

The President is obviously taking the threat of inflation seriously. Where the Johnson budget proposed to spend $196.9 billion in fiscal 1970, leaving a surplus of $1.8 billion, the Nixon Administration slashed another $4 billion from the spending total and raised the budget surplus to $5.8 billion. In addition, the President has proposed retaining the 10% income tax surcharge and the excise taxes on telephones and automobiles for another year. Finally, in a surprise move, he has proposed the elimination of the 7% capital investment tax credit to business.

What this adds up to is that in the Nixon Administration the threat of inflation takes precedence over other domestic needs. Putting a tight control on expenditures makes it difficult for the Administration to propose and implement new programs or expand existing ones. Its own priorities must, to some extent, wait for another day.

Other Priorities

Nevertheless, a second priority can be seen in the actions of the Nixon Administration in these initial months — *crime*. The requested budget for the Justice Department is the only one the President increased above the levels requested in the Johnson budget. The budget also provides for additional employees not only for the Department of Justice but also for the law enforcement agencies of the Department of the Treasury. Secretary John Mitchell of the Justice Department has, in addition, made clear his intention to use fully the broad wiretapping authority granted by Congress in the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, an authority his predecessor refused to use. Finally, the President has promised "new measures to combat organized crime, and to crack down on racketeers, narcotics traffickers and peddlers of obscenity." With the exception of the use of wiretapping and his suggestion that the use of preventive detention be considered by Congress, the President's proposals are responsible and well-considered, and far better than his campaign rhetoric led one to expect.

With regard to poverty, it is unclear what Mr. Nixon's priorities are. His budget requests minimal increases in appropriations for food programs over the Johnson budget; reduces the Social Security increase from the proposed 10% to 7% and postpones the liberalization of the maximum earnings permitted; recommends the postponement of the freeze on the level of Federal payments to state AFDC programs; maintains the recommended level of funding for low and moderate income housing programs, for manpower training programs (except for the Job Corps), and for Head Start and Follow Through; reduces the level of funding for OEO, medicare, and medicaid; and recommends a new program of Public and Community Employment. On balance, this is less than Mr. Nixon's liberal opposition wanted, but more than they expected when he first took office.

In sum, President Nixon's domestic priorities after several months in office have to do largely with the quieting of the nation's turmoil by slowing the pace of social change and bringing stability to its fiscal affairs. His Administration has made clear that it will engage neither in the wholesale expansion of the programs launched in the Johnson years nor in their wholesale destruction. It will set its priorities not by dramatic innovation but by slow program modification based on factual review and the experience of administration. Due to the mood of the country and the fact of a Democratic-controlled Congress, the Nixon Administration will be pragmatic rather than ideological. Its rhetoric and performance will, for now, be cautious and middle-of-the-road rather than exuberant and aggressive.

That this approach will be successful and create further room for maneuver is the President's hypothesis. Whether a restless country conscious of its shortcomings and confused about its aspirations and a Congress controlled by the opposition party will permit him the time he wants must, for now, be an open question. But it might be wise to entertain serious doubts. ■

Mr. Ackerman is staff associate for research and information, Washington Office, National Council of Churches.

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POPE PAUL TO VISIT WCC HEADS IN GENEVA

ROME — Pope Paul VI in a tradition-shattering step will visit World Council of Churches headquarters in Geneva this June. It will be the first visit by a Pope to the working center of world Protestant and Orthodox action. The Pope's announced purpose in going to Geneva is to attend ceremonies honoring the 50th anniversary of the International Labor Organization. Announcement that Pope Paul will also, in all probability, meet with World Council of Churches leaders during his Geneva visit followed a "fraternal invitation" to do so from Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, general secretary of the world church body. According to Vatican sources, the Pope told a large group at a recent audience that he has accepted "with great joy" the invitation from Dr. Blake. A Vatican spokesman noted also that Pope Paul's visit to World Council headquarters assumes special significance in view of developments in Roman Catholic and Protestant relationships on a world-wide basis. World Council sources indicated that during the Pope's visit the discussions will center on the opportunities and problems of the continuing rapprochement between Roman Catholic and Protestant bodies.

The announcement of the Pope's impending visit to World Council of Churches headquarters came but two weeks after the Vatican visit of six U.S. Protestant leaders. The only previous visit to the Geneva headquarters by a high-ranking prelate of the Roman Catholic Church was in 1965, and it proved a milestone in ecumenical relations. Augustin Cardinal Bea, until his recent death, president of the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity, paved the way for theological dialogue and joint activities among the major forms of the Christian faith. When Pope Paul VI comes to Geneva this June, he will be accompanied by Cardinal Bea's successor in the Christian Unity post, Cardinal-elect Jan Willebrands.

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TWO MORE CHURCHES JOIN IFCO

NEW YORK — Two more church bodies have joined IFCO — the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization. The Board of American Missions of the Lutheran Church in America and the American Church Union (an unofficial group within the Episcopal Church) have brought the IFCO membership to 23 Protestant, Catholic and Jewish agencies. The Interreligious Foundation coordinates efforts for community organization and training, especially in areas of urban poverty. IFCO recently reaffirmed support for the national boycott of California table grapes as an aid to community organization for impoverished farm workers. IFCO also praised a community-wide drive in Los Angeles for funds for the black community there and said it could become a model for a nation-wide United Black Appeal. According to the Rev. Lucius Walker, Jr., executive director of IFCO, the black community needs one main thing from government, industry, foundations and the churches. It needs grants of funds free from the strings and conditions attached to money gifts in the past. This "new style of investment" in the black community, says the Rev. Mr. Walker, would allow local groups to organize effectively for what he calls "a wholesome confrontation with the forces of resistance that are decaying our country."

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GENEROUS GRANT WILL AID NEGRO COLLEGE LIBRARIES

NEW YORK — The United Board for College Development, an arm of the National Council of Churches, has been granted $233,000 from the Carnegie Corporation which will be used to develop a center for cooperative library development among Negro colleges. The announcement came from the Rev. Dr. Hubert C. Noble, executive director of the NCC's Department of Higher Education, through which the grant will be administered.

At the same time, the Carnegie Corporation disclosed a second grant designed to strengthen Negro colleges and universities in the South. Made to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. and amounting to $200,500, this grant is to be used toward the operation of college service centers for elected officials over the next three years.

One of the first projects planned by the United Board for College Development is a central book purchasing and processing office to serve the college libraries.

The center will enable the libraries to take advantage of sizable discounts available from publishers on large book orders. The cost of getting a book on the shelf (cataloging, stamping, covers, card pockets, etc.) ranges from $1.89 to $6.00 among six colleges surveyed. Under the project the cost to the center could be reduced to $1.06 per volume.

Professional librarians operating the center also will be available to advise the college librarians on improving collections and other matters.

The center will initially serve six colleges in Alabama and Mississippi. The colleges concerned are Miles, Oakwood, Stillman, Talladega, Tougaloo and Tuskegee. It is designed to take care of up to 30 institutions. The United Board for College Development, based in Atlanta, is under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Charles C. Turner, an executive in the National Council of Churches' Department of Higher Education.

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A hand-carved leather case, made by a migrant worker in the New Mexico Council of Churches-sponsored HELP program, is given to U.S. Senator Harrison Williams (D.-N.J.). Presentation was made at a farm labor issues conference held in the First Congregational Church here. Sen. Williams has headed the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor since its inception a decade ago. Making the presentation are Dolores Huerta, a vice-president of the United Farm Workers Oranizing Committee, Delano, Calif., and Mr. Newlon Lloyd, a worker in the Florida Council of Churches migrant ministry. (See story below.)

SENATORS HEAR FARM WORKERS' PLEA

SPECIAL TO TEMPO by Kay Longcope

WASHINGTON, D.C. — U.S. Senator Harrison A. Williams (D.-N.J.) was honored here April 16 by a national religious and labor coalition for his work in obtaining legislation for farm workers.

The occasion was a farm labor issues conference, sponsored by the National Campaign for Agricultural Democracy. It was held in First Congregational Church (UCC) and marked the 10th anniversary of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, which Sen. Williams has chaired since its inception.

"In the past decade, there has been a radical change from a handful of concerned churchmen pressing the government and testifying in behalf of farm laborers to a lone senator or two, to the farm worker himself, making his own witness to an increasing number of senators and congressmen," said the Rev. Dr. Jon L. Regier, associate general secretary of the National Council of Churches for the Division of Christian Life and Mission, during conference ceremonies.

His words were borne out in events of the day.

It began with the first day of hearings on two new bills, S. 8, which would give farm workers collective bargaining right, and S. 1808, which deals with harmful agricultural child labor practices. On hand were farm workers from California, Florida, Ohio, Texas and Wisconsin who told the Senate subcommittee members what kind of legislation is needed to protect them.

Mrs. Dolores Huerta, reading a statement submitted by Cesar Chavez, head of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee of Delano, Cal., pressed for legislation that would allow a strong union of farm workers.

"The best insurance against strikes and boycotts lies not in repressive legislation but in strong unions that will satisfy the farm workers' hunger for decency and dignity and self-respect," she told the senators. "What we ask is some way to keep the illegals and green-carders from breaking our strikes, and some civil remedy against growers who employ, behind our picket lines, those who have entered the U.S. illegally and those green-carders who have not permanently moved their residence and domicile to the U.S. as required by law."

Manuel Salas of Wisconsin declared that farm workers "have to have special protection, not just a law to make that struggle a 'fair' one" against the interests of powerful agribusiness.

"Our people have been made to live in fear — fear of losing our jobs, fear of not having enough to eat the next day," said Reynaldo de la Cruz, president of the Colonias del Valle (Colonies of the Valley) in South Texas.

José Alexander of the Organization of Migrants in Community Action, Delray Beach, Fla., said: "A man who must be constantly struggling to keep his family alive has little energy to organize others. . . . Everything is against us organizing."

About 200 persons attended the sessions of the farm labor issues conference. Among them were Senators Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.), Jacob K. Javits (D.-N.Y.), Edward Kennedy (Dem.-Mass.), Allan Cranston (Dem.-Cal.), Ralph Yarborough (D.-Texas) and Sen. Williams.

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NEW YORK CLERGY PROTEST WELFARE CUT

NEW YORK — Governor Nelson Rockefeller and the New York State Legislature have cut state aid to welfare programs by $128 million for the coming fiscal year, and many clergymen have joined Mayor John Lindsay of New York City in vigorous protest. The Interfaith Citywide Coordinating Committee against Poverty has called the legislation "immoral." Members of the Governor's staff were told by the group that the clergymen would support what they called "the positive use of violence", to change the new legislation if nothing else will work. The cut in state aid for welfare needs will result in some loss of federal welfare-aid funds too, since these are given on a matching basis. New York is the nation's most expensive city to live in. A family of four reportedly needs about $6,000 to maintain a low standard of living. The legislature, however, has set the figure at $2,500 plus rent. Councils of Churches and interfaith groups throughout the nation are girding up to protect the poor as states and the Federal government cut back on welfare and anti-poverty programs under pressure from taxpayers and galloping inflation.

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ILLINOIS CHURCH COUNCIL REPORTS ON CAIRO TENSION

SPRINGFIELD, ILL. — A special task force of the Illinois Council of Churches, formed to investigate mounting racial tensions in Cairo, has issued a grim report.

The four-man team, headed by the Rev. Dr. Frederick A. Roblee, Council executive director, recently made three visits to the troubled city where there has been a rash of fire-bombings, arrests and protest demonstrations. Chairman of the task force, the Rev. Blaine Ramsey Jr., pastor of Ward Chapel AME Zion Church in Peoria; the Rev. Fay H. Smith, Council associate secretary; and the Rev. Lewis E. Andrew, consultant on Religion and Race, United Presbyterian Synod in Illinois, joined in issuing the report.

Cairo, they said, "is a city in which explosive tensions are so deep as to require the immediate attention and continued concern of the Governor and all the agencies of our state government."

The team found a city where "fear and distrust haunt the daily lives of many and where serious infractions of law and justice are widely reported."

The actions of the "power structure," said the statement, have compounded the poor education and chances for self-improvement of the disadvantaged. "It is a city in which even communication of Christian people, black and white, has almost entirely broken down."

The task force urged immediate action by all those in authority to end "such a mockery of the principles upon which our country was founded."

Specifically, they called for "real justice under law" for all the people of Cairo; protection of all citizens against harrassment by any individual or groups; and the "full utilization of the power and resources of the state and Federal agencies to alleviate poverty conditions" in Cairo.

On a more favorable note, the task force cited the candidacy of three leaders of the black community for membership on the school board, "which would contribute to the quality of education for all the children in Cairo." It also commended the efforts of religious and other groups in their efforts to provide "practical and sustained assistance" to the people, where unemployment and underemployment are among the highest in the state.

In a final recommendation, the statement called on all news media "to be very careful to report conditions in Cairo objectively."

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CHURCHMEN CALL FOR "TIDAL WAVE" OF OPPOSITION TO ABM

Urgent messages to the President and Congress, and documented fact sheets to their constituents, have sparked a "flurry of new justifications and public relations efforts to sell" the Anti-Ballistic Missile system to the American people, warns a recent message to its members from the Church of the Brethren.

In this "urgent first-class letter" they are joined by the Friends Committee on National Legislation, which gathered much of the data for the Brethren's fact sheet.

Calling for a "tidal wave" of public opposition to the ABM program, modified or not, the letter notes that the concern being voiced by constituents of Congressmen and Senators "has already moved some former ABM supporters to the 'open mind' column." Such a "wave," they say, should increase that number.

Theological seminary deans and faculty of three Chicago schools have added their protests to deployment of any ABM system in a Statement of Conscience in which they "urge fellow Christians, all religious people and all men of deep humanity" to join them.

"We are convinced that the destructive arms race must be stopped now if mankind is to survive," says the statement. "Our only sane defense is to diffuse the tension existing in the world today which might force some nation, in a moment of lunacy, to release its nuclear weapons."

The 32 signers of the statement included Dean Hugh T. McElwain, OSM, Catholic Theological School; Dean of Students Arthur O. Arnold, Lutheran School of Theology; Prof. Thomas Cunningham, OSM, Loyola University; and Dr. Edward F. Manthei, president of Chicago Theological Seminary.

NEW LONDON, CONN. — The Rev. Danny Sheffield, minister of the Ledyard, Conn. Baptist Chapel, has coffee with a co-worker in a renovated store in the inner-city section of New London, Conn. which has been set up as a teenagers' gathering place. Mr. Sheffield directs the new coffee house, called The Whale's Belly, which he founded after a local committee on drug abuse asked for help in communicating with young people.

In New York City, the interreligious National Committee Opposing ABM issued a strong appeal against the proposed missile system on religious grounds. Heading the list of 26 signatories were Dr. John Bennett, president of Union Theological Seminary, New York City; Rabbi Abraham Heschel, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City; and the Rev. Michael Novak, the Catholic theologian who is dean of the State University of New York at Westbury, N.Y.

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WCC CONFERENCE TOLD CHURCH MUST COMBAT RACISM

BUCK HILL FALLS, PA. — (RNS) — Speakers at the U.S. Conference of the World Council of Churches appealed at the annual meeting here for white and black churches to come to grips with the question of racism.

"We have yet to define the policy and strategy which would constitute a breakthrough for the church on this question," declared Dr. Paul A. Abrecht, executive secretary of the WCC's Department of Church and Society.

And at a panel discussing a speech by Dr. Keith R. Bridston of Berkeley, Cal., which called for flexibility in religious thinking, the Rev. Eugene Turner, a Philadelphia Presbyterian, accused church councils of working on "white agendas" which ignore the "black consciousness" of black churchmen.

Speaking about development and social justice, a major joint endeavor of the World Council and the Roman Catholic Church, Dr. Abrecht observed: "The dynamic forces which have created the pressure for rapid social and economic development will not wait for the church to formalize its thinking."

Mr. Turner, a Negro staff member of his Church's Pennsylvania synod, asserted that black consciousness has driven the leaders of black churches to take stock of future relationships with white churches, and advised black Christians "to unite in black ecumenicity" before embarking on the ecumenical experiences of the Western world.

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PRESBYTERIANS TO TALK REUNION OF SOUTHERN CHURCH WITH UPUSA

MOBILE, ALA. — A resolution, adopted here on April 28 at the 109th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, calls for drawing up a plan toward reunion with the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, from which it has been separated since the Civil War.

The Presbyterian Church, US, often called the Southern Presbyterian Church, has a membership of one million; the UPUSA has 3.2 million members.

Talks of a merger between the Southern Presbyterians and the Reformed Church in America recently broke down when the latter denomination did not produce enough votes for such a merger.

In 1955, the Presbyterian Church in the US turned down a motion to unite with the United Presbyterian Church and the Presbyterian Church in the USA. The latter two did unite to form the present UPUSA.

A committee of 12 was appointed from the General Assembly to meet with a special committee of 12 from the United Church to work out union plans.

In the next to the last day of its six-day meeting, the Southern Presbyterians also voted to continue participation in the Consultation on Church Union in which nine denominations are looking toward merger.

BOOKS:

Story of a Fighting Ministry

by Jim Nichols

THE DELTA MINISTRY by Bruce Hilton, MacMillan Co., 240 pages, $1.95 paper edition; $5.95 hard board.

Reading Bruce Hilton's book on the Delta Ministry may leave you in a rage.

The rage would not be directed against the political figures of Mississippi, because political figures are also political animals and governed by their own brand of morality.

The rage would not even be directed toward the ignorant, redneck citizens that make up a good deal of the population of Mississippi, because they know not what they do.

But the rage storms on the institutional church, both inside and outside Mississippi, and those people—and they are legion—who make such a mockery of the word "Christian."

Hilton writes: "If there is literally one unforgivable sin, surely it must be the use of Christ's body, his Church, to deny fullness of life to the people."

This is the twisted Christian cross in Mississippi's Delta. But don't feel smug. This is the twisted Christian cross in Dayton. This has always been the twisted Christian cross that has caused Christ's body, His Church, to become the diseased, deformed killer of mankind.

Hilton writes: "Churchmen in Mississippi must ask themselves: Is unity more important to the church than being right? What does it do to a church to sacrifice its integrity to gain peace? What does it do to a man's soul to continue practicing, for whatever reason, what he knows is wrong?"

Don't get us wrong.

Hilton, who has been in the battle, doesn't rage and thunder as he tells the story of the Delta Ministry. But, as he tells the story of the problems that confronted this National Council of Churches' project, the rage should come to the reader.

In one of its early fact sheets, the Delta Ministry was defined as "a long-term effort to end the low economic, health and social conditions of Mississippi's poor."

Hilton points out: "And despite the fact that even in 1964 the nation was beginning to lose its enthusiasm for the southern rural civil rights movement, the Delta Ministry has managed to stay alive, through financial crisis, loss of support, controversy and strong attacks from churchmen and politicians to this day. It is the largest civil rights staff in the South."

Hilton's story of the Delta Ministry is a story of Christian social action. This really is the story of Jesus told over again because it is a story of rebellion.

Hilton tells the story of the Greenville Air Force base sit-in; Striker's City and Freedom City. He tells of troubles and tensions, but admonishes that all is not trouble and tension. Especially in Greenville, Miss., moderates in control had managed to stop overt terror but the mental terror or pressure continued.

The Delta Ministry has aroused passions on both sides of the fence.

The Jackson (Miss.) *Daily News* wrote of it: "A slew-footed ragtag of flotsam . . . from New York's slummy, dope-riddled, rape-minded metropolis."

Theologian Harvey Cox has written: "The Delta Ministry is one evidence that God may not be as dead as some people think."

The Delta Ministry, as Hilton's book points out, lives today. The book also shows that the message of Jesus who became the Christ also lives but, unfortunately, many Christians don't know it. ■

—Jim Nichols, staff writer, Dayton Daily News.

LETTERS

THE CHURCHES' REAL POWER

TEMPO comes regularly to my desk and I read it with interest and appreciation. It represents a very high level of journalism and carries perceptive and important articles mostly about the contemporary crisis in society which ought to dominate any serious church journal in our time.

But is there room to consider seriously the possible role of TEMPO in helping the parish minister and the parish church to be occupied creatively and sanely in the local scene? My question may simply reflect my own bias that the real power of the church to reform society is not in national pronouncements but lies, mostly dormant but potentially very powerful, within thousands of ordinary WASPish congregations across the land. Could TEMPO be aimed at helping to release that power?

The Rev. Browne Barr
First Congregational Church
Berkeley, Califnornia

(TEMPO is eagerly on the lookout for articles such as Dr. Barr requests. Several have already appeared. Ed.)

WALD ARTICLE REPRINTS WANTED

I appreciate TEMPO very much, especially the article by George Wald, "A Generation in Search of a Future," in the April 1 issue. This must have widest circulation! Would it be possible to get a thousand copies of this issue to distribute to our members and to the community?

Keep up this important ministry.

The Rev. John Thompson
First Congregational Church
Sarasota, Fla.

The presentation by Dr. George Wald in your April 1 issue is as exciting and perceptive as any article that I have read in recent years. Are reprints of this statement available in any form? I would like very much to obtain 20 or 30 copies and to make this a basis of discussion among some of my faculty colleagues.

Thank you very much for the creative work that you are continually doing with this publication. I look forward to receiving it and find every issue relevant and meaningful.

The Rev. William L. White
Chaplain, Illinois Wesleyan University
Bloomington, Illinois

(A limited number of copies of the April 4 issue are still available, @ 15c a copy or less, depending on quantity ordered. Or reprints of Prof. Wald's article may be freely made and distributed by interested readers. Ed.)

SPEAK TRUTH WITH LOVE

It seems to me that many of your articles contain the kind of overstatements which, while they may be very well intentioned, tend in the long run to create more heat than light.

For instance, in "A New Thing Came to Pass in Chicago" (March 15), it seems to me that in the first paragraph it's somewhat of an overstatement to indicate that future conferences "will ignore at their peril." In your article "Man's Space-haunted Future," this statement about "future American power can support private foreign economic empires as they gain dominion over all the resources of the earth, etc." seems to me a far more sweeping statement than warranted. . . .

I do know that these are difficult times, and that people need in many ways to be challenged and stirred up. However, I do believe that, in the long run, we will get much further along if, with love and good will, we diligently seek the truth and try to express it with as much love, insight, and wisdom as God gives us. . . .

Rev. Alden Besse, Rector
Church of St. Michael and All Angels
Rumford, R.I.

TEMPO IS INTERESTING

I have read issues of the new TEMPO with a great deal of interest and have earmarked one of the articles for one of our writers to read.

I want you to know that I am very favorably impressed.

William Arthur, Editor
LOOK MAGAZINE
New York City

TEMPO FOR BULLETIN BOARDS

We appreciate very much receiving copies of TEMPO and find them very meaningful to post on our bulletin boards. For this purpose, we appreciate the articles that are complete on a given page or two pages.

The Rev. Boyd Gibson
College Pastor
Thiel College
Greenville, Pa.

THANKS, MR. LEVINE!

May I congratulate you on the amazing excellence of your publication, TEMPO. I find it a highly relevant publication — one of great value to me in understanding the depth of the church's social mission.

Irving M. Levine
Director of Urban Planning
The American Jewish Committee
New York, N.Y.

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MAYBE WE ALL MISSED

A JAZZ MUSICIAN LOOKS AT JAZZ IN THE CHURCH

by Ed Summerlin

IN 1959 I started writing jazz and contemporary music for the church. In the years that have followed we have seen everything from guitar-playing amateur clergy and nuns to Duke Ellington and his orchestra performing in the sanctuary. Guitar masses can be heard in the smallest communities, and the record companies and publishers of new church music can attest to the success of the singing nuns and priests.

I am very fearful, however, that commercial music is still commercial music, whether it be on Madison Ave. or in a church. Jazz and rock music have fared a little better; at least the people in these areas are usually professional musicians and by and large are not the successful commercial groups. But the problem of many jazz and rock players is their scant knowledge and detachment from the church, liturgy and contemporary theology. The folk-singing clergy have a bit more theology in their souls, but their musical horizons are terribly low. The one common point on which most of the aforementioned musicians could agree is that they are doing something contemporary for the church and changing church music can only bring positive results.

This is where I think we miss the point. I felt for years that bringing jazz into the church was a kind of end unto itself, and that the reflective qualities of jazz improvisation were especially suited for the church. (After all, improvisation was the life blood of much early organ music in the church.) But I'm afraid that simply bringing new music into our antiquated liturgies is much the same as hanging a contemporary painting on the wall, or putting in an abstract stained-glass window, or building a strikingly modern child structure and saying, "We have a contemporary church!" I disagree. A contemporary church is a church that is committed to change in all aspects of its liturgical involvement. Liturgy is a mixed-media event and each aspect should interact and react with the others.

LET'S investigate the idea of a mixed-media event a little further. It is exactly as its name implies — a mixing of various media; dance, music, drama and visual arts. The church has always had this sort of mixture in its liturgies. The drama is usually supplied by the minister in the Protestant church and by the priests and assorted assistants in the Catholic tradition. The music has always been there in various forms but with possibly more choreography in the southern churches. Movement

or dance (and highly choreographed, by the way) takes place in any church that uses communion rails, and some of the more formal churches are as adept as any modern dance group in the executing of their movement. The visual arts are ever present and come in all shapes, sizes and hues from the cutest whitest little cherubs to abstract plastic windows.

To me, the idea of concentrating on only one ingredient of this mix is futile and destructive. For instance, what good does it do for a minister to show a good film and speak about the relevance of the church in our daily life if we are going to follow the sermon with a hymn from another century? Right away we have effectively reminded the congregation that we are protected and separated from the world. What good does it do to have a jazz group play in a church if the words that the congregation says together are from another era?

Unfortunately much of what we say and sing in the church is not written by poets or dramatists but by theologians and denominational committees and (although I hesitate to say it because obviously there are exceptions) not much in the way of art has been created by either.

OUT of this sort of dilemma I have gradually come to the conclusion that I can best serve the church by being as aware as possible of what is happening in various areas of the arts and to utilize anything that I feel is useful. This has led me to abandon the idea of having a contemporary music group that I call, (after one of Roger Ortmayer's statements), "The Contemporary Mix." It is a group that varies, but is made up of artists, musicians, poets, dancers and actors. Usually the group consists of about four or five people and we have been doing services together for a couple of years.

I still compose religious music in the form of cantatas and the like, but when I am commissioned to do a celebration (or service) it is usually a mixed-media work. My most recent collaboration with Roger Ortmayer is a service entitled, "Sourdough and Sweetbread." It uses eight projections, 20 children, three actors, chorus, nine instruments and congregation. Please remember: professionalism is not the answer; involvement is "where it's at." And we must find new ways of involving people. I submit that having a folk singer lead a congregation in "We Shall Overcome" is no more involvement than having everyone sing any selection from one of our horribly outdated hymnals. I realize it is also difficult to ask people to become involved in new ways of celebrating when we have clung to our old styles for so long — but it is possible if people are truly Christians. That is, if they are trusting, open, unafraid to dare and have the courage to fail.

Or to put it more simply; we must be committed to change. Change is Christian. Fear of change is probably the greatest stumbling block that we face in the church. Everything has always had to be permanent. The pews are bolted to the floor making the use of the space expensive. Pipe organs are not suited to a great deal of current music, but eat up a large portion of space and (in their installation and upkeep) are quite expensive. Some of the greatest problems of the church are economic, but we perpetuate a style of worship that is as antiquated as castles and cathedrals.

NOW don't misunderstand. I am not saying that we have to give up our Christian beliefs that have been with us for centuries, but we must find new ways of worshiping together. A new language of worship — a new approach in which we don't shut out the world but instead embrace it, celebrate it, face it, and challenge it without fear.

To become One in the Body of Christ is our goal. That doesn't change, but our ways of doing it *must*, if we are to have a church that is vital instead of musty and fearful. We don't have to attempt to be modern or contemporary if we are committed to change and contemporary life and worship. If we are truly committed to a contemporary worship-style, the changes come automatically. Contemporary doesn't mean fifty years ago — it means now!

The total mix is the thing! A jazz band alone can't change it, a folk-singer can't change it. But *we* working together to discover new ways of reacting, interacting, involving ourselves with God and each other can change things. Onward Christians! Change! Courage! Let's mix it up together. ■

The first jazz liturgy performed in this country was composed by Mr. Summerlin. He has since been commissioned to write many works for the church, and has lectured at churches, church conferences and universities on music for the church today. Holder of a Master's degree from Eastman School of Music, he has played tenor saxophone with numerous famous-name bands.

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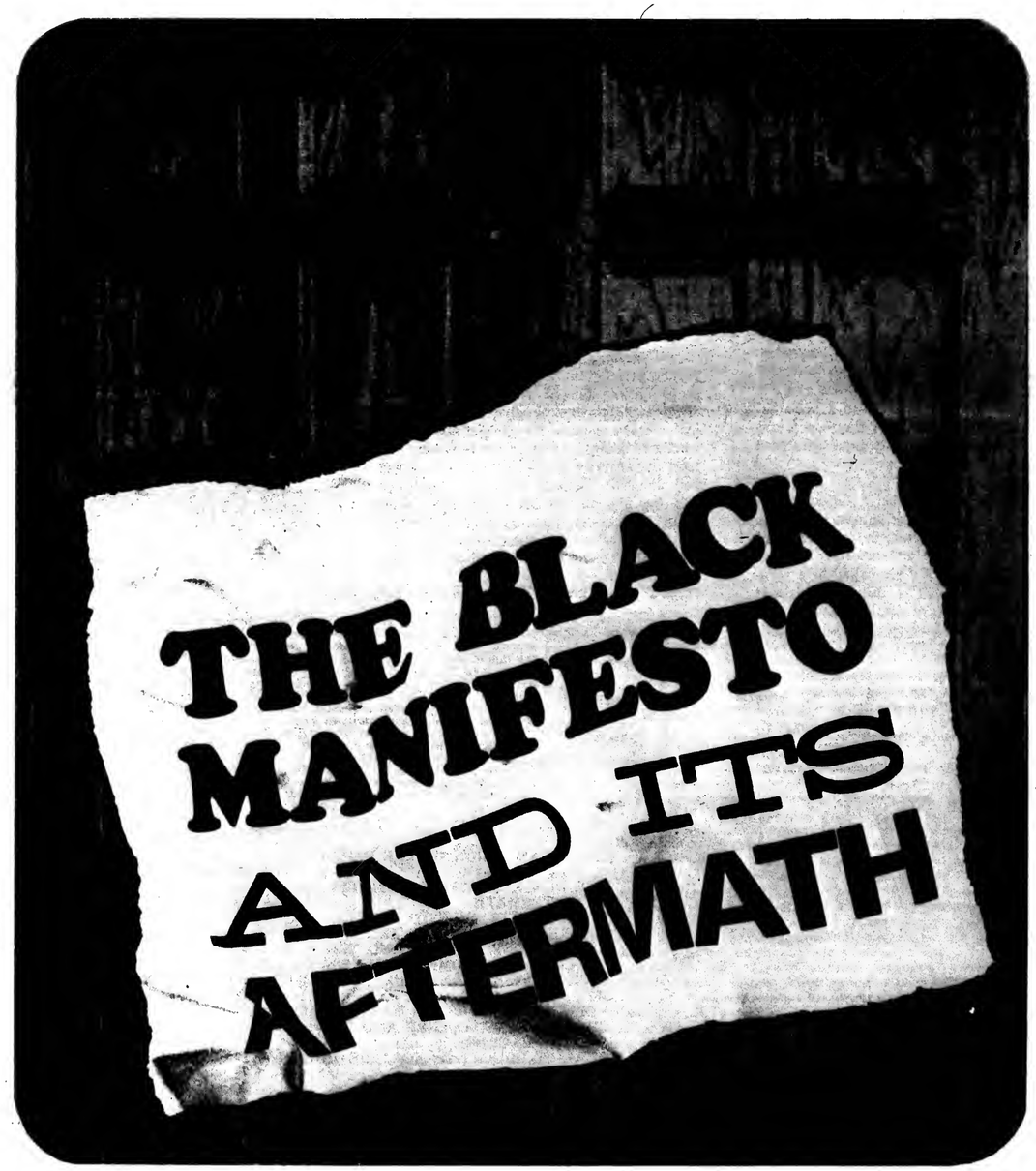
In Pace With The Changing Church
June 1, 1969



TEMPOsitions . . .

The Progress of Peoples: Christian Vision of the World

By Barbara Ward

THE starting point for judging our role in the world is to know where we are — Christians living in the wealthy West, a white minority making up about 20% of the world's peoples and enjoying 80% of the world's income.

But this is only a beginning, a raw statement of fact. And, as we know, facts rarely present themselves without a context. They come to us in a dense package of assumptions and experiences. Take such a fact that Mr. Brown, worth a million dollars, gives nothing to Mrs. Smith. This is a fact, multiplied a thousand times over by all the Browns who do nothing for all the Smiths. But suppose Mrs. Smith is his widowed older sister who lovingly brought him up as a boy. Then the fact of his indifference becomes a completely different fact because the context has changed.

DIFFERENT

Most of the facts of our contemporary scene require this sense of context. They do not come to us neat and bare. And the first thing that has to be said about us as Christians is, presumably, that our context of presuppositions and commitments is somewhat different from that of anyone else.

The Gospels are full of the idea that the Christian angle of vision cannot be simply interchangeable with the secular or "worldly" point of view. Leaven makes bread rise because it is different. Salt gives a taste because it is not identical with the food. Light shines in darkness because light and dark are distinguishable.

All these images of the Christian community imply being "other," different, set apart but at the same time guiding, inspiring, changing and entering into the whole sum of human existence. We are different; but our aim is communion. We are called to a vocation; but the vocation is unity. How is this fundamental context of Christian living to be interpreted in the modern age?

PERSONAL FORTUNE

Let us look at two widely accepted reactions to modern facts and see how they square with the Christian vision. The first concerns personal fortune. On balance, in the lands where the bulk of Christians live, the white, wealthy "post-Christian" societies of the North Atlantic — North America, Britain, Western Europe — the basic notion about income is to increase it and about wealth to accumulate it.

In general, a family's standards of living, its claim on resources and its expectations of fun and comfort go up in step with higher earnings. One can find it hard "to make both ends meet" and be resentful of taxes at $6,000 a year, $12,000 a year, $24,000 a year, $48,000 a year and so on up—in fact, since taxes rise with income, complaints can be higher as wealth increases, even though expenditures now cover two houses and three cars.

Christian teaching, in stark contrast, reminds us that the higher the income, the greater the responsibility. The final counsel of perfection was given to the rich young man: "Sell all you have and give to the poor." Short of this evangelical extreme, the wealthy must not satisfy their own rising superfluities at the expense of the basic needs of others. If they do, they will enter eternity as easily as a camel through the eye of a needle—not a wholly reassuring analogy for our Western societies who have "never had it so good."

FRONTIERS

A second pre-supposition of contemporary society is that obligations and responsibilities stop at frontiers. A man of different nationality or citizenship is no formal concern of ours. The Gospel approach is wholly different. All must be fed, even the least of the little ones. All must be clothed and sheltered. Even if the man in the ditch is a Jew and his rescuer a Samaritan, their traditional enmity must make no difference. The centurion's son is cured even if he is, in modern terms, a "hated imperialist." There is neither Jew nor Gentile, bond nor free, in the all-encompassing generosity of God. The brotherhood of man is not "Fourth of July rhetoric" but the basic meaning of our prayer: Thy Kingdom come.

This series will, therefore, try to give not only the facts about our strange new world round which the astronaut strolls in 90 minutes. It will try to suggest the context without which Christian judgment and response are hardly possible. For if we judge only as secular citizens, will the "salt keep its taste"? May it not be fit only to be thrown down the drain? ■

This is the first of a series of six projected guest editorials by Miss Ward (Lady Robert Jackson) under the general title: THE PROGRESS OF PEOPLES. Miss Ward is the noted British economist, author and lecturer, currently teaching at Columbia University. She is also a member of the Pontifical Commission on World Justice and Peace. The remaining five commentaries will be in future issues.

When at the end of April, Mr. James Forman presented his draft of a "Black Manifesto" to a National Conference on Black Economic Development held at Detroit, few who were present and voted for its adoption as Conference policy could predict the tumult that would result from efforts to implement the manifesto's demands.

In sum, the document calls for "reparations" of half a billion dollars from the nation's churches and synagogues to be given in a spirit of atonement for organized religion's "complicity" in the institution of slavery in this country. The money would be used to help create an economic and communications power base for this country's disadvantaged black community of today.

In a series of confrontations reported in this issue of TEMPO, the manifesto demands have begun to be presented to church and synagogue leaders and religious legislative bodies. And reactions and responses have begun to be voiced.

This special issue of TEMPO with four extra pages carries as full a report of development as it was possible to compile at press time, May 22. Subsequent issues will continue to report on developments as they become known.

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CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbot, David M. Ackerman, John Fisler, Henry McCanne, Allen M. Parrent, David Poindexter, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell, Maza Tilghman, Albert Tippit, Glen Trimble, John W. Turnbull.
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A New Challenge to The Churches

The Black Manifesto And Its Aftermath

By RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE

AMERICA'S Churches are still divided and uncertain in their reaction to the most direct, specific challenge they have received so far from black leaders. The challenge, known as the Black Manifesto, has been the center of a variety of incidents since it was first formulated at the end of April.

Shock was the initial reaction of most Americans when the Manifesto was dramatically presented in a disruptive demonstration at New York's famous Riverside Church. But, despite the shock and several serious questions arising from the demand, such reactions indicate that there is support for at least part of the Black Manifesto among white churchmen—particularly among the younger members of various denominations.

What the Manifesto demands is basically simple: an initial payment of $500 million and a continuing payment of a proportion of church revenues to the black community in reparation for church compliance in centuries of racism.

The Manifesto also specifies what the money is to be used for and who would supervise its use. Exactly what amounts are demanded of various Churches is still being worked out.

ENTER JAMES FORMAN

The dominant figure in the controversy surrounding the Manifesto is James Forman, director of international affairs for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, militant Black Power group. Most Americans had not heard of the Manifesto before 11 a.m. on Sunday, May 4, when Mr. Forman made his first appearance at Riverside. By the end of the next day, the Manifesto was a subject of heated conversation from coast to coast.

Mr. Forman could hardly have chosen a more dramatic scene for his demonstration—or, in the view of many observers, a church less vulnerable to charges of racism. The Riverside Church has an integrated staff, congregation and ministry. Its pulpit has often been filled by distinguished Negro clergymen, including the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The church's school program is about 50 percent black, its youth program about 70 percent black. FM Radio Station WRVR, which is owned by the church, is noted for its public service programming devoted to national and community problems—particularly the nationally heard discussion program, "Night Call," which features coast-to-coast audience participation.

Yet it was the Riverside Church that Mr. Forman chose for his first and most direct confrontation. At a meeting with the church's chief minister, Dr. Ernest T. Campbell (see Dr. Campbell's statement on page 5), Mr. Forman was told that he could present his demands to the congregation, but not during its 11 a.m. communion service. When Mr. Forman ignored this restriction, Dr. Campbell, the ministerial collegium, the choir and a number of the 1500 worshippers walked out.

INITIAL REACTIONS

The disruptive method of presenting his demands drew widespread initial opposition even from many who might have been sympathetic to the demands themselves. In subsequent confrontations Mr. Forman chose less drastic techniques. A few days after the Riverside incident, he affixed a copy of his demands from the Lutheran Church in America ($50 million in cash and 60 percent of revenues from assets) to the door of the denomination's national headquarters in New York City.

His conversations with church leaders have been private, although the demands have been made public. The demand of $200 million from U.S. Catholics (which charged that the Catholic Church "must be the biggest corporation in the United States"), was presented to New York archdiocesan officials whose attitude the militant leader described as being "in the spirit of friendliness."

Even more friendliness was shown by the United Presbyterian Church, which invited Mr. Forman to address its 181st General Assembly in San Antonio, even as a group of pro-Forman militants occupied some of the denomination's executive offices in New York City. Mr. Forman denied that he had urged or planned this occupation but said that widespread similar demonstrations could be expected if his demands were not met.

Other demonstrations in support of Mr. Forman, apparently spontaneous and not arranged by him, have taken place at New York's interdenominational Union Theological Seminary, where students occupied administrative offices for a day, and at the interdenominational American Church in Paris, where the demands were read during a service.

Mr. Forman did not disrupt the service when he appeared at Riverside again a week after his first visit. In the meanwhile, leaders of the church had indicated that part of his demands might be met, though the overall demands (which included free office space, unlimited telephone facilities and 12 hours of broadcast time daily on WRVR) were described as unrealistic.

OPPOSITION TO TACTICS

Criticism of Mr. Forman and his demands has focused mainly on the tactics used but has also covered many other aspects. An official of one militant organization, the Black Panthers, criticized the Manifesto for not asking for enough. The Manifesto estimates that the $500,000,000 being sought comes to 15 dollars per Negro. Zayd-Malik Shaker, Black Panther deputy minister of information, told the press that $15 a black man is not enough."

Another side of Negro opinion was presented by the Amsterdam News, influential Harlem weekly paper, which echoed some Negro churchmen when it said that "busting up church services is not our idea of how to gain any demands, no matter how righteous they may be."

"And in this case," the paper added, "instead of righteous they are either mysterious and incomprehensible to most of us or else border on the outrageous to others."

The Manifesto is quite detailed on what is to be done with the money, alloting sums which range from $10 million to $200 million for:

—A Southern land bank to secure land for black farmers;

—Black-controlled publishing and broadcast enterprises;

—Research and training centers devoted to the needs of black people;

—Funding of organizations to uphold the rights of welfare recipients and workers who strike to protest racist working conditions;

—A fund to develop cooperative businesses in the United States and Africa;

—"The establishment of a Black University . . . to be located in the South."

The Manifesto lists the names of 25 American Negro leaders proposed as a steering committee to supervise the expenditure of the funds.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

Among the questions still to be answered about the Manifesto, probably the most important is that of whom Mr. Forman can rely on to support his demands. Very little grass roots support was shown in the small turnout when he called on the people of Harlem to "come to Riverside Church and demand what's rightfully yours" on Sunday, May 11. But the fact that he does have some support in young militants and young white radicals was shown in various demonstrations. He has also been supported by the directors of the National Committee of Black Churchmen, an independent organization with some 600 members throughout the U.S.

One of the most curious facts in the history of the Manifesto concerns the circumstances of its original adoption by the first National Black Economic Development Conference, held in Detroit late in April. Sponsor of the conference was the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, Inc. (IFCO), funded by ten major religious agencies.

The Manifesto was introduced by Mr. Forman in an address full of revolutionary rhetoric. He led what he called a "seizure of power at this conference," claiming a "revolutionary right to do this." Rejecting the idea "that we should share power with whites," he insisted that "there must be a revolutionary black Vanguard and that white people in this country must be willing to accept black leadership."

"Think in terms of total control of the U.S.," he urged.

White reporters, like all whites, were barred from the meeting. The conference chairman, noting that it was an official document of the conference, reported that the Manifesto was approved by a vote of 187-63, "with numerous delegates abstaining." There were some 600 delegates at the meeting.

CATHOLIC AND JEWISH REACTIONS

Catholic leaders have been reluctant to comment, but the reaction of the Catholic press, like that of Protestants both black and white, has been mixed. The Catholic Review, Baltimore archdiocesan newspaper, described the Manifesto's proponents as "ideological stunt men."

The national Catholic weekly magazine, Ave Maria, while it said that the choice of churches as Mr. Forman's target was probably based more on their "vulnerability" than on their "complicity in . . . injustices," admitted that such complicity does exist and must be ended.

"We have found ways of compromising with obvious injustice, of soothing the consciences we should have been disturbing, of rationalizing our way into a polite coexistence with social sins which have been intolerable," Ave Marie suggested.

Jewish initial reaction was less divided. The Synagogue Council of America and the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council said in a joint statement that the demands and the tactics involved were "objectionable on both moral and practical grounds." At the same time, the statement said that "much remains to be done" to wipe out racial discrimination.

Despite misgivings, however, the general tendency among the churches—beginning with Riverside Church and including the National Council of Churches—has been to give serious attention to Mr. Forman and the manifesto. It seems improbable that all of his demands will be met in the near future, but the reaction to him shows no sign of complacency among religious leaders on the issues he has put before them. ■

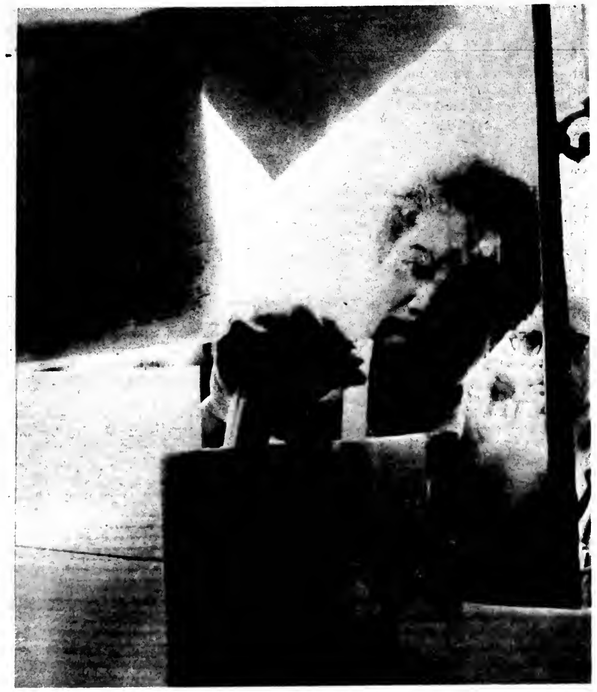
(For further reactions and responses, please turn to pages 6 and 7. Response to the Manifesto demands was also voiced officially by two denominations which held national legislative meetings in May: The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., and the American Baptist Convention, reported on elsewhere in this issue. The full text of the Black Manifesto appears on page 4. ED.)

The Full Text Of . . .

THE BLACK MANIFESTO

by Religious News Service

TEMPO here presents to readers the full text of the Black Manifesto, drafted by Mr. James Forman and adopted as a policy statement by delegates to the National Black Economic Development Conference, held at Detroit, April 25-27. Missing for lack of space is the full text of the Introduction to the document in which Mr. Forman outlined his philosophical, political and historical bases for the manifesto proposals.



James Forman Affixes Manifesto Demands on Door of Lutheran Church in America National Headquarters

From the Introduction

". . . All the parties on the left who consider themselves revolutionary will say that blacks are the Vanguard. But we are saying that not only are we the Vanguard, but we must assume leadership, total control and we must exercise the humanity which is inherent in us. We are the most humane people within the U.S. We have suffered and we understand suffering. Our hearts go out to the Vietnamese for we know what it is to suffer under the domination of racist America. Our hearts, our soul and all the compassion we can mount goes out to our brothers in Africa, Santo Domingo, Latin America and Asia who are being tricked by the power structure of the U.S. which is dominating the world today. These ruthless, barbaric men have systematically tried to kill all people and organizations opposed to its imperialism. We no longer can just get by with the use of the word capitalism to describe the U.S., for it is an imperial power, sending money, missionaries and the army throughout the world to protect this government and the few rich whites who control it.

". . . We must commit ourselves to a society where the total means of production are taken from the rich and placed into the hands of the state for the welfare of all the people. This is what we mean when we say total control.

". . . Our fight is against racism, capitalism and imperialism, and we are dedicated to building a socialist society inside the United States where the total means of production and distribution are in the hands of the State and [the State] must be led by black people, by revolutionary blacks who are concerned about the total humanity of this world.

". . . Racism in the U.S. is so pervasive in the mentality of whites that only an armed, well-disciplined, black-controlled government can insure the stamping out of racism in this country. And that is why we plead with black people not to be talking about a few crumbs, a few thousand dollars for this cooperative, or a thousand dollars which splits black people into fighting over the dollar. That is the intention of the government. We say . . . think in terms of total control of the U.S. Prepare ourselves to seize state power.

". . . We maintain we have the revolutionary right to do this. We have the same rights, if you will, as the Christians had in going into Africa and raping our Motherland and bringing us away from our continent of peace and into this hostile and alien environment where we have been living in perpetual warfare since 1619."

WE the black people assembled in Detroit, Michigan for the National Black Economic Development Conference are fully aware that we have been forced to come together because racist white America has exploited our resources, our minds, our bodies, our labor. For centuries we have been forced to live as colonized people inside the United States, victimized by the most vicious, racist system in the world. We have helped to build the most industrial country in the world.

We are therefore demanding of the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues which are part and parcel of the system of capitalism, that they begin to pay reparations to black people in this country. We are demanding $500,000,000 from the Christian white churches and the Jewish synagogues. This total comes to 15 dollars per nigger. This is a low estimate for we maintain there are probably more than 30,000,000 black people in this country. $15 a nigger is not a large sum of money and we know that the churches and synagogues have a tremendous wealth and its membership, white America, has profited and still exploits black people. We are also not unaware that the exploitation of colored peoples around the world is aided and abetted by the white Christian churches and synagogues. This demand for $500,000,000 is not an idle resolution or empty words. Fifteen dollars for every black brother and sister in the United States is only a beginning of the reparations due us as people who have been exploited and degraded, brutalized, killed and persecuted. Underneath all of this exploitation, the racism of this country has produced a psychological effect upon us that we are beginning to shake off. We are no longer afraid to demand our full rights as a people in this decadent society.

WE are demanding $500,000,000 to be spent in the following way:

1. We call for the establishment of a Southern Land Bank to help our brothers and sisters who have to leave their land because of racist pressure for people who want to establish cooperative farms, but who have no funds. We have seen too many farmers evicted from their homes because they have dared to defy the white racism of this country. We need money for land. We must fight for massive sums of money for this Southern Land Bank. We call for $200,000,000 to implement this program.

2. We call for the establishment of four major publishing and printing industries in the United States to be funded with ten million dollars each. These publishing houses are to be located in Detroit, Atlanta, Los Angeles, and New York. They will help to generate capital for further cooperative investments in the black community, provide jobs and an alternative to the white-dominated and controlled printing field.

3. We call for the establishment of four of the most advanced scientific and futuristic audio-visual networks to be located in Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland and Washington, D.C. These TV networks will provide an alternative to the racist propaganda that fills the current television networks. Each of these TV networks will be funded by ten million dollars each.

4. We call for a research skills center which will provide research on the problems of black people. This center must be funded with no less than 30 million dollars.

5. We call for the establishment of a training center for the teaching of skills in community organization, photography, movie making, television making and repair, radio building and repair and all other skills needed in communication. This training center shall be funded with no less than ten million dollars.

6. We recognize the role of the National Welfare Rights Organization and we intend to work with them. We call for ten million dollars to assist in the organization of welfare recipients. We want to organize the welfare workers in this country so that they may demand more money from the government and better administration of the welfare system of this country.

7. We call for $20,000,000 to establish a National Black Labor Strike and Defense Fund. This is necessary for the protection of black workers and their families who are fighting racist working conditions in this country.

8. We call for the establishment of the International Black Appeal. (IBA) This International Black Appeal will be funded with no less than $20,000,000. The IBA is charged with producing more capital for the establishment of cooperative businesses in the United States and in Africa, our Motherland. The International Black Appeal is

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Elsewhere in this issue is told the story of how at Riverside Church in New York City a service of Holy Communion on Sunday, May 4, was interrupted by a group led by Mr. James Forman to present to the church's congregation the demands of the Black Manifesto. The following is a report and commentary on this event by the Minister of Riverside Church, Dr. Ernest Campbell.

A Parish Minister Speaks to The Challenge

WHEREIN LIES THE SHAME?

by Ernest Campbell

Dr. Ernest T. Campbell (Right), senior minister of Riverside Church in New York City, debates points of Black Manifesto presented before congregation by black leader James Forman.

ON Sunday morning, May 4, our church was given a rude and jarring insight into the reality of life outside its walls. It isn't that we hadn't known and ministered to that world before. Riverside's record as a church that cares and dares is beyond dispute by any objective standard. It was simply that on Sunday last we became aware of the intensity of the bitterness that some members of the black community feel toward institutions that belong to the establishment, particularly the church.

The interruption of our service of Holy Communion that Sunday was first page news across the country. Whether the incident should have received such play from the press is a moot question. At any rate, it happened—Riverside Church was confronted with a manifesto and a series of demands by the National Black Economic Development Conference. We didn't want it. We didn't welcome it. But we got it.

You can well imagine that our mail was heavy this week and our telephone lines warm. I appreciate very much the notes and letters of encouragement that members and friends of Riverside were kind enough to write. But the mail was not all local. From every section in these States people wrote, phoned or wired to make their feelings known. When anybody tampers with the church the country twitches and the hearts of many are revealed.

The tone of the overwhelming majority of those calls and letters? "We're sorry it happened. Sock it to 'em." Some of the letters were so hot they should have been sealed in asbestos. The predominant reaction to what happened at Riverside on the 4th of May can be summed up in five words: "The Shame Of It All." "The Shame Of It All."

I agreed. But wherein lay the shame? Was it that corporate worship, a "top sacred" part of man's life, had been desecrated by an illegal and hostile interruption? Let's be careful here—our hypocrisy may be showing. If worship means all that much to us, how come the majority of Christians in this country attend only when it suits them? Most church sanctuaries in this country could not seat their membership. Worship doesn't mean all that much to the average member. We sense that it *should*, but we know that it *doesn't*.

No, the shame of it all was not that a service of worship was interrupted, indefensible as that action was. The shame centers in the fact that within the population of this most prosperous nation there are people who feel, rightly or wrongly, that they have to use such tactics to draw attention to their grievances.

The Church's Response

Riverside Church has been busy working out a response to the needs behind the demands of the National Black Economic Development Conference. The ministers gathered daily. Council VII, responsible for the church's social relations, has met on the subject. Trustees and Deacons have been busy with it. Some of Riverside's black members have sat down with it as a group. We have been in touch with many ministers who serve the urban community. It would be hard to imagine a member of Riverside who hasn't thought about his church this week. I hope all of you have prayed.

What then is our response? First, we want to develop to an even greater degree than we have in the past an adequate forum where yeasty ideas can be expounded and debated, including the ideas contained in the manifesto delivered to us last week. We do not believe, however, that a service of divine worship is the context best suited to this purpose. We affirm our belief in the integrity of worship and will not suffer our services to be wantonly interrupted by every individual who sees himself a champion of some worthy cause.

To this end we have received from the courts a Civil Restraining Order that could place any individual in contempt of court who interfered with our worship of Almighty God or otherwise sought to render the Riverside Church inoperative. This includes anyone who would rise to speak without prior arrangement, any who attempt to bring television cameras or flash cameras into the Nave or Chancel, any in the congregation, members and non-members alike, whose conduct in the pews threatened the service. It goes without saying that this order does not bar anyone from entering the church or worshipping. It protects against disruption.

We strongly believe that the help of the Police Department should be invoked only as a last resort. But such help will be sought if needed. The church when it is gathered for worship is particularly vulnerable to assault. Unlike university campuses where the dominant age range is 18 to 28 the average congregation reaches from young children to elderly men and women. Many are not strong of hand or nimble of foot. All must be protected. We ask those who come to worship with us tomorrow to come as to the Lord's house with calm minds and hearts composed in love.

Apathetic Beneficiaries

Many of those who volunteered their counsel to Riverside this week exhorted us to deal harshly with the man who intruded himself upon us Sunday, May 4, in the name of the National Black Economic Development Conference. While we have no intention of allowing him to exact extortion from the church and find his demands upon Riverside Church absurd and fanciful, we will not make of him a villain and thus artfully dodge the truth that underlies his cause. And that truth as our consciences should have told us for years, and the Kerner Report told us fourteen months ago, is that our society is suffering from the blight of racism. The churches of the land far from being a vigorous part of the solution of this problem have been apathetic beneficiaries of it.

Let's be done with rationalizing. Wherever you go in this country the white man rides higher than the black. He lives in the better parts of town, sends his children to more desirable schools, borrows books from finer libraries, holds down higher paying jobs. In the rice paddies of Vietnam more blacks are dying proportionately than whites, because the draft laws that prevail favor the white youth who can make it to college over the disadvantaged black youth who cannot.

And where has the church been in all of this? By its silence it has blessed these arrangements and given them an aura of divine approval. It has conveniently exalted the virtues of obedience and order — getting fat in the process. It has forgotten the poor and the dispirited.

When the church refuses to follow her Lord into the busy thoroughfares of history, when it talks of love but fails to press for basic justice, when its message has no other focus than the well-being of individual souls and lacks all public reference, when it refuses to put its own power on the line on behalf of the disadvantaged, when it lowers its voice in order to raise its budget, when it becomes more concerned to perpetuate and adorn its life than to lose its life for the sake of Christ and the gospel—when all of this happens, as it has, the church can be rightly charged with contributing to the social and economic inequities that provoke minorities to violence.

What of Reparations?

The word "reparations" has come up frequently of late. The latest edition of the Random House Dictionary gives as the first meaning of the term, "The making of amends for wrong or injury done." From the beginning the Christian church has taught that restitution is an essential part of penitence. You don't simply say "I'm sorry" to a man you've robbed. You return what you stole or your apology takes on a hollow ring.

Reparations, restitution, redress, call it what you will. We subscribe to the conviction that given the demeaning and heinous mistreatment that black people suffered in this country at the hands of white people in the slave economy, and given the lingering handicaps of that system

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Reactions—Official, Unofficial And Personal

Reparations, Tactics And The Churches: Some Comments

The following reactions to and comments on the Black Manifesto as furnished to TEMPO are early, and therefore at best far from complete. Some were solicited from representative individuals. Others are official statements of concerned and involved groups.

Demands And Tactics—Yes And No

Two separate issues have been raised by the "Black Manifesto," one by the substance of the demands, the other by the tactics employed to advance them. We find the demands and the tactics objectionable on both moral and practical grounds.

1. **The Demands**

It is evident that much remains to be done if the racial discrimination that has shamed our American past is to be wiped out. We believe that it is entirely in order for our religious and communal institutions — no less than other segments of our society — to be challenged, both from within and from without, to face up to their own shortcomings and responsibilities. The gap between principle and performance is lamentably large; we have fallen short of our responsibilities in working for racial and economic justice.

We submit, on the other hand, that the demands for reparations by the Black Economic Development Conference are not an answer to the inequities and injustices of our society. It is clear that even if these demands were met in full, these inequities and injustices would not be rectified. To that end, a far more reliable guide for priorities is to be found in the Kerner Commission Report, the "Freedom Budget" of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and in the National Urban League's "Domestic Marshall Plan."

We therefore urge congregations and communal institutions to:

—Redouble their efforts to effect restorations of state and Federal budget cuts in the areas indicated above (i.e. employment, housing, education, health and welfare), and indicate their support of higher taxes, if necessary, adequately to finance these measures;

—Strengthen communication with local black communities, both on the clergy and lay levels, and to contribute to the support of indigenous self-help projects.

II. **The Tactics**

We recognize that Americans "can no longer speak of 'violence' and 'extremism' without the terrible knowledge that their most destructive manifestation in American life is to be found in the violence done to the lives, the hopes and aspirations of our Negro citizens" (SCA policy statement March 6, 1968). It is equally true, however, that even in pursuit of desirable ends, violence does not contribute to the fashioning of a better society; violence only breeds more violence, and nourishes repression, not justice. . . .

From Official Policy Statement by The Synagogue Council of America and The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

The Challenge Must Be Met

We rise to salute the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, (IFCO), which sponsored the National Black Economic Development Conference, which in turn became the channel through which James Forman could appear as a modern-day prophet, to speak to the churches. We are mindful that the program proposed has troubled the waters of Siloam, yet we know that however much the churches may shake to the vibrations of its own cleansing, the healing of Christ is working upon them.

We have taken action to support in principle the demands of the National Black Economic Development Conference upon the churches and synagogues of the United States, as a beginning.

There is no question but that the American religious establishment, along with almost every other institution in the society, was the conscious beneficiary of the enforced labor of one of the most inhuman forms of chattel slavery the world has ever known. Some churches actually owned slaves, and many others thrived on the tithes and offerings of both Northern and Southern churchmen who profited directly and indirectly from the uncompensated labor of the slaves.

The white churches and synagogues undeniably have been the moral cement of the structure of racism in this nation, and the vast majority of them continue to play that role today. They are capable, out of their enormous corporate assets, to make some reparation for their complicity in the exploitation of blacks. In so doing, they will not only provide a significant contribution from the private sector to the solution of the present national crisis, but will demonstrate to their American institutions the authenticity of their frequently verbalized contribution and of their faith in the justice of God.

It must be clearly understood that the black church does not stand in the same dock as the white church before the bar of justice. Black churches were the victims rather than the guardians and perpetrators of racism in America. We do, nevertheless, accept the responsibility of the black churches to share in the remuneration of the black communities; for we recognize that it is these communities which have sustained our churches over the years. We urge the black caucuses and the black denominations to play major roles in interpreting the justness, humanness, and theological soundness of the demands of the Black Manifesto.

Therefore, we urge all of the religious black caucuses and our brethren within the predominantly black denominations to accept the responsibility to develop the strategies necessary to obtain the funds which are demanded. We further call upon them to assess the institutional assets of their respective denominations and to negotiate the specific amounts which are to be allocated through IFCO for the purposes outlined in the Manifesto.

The NCBC, through its Executive Director and its affiliates, is ready to participate in whatever conferences and negotiations may ensue from the demands of our brothers for the reparational relief of the suffering of black people. We urge the private sector of the American economy, particularly the churches, synagogues and foundations, to receive these demands with the utmost seriousness. The many warnings of the past went unheeded. They are now only echoes receding in the distance. It is too late to call for propriety and moderation. A radical challenge has been placed before us on the threshold of a summer of unmitigated discontent and crisis. That challenge must be met with an equally radical commitment to undo, as much as we are able, the injustices of the past and to eliminate the injustices of the present. The means are available. The will to use them now must not be withheld.

Official Statement by Board of Directors, National Committee of Black Churchmen

Threats Cannot Win

The "Manifesto" presented by James Forman and the National Black Economic Development Conference is a strange melange of the rational and the irrational. Some of the demands merit careful study and consideration. The proposals for a southern land bank, for black publishing and printing industries, for black training in communications skills, and for another black university are all within the bounds of authentic needs and ought to be given careful appraisal by representatives of the churches.

It is the proposed method of implementing the manifesto that is open to serious question. After one has eliminated the much publicized element of disruption at church services and the like, planned and led chiefly by Mr. James Forman, one must still ask concerning the reasonableness and the prospects of any response on the part of the churches. It is apparent that the threats, implied and explicit, will have little effect. Church officials who are not inclined to do anything about the threats have nothing to do but to do nothing. The law and the police power are so heavily on the side of the establishment that the threats of Mr. Forman, chief spokesman for the manifesto, have all the impressiveness of a butterfly's sigh.

Similarly, the appeal to church members' guilt feelings is not likely to be effective. There is a strain of realism in religious thought which resists the assignment of sin from one generation to another. The facile ascription of an unbroken continuity of white sin becomes especially questionable for sophisticated persons who know the truth about the implication of black tribal leaders in the slave trade. That trade would have disappeared quickly if the black chiefs had not conspired to make available a continuing supply of black bodies. Granted that churchmen cannot choose this shelter as a means of escaping implication in the slave trade, but under the kind of intemperate assault launched by Mr. Forman they can make a very good case for a diminution of guilt.

A further problem is presented by the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), which has been almost entirely funded by predominantly white church bodies. The full nature and complexities of this situation are at present unclear.

In the presence of this potpourri of facts and attitudes it is important that the representatives of "white" churches do the following things:

1. Separate the legitimate concerns of the blacks from the overwrought rhetoric in which they are expressed;

2. Ask what the churches can actually do to meet the valid concerns of our black brethren;

3. Stand firm under the pressure of the confrontation which has been threatened by Mr. Forman and his colleagues, realizing that they can actually do nothing to carry out these threats.

4. Develop a counter-movement aimed at meeting the legitimate needs of the blacks, but avoiding the use of the Black Economic Conference as an appropriate instrumentality for dealing with these problems;

5. Continue to press and implement the concern for justice and equity in human affairs.

The Rev. Dr. Truman B. Douglass, Immediate Past Vice-President of the United Church of Christ for its Board of Homeland Ministries; Vice-President of the National Council of Churches for its Division of Christian Life and Mission.

NCC Urges Study

The General Board of the National Council of Churches records its deep appreciation to Mr. James Forman for his presentation of and explanation concerning the Black Manifesto and shares the aspirations of the black people of this country from which it sprang.

The General Board, having been confronted with the Black Manifesto only a few hours before adjournment, deeply regrets that it has been unable to arrive at a decision which could be both immediately substantive and responsible.

However, the Board urges that the communions give serious study to the Manifesto, expecting that each communion will act on the matter in its own way.

The Board receives the Manifesto and refers it to the General Secretary with instructions to report to the Executive Committee of the General Board at its special meeting, scheduled to be held June 23, the most appropriate course of action that the Council should take on this important matter, authorizing the Executive Committee to act on behalf of the General Board.

Text of Resolution, adopted in New York City, May 2.

Understanding And Help

"I think that it is important for all of us to have tremendous understanding and a tremendous desire to help our brothers to help themselves and to provide equal opportunity for all people."

Referring to tactics of disrupting public worship services by militants who wish to state their case, the Cardinal added: "This might be a step backward rather than forward."

His Eminence Terence Cardinal Cooke, Catholic Archdiocese of New York

Five Concerns

I can speak only personally and in no way in an official capacity for the denominations. I am deeply concerned about the outcome of the Detroit Conference—

Concerned that the Manifesto authors turned away from serious consideration a black involvement in free enterprise—

Concerned that the Manifesto authors' frustration has reached such a level that they have followed the understandable but irrational love-hate syndrome of attacking first those from whom they expect the most—

Concerned that the revolutionary rhetoric and the blackmail tactics of the Manifesto will set back considerably the little understanding the white majority churches have been developing—

Concerned that the Manifesto authors understand the operation of voluntary organizations so vaguely that they think any large sum could be collected except through volunteer offerings motivated by good will—

And most of all concerned that the Christian churches have been so much a part of the problem and so little a part of the solution in helping the black minority that the Manifesto authors consider the church part of the "enemy," who, unmoved by love, can be coerced by a motivation of fear.

History validates the fact that violent tactics can destroy an institution, but the resulting rubble is no foundation on which to build anything better. More rapid and sensible evolution is the only answer, and the Christian church must join the government and private resources to correct these deep ills in our society.

The Rev. Dr. John F. Anderson, Jr. Executive Secretary, Board of National Ministries Presbyterian Church in The U.S.

No Military Stance, Please

I cannot feel that the tactics used by James Forman (spokesman for the Black Economic Conference) are going to prove helpful to those of us who are seeking to find ways and means of assisting black people to come to their proper places of leadership and influence in our country.

I cannot agree that the complete elimination of capitalism (as called for in the 'black manifesto') is in the best interests of economic development for anybody, black or white. No other system has proved to be as effective in producing the goods and services required for the enjoyment of the abundant life. Our problem is more that of distribution than production.

Also disturbing to me is the military and guerrilla stance taken by Mr. Forman in his manifesto as the only available method of achieving his end. With this kind of leadership and these tactics, the development of the four major presses and the radio and television stations might seem to suggest that the tactics will be given wide dissemination in our country and will result more in armed confrontation than in helpful resolution of these admittedly difficult problems.

As for 'reparations', this word is more properly used when we are talking about the relationship of one country to another. This is not the proper word when we are speaking of the relationship between religious groups and an ad hoc economic conference brought into being the way this one seems to have been.

Finally, I suggest that it is more proper for these demands in the form of reparations to be directed to the government rather than to the churches.

The Rev. Dr. Edwin H. Tuller, General Secretary American Baptist Convention

$500 Million Is Realistic

I would like to see black American Baptists work in the community toward coalition with black militants. I do not think the church is really measuring up to its responsibilities of preaching the Gospel and leading the world in social reform. There are an estimated ten million hungry in this country—black, white and red. And the beginning point in moving the country away from this should be the church. As for paying $500 million in "reparations," I don't think that is an unrealistic figure when it is only 1/160th of the Gross National Product. I don't necessarily agree with Jim Forman's tactics and I'm not sure "reparations" is the word to use. But, in substance, I favor the idea.

—The Rev. Dr. Thomas Kilgore Jr., pastor of Second Baptist Church, Los Angeles, newly elected first black president of the American Baptist Convention.

Extremism Must Be Repudiated

I repudiate both the revolutionary ideology and the racist rhetoric of the Black Manifesto, which reads like a page out of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the handbooks of Mao Tse-Tung and Che Guevara for revolution by terror and violence.

That Manifesto calls for the use of force and the power of a gun to bring down the government, for armed confrontation and long years of sustained guerrilla warfare inside this country, and for black domination of America.

To accept this Manifesto as the ideological framework for programs in economic development in the United States is to accept an invitation to national suicide.

As we are critical of these positions in the Manifesto, so are we critical of our own failures to have responded adequately to the great moral crisis which racial justice presents to our churches and synagogues and to our nation. These events must compel us to respond more determinately than in the past to press every conceivable alternative within the democratic process to make this system more responsive to the legitimate demands of the poor and the deprived.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum National Director of Interreligious Affairs, American Jewish Committee; President of IFCO

The Objectives Remain The Same

The so-called "Black Manifesto" contains objectives for the relief of the poor that have been the objectives of the churches for years, and I hope we can take these objectives more seriously than ever before. Our nation cannot continue to inflict cruelty upon persons who are at a disadvantage in our highly technical society. Many of us have been preaching and pleading for social justice for a long time and the "Black Manifesto" echoes this voice.

It is not fruitful nor is it likely that success will result from demands for "reparations." We need forward motion and not reaction. Our need is for a united force of concerned persons, and with all of their shortcomings the churches and synagogues have been moving to help shape that united force for social change. It will be a tragedy if the efforts of those who are trying to get the churches to move are undercut by attacks on the churches and synagogues. I do not suggest that the churches and synagogues should be spared criticism, but they will be enabled to be more involved if they are not subjected to wholesale condemnation and rebuke. The churches and synagogues deserve some commendation from the outside in order to help them cope with the lagging elements on the inside who wait for an opportunity to fall back into reaction.

Rev. Dr. J. Edward Carothers, Associate General Secretary, Board of Missions, United Methodist Church

Reparations Are Nothing New

This is a serious proposal for constructive work among black people in this country. The principle of reparations is very old in this country and very old in the whole struggle of change.

A great variety of people have said that the black man has helped to build this country, and slavery was not compensated for. For an example, take the South where black men were the artisans, tradesmen, brick masons and plumbers during a long period of our history.

Since Reconstruction, a systematic stripping of black people of these trades and the right to practice them has occurred.

Also, the Homestead Acts which stimulated settlement of this country were never extended to black people. Since Negroes were excluded from homestead benefits, $500 million, is too small a sum to make up the loss.

—The Rev. James Lawson, Minister of Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, Tenn., and Director of Black Methodists for Church Renewal.

UPCUSA AT SAN ANTONIO:
A Denomination Responds

by Kay Longcope

SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—In closing session after a week of much tension, General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in The U.S.A. acknowledged the prophetic function being performed by James Forman in confronting the Church with its own racism.

At the same time, however, delegates rejected tactics being used by the National Black Economic Development Conference representative and the ideology expressed in a so-called "preamble" to the much-publicized "Black Manifesto."

In adopting an amended statement of a special 15-member committee set up to deal with demands put before the Assembly by Forman, delegates said:

"The 181st General Assembly reaffirms its basic position and rejects the concept of two societies within our nation and recommits itself to work for one society with many diverse parts, functioning as one people under God with mutual response for one another; rejects the use of violence in any form and recommits itself to the non-violent solution to the problems of the nation and the world; rejects the idea of the violent overthrow of our government and reaffirms its faith in the democratic process of government while acknowledging its imperfections." (See box, this page, for full text.)

The assembly also stated its intention "to set in motion the means "whereby minority group persons may gain "control of their own lives in their own communities in their own way."

The issue of how to "respond, not react" to demands placed before the Assembly by representatives of the brown and black communities dominated the week-long annual meeting.

The opening moments of the Assembly on May 16 were filled with rumors that Forman would show up and make the United Presbyterian denomination the fourth church to be presented with specific demands toward raising $500 million in "reparations" for the black community.

Rumor Into Fact

Rumor became fact when, at the invitation of the General Council, Forman did indeed appear and, on the second day's docket, the black representative joined with spokesmen from the Mexican-American community who also had demands to present.

Stating that "the Christian Church is not just a building . . . but a financial institution," Forman called for $80 million as the United Presbyterians' share in implementing the Black Manifesto; 60 percent of the income from stocks, bonds and other investments; proceeds from denominational investments in South Africa, and extensive land holdings in Southern states.

Eliezer Risco, speaking for the La Raza movement in the southwest, voiced numerous demands which included community control of church facilities and programs in Spanish-speaking communities; seed money totaling between $250,000 and $500,000; liquidation of all church investments in private Latin-American corporations and dissociation from any U.S. government and private corporations that "Latin-American liberation forces denounce as exploitative and neo-colonialist."

"If the church is going to survive the crisis that the church and world face, the church has to make good that promise of self-determination," Risco told the Assembly. "If the moral credibility of Christianity is to remain, the church has to deal within itself with the question of self-determination, justice and liberation."

Demands of black and brown representatives were put before the General Council to formulate recommendations to the Assembly. The Council, however, did little more than draft a statement which said, in part: "We are not negotiating, but we assure them that we will continue to listen and be open to communication and conversation."

In a lengthy, complicated and heated session, the Assembly referred the statement back to the General Council and approved the appointment of a special 15-member committee to serve as consultants to the Council, which reported back to the Assembly on its last day.

Other Actions

The Assembly, described by newly-elected Moderator George E. Sweazey of Webster Groves, Mo., as at first "uneasy, puzzled and unsure" of how to respond to demands—took these further actions:

—Authorized development of a $50 million fund-raising campaign for use in "depressed areas and among deprived people" to be administered by a church board or group such as the Inter-Religious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO).

—Directed Home and Overseas mission agencies to appropriate a total of $100,000 to IFCO (coalition of national religious agencies and local community groups) with the understanding that the money is to come from sources outside of general budgets of these agencies.

—Directed the Board of National Missions "to continue its support of program possibilities which are recommended to it by IFCO including those which develop as a result of the National Black Economic Development Conference."

—Paved the way for utilization of church-owned land for the poor in various parts of the country.

—Directed the Board of Christian Education to appropriate $50,000 for use "in cooperation with Spanish-Speaking people" and to negotiate use of a board-owned ranch in New Mexico with leaders of Spanish-American organizations.

—Requested the U.S. Congress to investigate and hold public hearings on land claims by Spanish-American citizens which date back to the 1840 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

—Defeated a motion to support the United Farm Workers' Organization committee boycott of California table grapes, while endorsing demands of farm workers for collective bargaining rights and legislative protection.

—Directed the Board of National Missions and the Presbyterian Economic Development Corporation (PEDCO) "to procure funds which will enable PEDCO to make non-reimbursable grants as well as investment loans to people living in poverty, especially share croppers, to purchase and develop lands, or to organize and support economic development programs."

—Directed the Board of National Missions to put control of board-owned schools and colleges in the hands of autonomous boards of trustees.

—Urged all boards, judicatories and related institutions to become members of Project Equality.

In a letter mailed May 21 to Presbyterians around the country, moderator Sweazey offered a summation of the meeting, which itself began on a highly-emotional plane and, almost miraculously, ended with actions taken on a far more reasonable level—a level on which Presbyterians tried hard to free themselves from the "racist" charges with which they were confronted.

"At the outset there was sharp division," Mr. Sweazey said. "Statements were presented and rejected. Groups and individuals gathered to try to reconcile their differences. The result is action in which the whole church can rejoice."

He termed Forman "the most disturbing critic of the churches from the extreme militant point of view," and added:

"We needed to hear him, to listen thoughtfully to him, to try to understand what he represents."

Not all commissioners went home happy with results. Not all the folks back home will be happy with the directives of the 181st General Assembly. But in some way, some day, perhaps the "different kind of Christian" and "the different kind of church" referred to in the report of the 15-member committee will be made possible. ■

OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF RESPONSE BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A. , SAN ANTONIO, TEX., MAY 21st, 1969

THE General Assembly wants to inform the Church and the nation what we plan to do about the present crisis. The crisis is that our society is not acting sufficiently to insure the participation of the brown and black people in a more human future and that the (pace) of our action is growing slower as shown by the failure of our society to respond meaningfully to the original Kerner Report. Furthermore, the public sector of our society is withdrawing even from some of our earlier commitments, however inadequate. The crisis is sharpened by the increasingly clear perception of these facts by their victims. Only the victims of a system which denies them their full humanity can bring home to us the agony of their frustration and white complacency to their plight.

As in biblical times, God spoke to his people through strange prophets, so we deem it appropriate to have invited to our assembly spokesmen from the brown and black minorities, that through voices such as theirs, however angry the tone, we might better appreciate the depth of their plight. We do not agree with all their methods, ideas and programs. Our concern is to hear through their pleas the call of Christ, and where possible, to identify with them in their hope and to work with them toward a more human future for all men. We do this not from fear but from love. To do less is to reject our Lord.

The 181st General Assembly reaffirms its basic position and rejects the concept of two societies within our nation and recommits itself to work for one society with many diverse parts functioning as one people under God with mutual respect for one another; rejects the use of violence in any form and recommits itself to the non-violent solution to the problems of the nation and the world; rejects the idea of the violent overthrow of our government and reaffirms its faith in the democratic process of government while acknowledging its imperfections.

In this light the 181st General Assembly has accelerated existing programs and taken new steps toward securing these ends, such as: land use, mortgage loans and grants for institutions, loans and grants for economic development, and a new fund to be used in depressed areas and among depressed peoples.

Let it be clear that it is our intention, by the carrying out of these programs, that we set in motion the means whereby these friends will assume control of their own lives in their own communities in their own way. Indeed, to aid to the extent of the church's capabilities—the full establishment of human dignity.

Let us continue to be open to the spirit of God in whatever ways He speaks to us. Repentance and obedience to God must be the way of the Christian church in every crisis in life. This sounds a call to every Christian to be a different kind of Christian than he has ever been before, and for the church to be a different kind of church than it has ever been before. ■

More Than One More Acronym

IFCO: WHAT IT IS, WHAT IT DOES, WHAT IT WANTS

by Hiley H. Ward

CHANCES are you haven't heard of IFCO, or at least can't rattle off that it stands for the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization.

Even Cardinal-designate John Wright of Pittsburgh, then Curia-bound for a new appointment, didn't have instant recall of what IFCO was when he was asked in Houston if Roman Catholic task-force efforts in the inner city included working through IFCO. Three members of the 40-member board are Roman Catholics, and Cardinal Wright was a vice-chairman of a fund-raising effort, Operation Connection, which folded up in favor of the direct community project funding effort of IFCO.

IFCO is getting a cold shoulder from many of its member religious groups—and that includes 13 Protestant denominations, all of whom, along with 11 other agencies, paid $1,000 to join up.

The Rev. Lucius Walker

A reason for IFCO's difficulties, it has been charged, is that it has emerged as a predominantly black organization.

The group, for instance, was coordinator of the black economic conference at the end of April at Wayne State University's McGregor Center.

IFCO's current president, Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, director of interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee, will not come up for re-election this summer and he most certainly will be replaced by a black, officials of IFCO said.

IFCO, organized in September, 1967, has so far concerned itself largely with funding community organizations, mostly black, some white. It now wants also to get into education and training and programming, such as the confab that brought the nation's leading black entrepreneurs and developers here to compare notes.

If you haven't heard much about IFCO, you most certainly will in future months in church bulletins and other media.

Its executive director, the Rev. Lucius Walker of New York, promises a bit of a war if the denominations don't shape up.

"All the denominations are lagging" in IFCO support, Mr. Walker said in an interview. "One might lag with $1,000 (membership fee) and one might lag with $200,000."

Curiously, Mr. Walker said, the American Baptist Convention has given the most, $200,000. As one of the smaller denominations and not always in the vanguard of community organization and related actions, the American Baptists would be expected to fall behind the bigger denominations, the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, for instance, who have said a lot and passed multiple resolutions about helping the poor.

"We requested $300,000 from the Episcopalians," said Walker. "The Episcopal Executive Council voted $120,000," and that originally restricted so tightly that prior approval from the church would be needed additionally before it could be spent.

United Presbyterians gave only $20,000 in undesignated funds, although they promised another $50,000. The Presbyterians, however, gave another $127,500 earmarked for special projects.

The United Methodist Church gave $1,000 and the United Church of Christ gave $5,200.

"All Jewish sources gave only $3,000" said Walker.

He said 96.4 percent of IFCO income came from Protestant churches, the other 3.6 percent from Catholic and Jewish sources. "It means, well, you know what it means," he said.

Since its founding, IFCO has received and spent about $1.5 million. Episcopalians were a bigger help the first year, offering up to $700,000 on a three-to-one matching basis. IFCO raised $600,000 on its own and the Episcopalians came through with the one-third matching $200,000.

"IFCO will have to employ radical strategy with all groups," said Walker, 39, an American Baptist and former community house director in Milwaukee.

"I am not going to be a house nigger. Churches have gotten a hell of a lot of mileage out of IFCO, pretending they are doing something. A $1.5 million response to the urban crisis is like a drop in the bucket."

On its 40-member board, IFCO has 22 blacks, one Spanish-American.

The next president of IFCO will be black, "not just because of the temper of the times, but because of the temper of the board," said Walker. "It's simply, if IFCO is to take seriously the sharing of power by representatives of the poor and minorities, the president will be black. If we take seriously the notion in society where each shares fully, it is not strange then to have a black president."

Recently, in a rally in Atlanta, the Rev. Mance Jackson, field director of the Interdenominational Theological Center there, charged that the white denominations, with their white racism patterns showing, were boycotting IFCO in favor of the Joint Strategy and Action Committee. JSAC was started three years ago by urban affairs leaders of the Episcopalians, United Presbyterians and United Church of Christ. It now includes Methodists, Southern Presbyterians (U.S.) and American (Northern) Baptists.

Jackson was critical of the white leadership of JSAC and that the denominations are shunning IFCO because of its nearly solid black staff.

Asked about Jackson's charges, Walker said, "This is the kind of game which the church always plays — instead of facing the music, they seek an escape hatch.

"There is a constant threat. Every institution the church creates can be a decoy. The church (institution) is a vicious racist animal — this is its nature.

"IFCO's position is clear. We not only work with blacks for we work with the poor, and many are blacks. We have a hard line. It's hard for guys in the churches to take.

"My timing and strategy may be different than Jackson's, but it doesn't mean that Jackson is wrong in what he has said.

"It's no telling what we have to say and do in a few months. We may make Jackson look tame, but we will choose our own timing." ■

—Mr. Ward is Religion Editor, Detroit Free Press.

WHEREIN LIES THE SHAME

(Continued from page 5)

that still work to keep the black man at a disadvantage in our society, it is just and reasonable that amends be made by many institutions in society — including, and perhaps especially, the church.

The Riverside Church, long committed to the struggle for civil rights, has determined through its Board of Deacons to make a fixed percentage of its annual budget available to a fund to be set apart for the rapid improvement of all disadvantaged people in this country. It is our hope that this fund will become national in scope and we respectfully invite churches and synagogues across the country to join us in the planning and funding of this venture. Care must be taken to see that the funds contributed are spent and administered at the discretion of responsible and representative leaders of the people the fund would help.

We call upon other institutions to come forward in a similar way — foundations, denominations, business corporations, and government. Good and exciting things can happen. There is no plausible reason why a nation of this magnitude could not get at poverty once and for all had it the will to do so.

The radio station of The Riverside Church, WRVR, has from the beginning been sensitive to the issues that tear at the fabric of society. Several weeks ago the committee responsible for this station began considering the possibility of making a substantial body of time available to responsible and representative groups in the black and Spanish communities for the kind of programming they want to produce and hear. This possibility will become a reality at the earliest possible date.

The Riverside Church has always been open to responsible suggestions as to how its program could be improved and its outreach more helpfully extended. We are as open now as ever.

What of Revolution?

The manifesto currently being presented to the churches and synagogues of the United States asserts that revolution is the only remedy for our social ills. Obviously, we reject this point of view. It may well be that the insurrectionist tone of the manifesto is meant as an attention-getting ploy and not to be taken at literal face value. It would be helpful if the Interfaith Foundation For Community Organization, a principal sponsor of the National Black Economic Development Conference, would clarify this point for us and other churches and synagogues across the country. At the same time we believe that when desperate people talk this way, intransigence and rigidity on the part of the establishment only tend to prove the revolutionary's point — that the situation is hopeless. By pursuing justice for others as heartily as we prize it for ourselves, we weaken the revolutionary's case, improve the lot of our brother and glorify God.

The days through which we pass are heavy and hard for all of us. It is imperative that we rise in the strength of the living God to the highest that we know and not succumb to a mean and divisive spirit. Many in our society have stood in line for years, hat in hand, waiting for justice and a fair chance at a full and happy life. Their mood has understandably shifted from passive forebearance to angry and militant insistence. The new tactics are shocking and abrasive. They are designed to get our attention and rouse us from our lethargy. Let us react to the need and not confuse the issue by over-reacting to the tactics.

The gospel of Jesus Christ is still the power of God unto salvation. When love combines with justice what can stand before it? Let us as a people set a good example for other Churches in the land by commiting ourselves afresh to what we hold to be the aim of all our striving — "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God." ■

Taxes, Black Aspirations and Wars

NCC'S GENERAL BOARD MEETS AGAIN

By TEMPO Staff

TAXES, black economic aspirations, Middle East tensions and the Administration's proposed ABM missile system were uppermost in the minds of churchmen and women who met here, May 1-2, to determine policy for the 33-denomination National Council of Churches.

ON 'TAXES, the policy makers for the churches' cooperative agency decided the time has come to ask the Federal Government to levy taxes on church income from business enterprises not related to their religious function.

Meeting at the Statler Hilton here, the Board made its decision at a time when the U.S. House of Representatives' Ways and Means Committee is writing legislation on tax reforms.

Noting that basic U.S. public policy, since the founding of the nation, has been to accord freedom of religion, speech, press and assembly a preferred position at the head of the Bill of Rights, the Board stated that property or income of religious bodies that is genuinely necessary (rather than merely advantageous) to the free exercise of religion, should not be taxed. However, such exemption should be confined to the essential facilities of the church and to the voluntary contributions of the faithful, the Board stated.

It further urged that employees — both lay and clergy — of religious organizations should not enjoy special privilege in regard to any type of taxation. "If (a clergyman) receives a cash allowance for housing, that amount should be taxed as part of his income . . . if he owns his own home, he should not enjoy any reduction of property taxes," the statement reads.

Simultaneously it was announced that the U.S. Catholic Conference had joined with the NCC in a statement urging the House of Representatives' Way and Means Committee to implement the recommendation.

The joint statement endorsed two proposals for tax reform which affect churches. One would eliminate the historic church exemption from taxation on unrelated activities and commercial activities. The second would eliminate a potential abuse from the use of debt financing to acquire commercial income property.

"Such exemptions" the statement said, "make available to churches a potential advantage over taxpaying organizations engaged in commercial business activities. The NCC and the USCC favor elimination of this specific exemption of churches from taxation on income from *regularly* conducted commercial business activities which are unrelated to their exempt functions."

ON black economic power, the church leaders made a quick response to a Black Manifesto, presented to the Board by Mr. James Forman of SNCC. He, in the name of the Black Economic Development Conference *(see story elsewhere in this issue)*, demanded that churches and synagogues give the black man $500,000,000 as a "modest reparation" for capital taken from him during 300 years of slavery.

The church leaders said that "they shared the aspirations of the black people of this country" and urged that NCC member communions give serious study to the Manifesto.

Specific action by the NCC itself on the demand—received only a few hours before adjournment—was to be considered at a special meeting of the Executive Committee, scheduled for June 23.

ON Middle East tensions, the Board adopted a policy statement that called for a solution to hostilities there designed to meet the "human needs" of the people in the region.

It rejected either a "pro-Arab" or "pro-Israel" stand and asserted that political, military, and national rivalries in the area are secondary to the human person, his society, and peace.

Specifically, the Board called attention to two needs:

Miss Theressa Hoover, Protestant co-chairman of a joint National Council of Churches and U.S. Catholic Conference committee planning a projected joint $2.7 million development effort for "emerging" nations, explains program to NCC's General Board, meeting in New York City.

1) That of the 1,500,000 Palestinian Arab refugees, affected by the establishment of Israel, for a home that is acceptable to them and for a future in which they may discern justice, security, and hope.

2) That of the security of Jews in the area.

With regard to the first need, the Board noted that what will constitute a home "acceptable to them" (the refugees) must now be a matter of negotiation in which generosity will be required of many and compromise by all who are directly involved.

As far as security for Jews is concerned, the Board warned that until they (the Jews) both within Arab countries and Israel, are assured of safety and of their rights, "there will be no justice or peace in the Middle East."

ON the ABM system, the Board resolved to oppose its deployment "on the basis of the case now made as to its necessity for national security, its effectiveness, its effect on the arms race and disarmament negotiations generally, its implication for the Non-Proliferation Treaty, its cost, and its drain upon national resources."

The paper said the issue raised questions of fundamental importance for the future of U.S. foreign policy, security, the use of national resources and the "quality of our society."

Churchmen and all concerned citizens, "because of the potential consequences of this watershed decision for international peace" were called upon to consider these grave matters and make their conclusions known to decision-makers.

TO further the movement toward Christian Unity, the Board approved a wide-ranging North American study conference to consider new forms and relationships of the Christian Church, mandated by rapid changes in the world today.

The conference is to be held in the early 1970's and will be open to representatives from churches who are not members of the interdenominational Protestant and Orthodox body.

Churches from Canada, the Caribbean and Mexico are also to be involved, both in the planning and carrying out of the conference.

Dr. James I. McCord, president of Princeton Theological Seminary, said the need for the conference includes the drastic changes that have taken place within the climate of relations between churches in the last decade, as well as changes in society itself.

The "fresh blowing of the Spirit through the churches" in the last 10 years, said Dr. McCord, has "created an ecumenical miracle . . . a new climate among the churches, a new vision of the unity of mankind."

THE historic first visit to the Vatican of a delegation of U.S. Protestant clergy in March was described by the Rev. Dr. Robert C. Dodds, NCC director for ecumenical affairs.

Calling the mood and quality of the conversations "candid, revealing and probing," he told the churchmen that each side had been eager to "ferret out" answers to numerous questions. The Catholics, he said wanted to know more about ecumenicity in the United States, the so-called underground churches, and the possibility of Roman Catholic participation in such trends. The movement among Black Christians in the U.S. and the possibility of membership of the U.S. Roman Catholic Church in the National Council also were subjects of the talks when as many as 40 representatives of both sides were gathered around a green-topped table.

Dr. Dodds stressed, however, that the talks were "exploratory rather than definitive" and "looked beyond our present separation." After all, he told the 200 Board members, "this is the first time we have met together after hundreds of years of friction and bitterness."

FINALLY, sharp criticism was leveled at church leaders for their failure to give adequate financial support to the NCC's Crisis in the Nation program, created last year to deal with the nation's deteriorating racial situation.

"The Church isn't yet convinced in its very guts, in its very soul that a crisis exists," the Rev. Lucius Walker, executive director of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), told the Board.

He accused the churches of "playing with the crisis, and while we have been playing with it, it has gained momentum."

Referring to the problems the NCC is facing in securing financing for the program, Mr. Walker continued: "Normal budgets of the churches are hardly touched. Normal investing of the churches are hardly touched. So we go about seeking special funds to deal with problems that should be the first order of the Church's business." ■

(EDITOR'S NOTE: As the foregoing account of the May 1-2 General Board meeting indicates, there were a number of actions that deserve fuller treatment, which TEMPO will deal with in its next issue.)

Church Designers, Theologians and Planners Look Ahead

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE AND SOCIAL CRISIS

by Dorothy Rensenbrink

ARCHITECTS, theologians, and city planners found themselves united in a sometimes overwhelming sense of frustration last month as they tried to balance the demands of their professional calling against the multiplying problems of the society they seek to serve.

The occasion was the 30th National Conference on Religious Architecture — held at the Chase Park-Plaza Hotel, St. Louis, Mo., where some 500 delegates from these disciplines met to exchange ideas.

Nationally famous speakers from each field —whether Detroit City Planner Charles Blessing, Columbia University's architect-lecturer Percival Goodman, or Catholic University's Frederick McManus — seemed all to share a sense of depression over the chances of institutions to deal in a meaningful way with social ills.

Yet, running like a slim thread through all speeches, was the hope for a better environment, for buildings that "did something for the people in them" as well as suiting their function, for the Church to put into perspective the tangled aspirations of the day.

The meeting began with theological controversy. Father McManus called for a disentanglement of Christian need from the Church's hierarchy and asked that the Church be viewed as a totality — with its underground, dissenting element an integral part of the Christian community.

Rabbi Julius Nodel of St. Louis' Temple Shaare Emeth, in turn, deplored this as an age of "scientific geniuses and moral morons," and said the Church was reacting by building office structures for clergy who are "just another set of practitioners of a trade.

"All the awe and beauty are going out of religion as the churches drift increasingly into fields of politics, economics. sociology, housing and international relations, all dressed up in ecclesiastical vestments," he asserted. "Supermarkets with crosses fail the Churches' function of making man aware of essential and ageless values and life processes."

A Time Now Gone

But the majority of the conference seemed to feel that the Rabbi was harking back to a time now gone. Dr. Joseph Sittler of the University of Chicago's Divinity School said America's social problems were due to the fact that "for the first time we're joining the human race. Ours is a Kleenex culture — we dirty up one area and move on to dirty up another. All of American history has been a flight to escape our problems. But experience of space has enabled us to ignore our problems, has overshadowed our sense of time."

Both city planners who addressed the conference — Detroit's Charles Blessing and St. Louis's Norman Murdoch — came as supplicants for Church help. Mr. Blessing suggested that religious structures might become year-round community centers and asked delegates not to "bury your head in the symbolism of religious architecture" while ignoring social ills. "To do so would be to lose ourselves in symbolism, hoping that others will tackle the fundamental problems which themselves are the meaning of the symbols."

Mr. Murdoch confessed that after twenty years as a planner he had concluded that city problems were not due to a "lack of skill or ability to deal with them, but a lack of will to do so." He called upon the Church to help "reorder our national priorities" which today place a much higher value on "getting one man to the moon than saving millions on earth.

"The major problem of an area like Watts (which is not the worst of slums by a long way) is a lack of spirit, of hopelessness. The Church must deal with things of the spirit," he said.

Two Concepts

The architects responded to the theologians and planners in a two-fold way: through a concept of beauty and a concept of economics. Unanimously they came out against any reduction of church building to save funds for social programs. "There is absolutely no evidence whatever that money which otherwise might have gone into buildings is put, instead, into social action," said Seattle's Robert L. Durham, immediate past president of the American Institute of Architects.

His view was shared by Edward A. Sovik of Northfield, Minnesota, another past Institute president, who said "there are too many people who are willing to make their church a token of poverty while they themselves live in three-car garage homes."

Dr. Henry Lee Willet, president of the annual conference, said "because of urban needs, we have been told that building new houses of worship or adorning them with beauty is like living in sin by denominational executives, ministers and laymen who are trying to stir up our social consciences for urban projects by shaming us into denying our own religious needs or threatening us with the demise of our religious institutions.

"Churches and synagogues need art and beauty, color and loving attention, and ghetto churches need them even more than churches in other areas," he said.

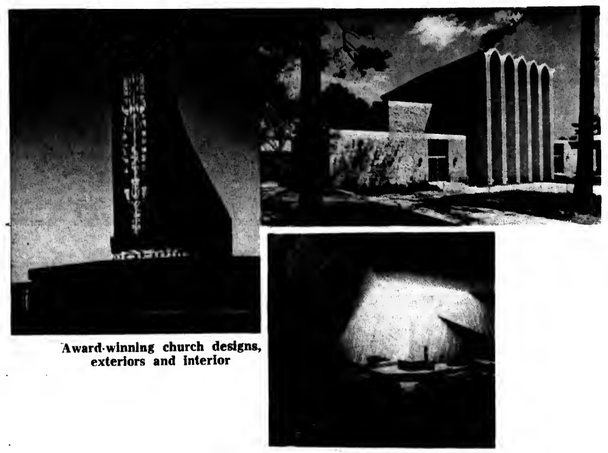
Their concept of how social emphasis can be expressed in a building was through "simplicity and integrity." Mr. Durham said "we have come out of the phase of architectural exhibitionism characterized by extravagant roofs and parabolic sides, into a basic understanding of esthetics. We are concentrating on ways in which texture and light combine to make space in new church buildings."

Architect Goodman said he now called himself a neo-functionalist. The functionalist asked: "What is wanted? How should I do it? The neo-functionalist asks two more questions "Why is it wanted? Is it worth doing?"

The conference began with a request from the Black community and ended with some hope for its fulfillment from the theological community. The black publisher of the St. Louis Sentinel, Howard B. Woods, opened by charging: "If our houses of worship can dare present the bold, exciting and fresh designs I see everywhere, then the same imagination can be used to approach the issues of social justice."

Dr. Sittler ended the conference's final session with this hope: "No truly great human achievement has been done except under the pressure of great limitation. Men rise to meet situations when they are forced to." ■

Award-winning design in form of a lamb for handle on baptismal font.



Award-winning church designs, exteriors and interior

QUALITY EDUCATION FOR THE GHETTO

Interview with Dorothy Jones–Part II (with John Fisler)

In the May 15th TEMPO, Dorothy Jones maintained that Blacks, Puerto Ricans, American Indians and Mexican-Americans are moving to gain control of the education of their children, that they will no longer tolerate inferior public schools because they see education as the key to full participation in American life. She said that integration is a "myth which is not going to become a reality in the foreseeable future" . . . "that the only way black people in this country will be recognized as equals is when they control their own destinies." Community control of schools, and not just administrative decentralization, is now the prime concern of minority groups, she argues, and in this issue continues her discussion of why this is so and how churches can assist.

Mrs. Jones is currently studying at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. She has long worked for better education in New York City and was Public Education Specialist in the Office of Church and Race Council of Churches of New York City until early last year. The interview concludes as follows:

What is the way ahead for black and other minority communities determined to gain quality education for their children?

The way that has been worked out is community control — having the important decisions as to what shall be taught, how and by whom, made locally by the people closest to the children, the ones who have a basic concern for them. Because of the coincidence in the timing of these two movements, there has been confusion of the two terms so that many people tend to think that decentralization necessarily means community control. It does not. In fact, community control in some cities does not necessarily mean decentralization. If the school system is not too large, it doesn't need to be broken up. Simply, community control means a change in the power relationship, in who makes what decisions, regardless of the size of the system. Even some fairly small towns have this problem where decisions about budget, the allocation of funds, and what shall be taught are made by the majority of the citizens of the town many of whose children do not even attend public schools. In urban centers the minority communities may have the majority of their children in the school but they do not have any effective political and social controls over the system. Community control is one way of readjusting the power relationships in a school system to give more say about the important matters affecting children to parents and community leaders where these children live.

Many of the people who have been resisting community control say that the fundamental problem is the need for additional funds for education. They also cite the socio-economic settings from which these children come.

How do you feel about these two matters?

First, on the question of money, I will agree that we need to spend a great deal more for education in this country than we do. We spend money for wars, we spend money for roads, we spend money for the space program and we spend money for a lot of other things that do not immediately affect the well-being of the children of the nation today. However, of equal importance is the way in which money is spent. It's not going to do much good to spend more money on the kinds of programs that have already been proven unworkable. So that, in addition to more money, we need new methods, we need new approaches, we need new people involved in making the decisions. Community control of schools is not a panacea, it's not going to solve the problem of the national shortage of teachers, it's not going to solve many other problems because it is simply a reorganization of school systems, a change in the decision-making process. But it can make education more relevant and might even in some areas make it possible to spend existing amounts of money more effectively. Certainly if the people making decisions discover that something is not working, and their own children are involved, they are more likely to see that that procedure is changed than are people who are simply responsive to a large bureaucracy.

Now in terms of the socio-economic situation from which many of the children come: First of all, not every minority-group child is economically or socially deprived. I think this is a fallacy that we have tended to accept, lumping all these children together. Yet the schools don't even do a particularly good job of educating those who don't come from the most deprived backgrounds.

Second, I think if we look back in history we'll discover that we have managed in the past to educate children who were as poor and as deprived as any child today. There were some differences though: those children were mostly white and they were children for whom society had expectations that it does not have for black children. To me this is an argument in favor of putting black people in responsible positions for making policy and also administering decisions who do not have these hang-ups, if you will, about the children they are dealing with. The black community in every city has within in a great deal of expertise. It also has a great many people whose basic concern is the success of children, not necessarily of a fancy system.

Do you see the black communities achieving such changes by peaceful means?

As always, when the things people need are not granted them in an orderly and legal manner, they will find a way to get them even if they have to be disorderly and "illegal."

There are those who insist that black communities do not have people competent to run school boards and that community control will be a disaster if they are given the power to control public education in their communities. How do you answer this kind of criticism?

I simply point to the thousands of school committees and boards of education in cities and towns and villages throughout the country. These are laymen, as the American tradition is that professional educators do not sit on boards of education. In very, very few communities are there any qualifications for sitting on a school board other than being able to be elected or appointed. I would submit that very few of the people who served, say, since the turn of the century on the New York City Board of Education, knew anything more about education at the time they were appointed than does any other person off the street. The job of a board of education is to set the basic policy and to hire a chief administrator and hold him responsible for carrying out that policy. I submit that to see the black community as any less competent to do this than any other community is a racist attitude.

Speaking of racism in America, what in your view can our educational institutions do about it?

They can provide accurate information since many of the attitudes people have in this country are based on what they think to be the truth. I can't blame a person for considering me inferior if all he knows about me makes me inferior in his eyes. I can only blame him when he has accurate information and then considers me inferior. I think that if children grow up understanding the role that so many different groups of people have played in the development of our nation, if they really understand what has happened in our country from its very beginnings, that in itself will help not only to change existing attitudes but to develop a generation willing to look with more openness at our society.

For example, very few children, black or white, have any concept of the involvement of American blacks, both free and slave, in the French and Indian wars, in the Revolutionary war, in the War of 1812, and straight on through our history. A very few people understand that the North was not necessarily as pure as it appears to be in our history books either. How many know that there was legal slavery in New York State until not too long before the Civil War? It's important that these things be taught. It's important that black children understand these things, and it's also important that white children understand our history so that they know why black people feel the way they do. We hear a great deal today about violence in our nation. But violence has long been a part of our national way of life and until we understand and accept this, we can't do anything about changing it. It's not that this nation has changed; the sad thing is that it hasn't. We have not yet learned how to effect basic social change without violence and bloodshed. It's only when they begin to learn from history, taught honestly and accurately, that our young can begin to develop new attitudes so that every generation won't have to go through the kind of turmoil and upset that risks the very fabric of our society.

Why should public education be a Christian concern?

If we are going to follow the example of Christ, whose concern was the people in His society, to me this is part of what Christianity is. Christ didn't hide in a church and pretend that the world wasn't there. He went out into the world where the downcast and outcast were. These were the people He worked with. We have a tendency today to separate ourselves as "good Christians" from all outsiders and try to pretend they don't exist.

But the Protestant churches, and certainly the Roman Catholic Church, have taken a great interest in education historically.

Yes and No. It is true that many of the church people who founded schools for the freed men right after the Civil War, the dear old ladies who flocked South to be schoolmarms and so forth, were religiously motivated. The churches collected money, and they still do, for this kind of work. But it's always easier for a church in, say, New York City or Chicago to send people to Selma or Atlanta or Birmingham than it is to concern themselves about the problems right next door or in their own backyard. Also, when we talk, for example, about the need to change power relationships, some of the people holding a great deal of power are in some of our churches. Again, I think this is something we in the churches are going to have to face up to. ■

it says here . . .

NEW YORK ARCHDIOCESE AND EPISCOPALIANS REJECT TONE OF MANIFESTO

NEW YORK — In an unsigned four-page statement, the concept of "reparations" demanded by the National Black Economic Development Conference was rejected by the Roman Catholic archdiocese of New York.

In the statement released by Msgr. Thomas J. McGovern of the archdiocese, the so-called Black Manifesto was denounced for its rhetoric, which was seen as "closely joined to political concepts which are completely contrary to our American way of life."

The Catholic Church's response followed the presentation of the Manifesto earlier this month by James Forman, spokesman for the NBEDC, at the chancery. A total of $200,000,000 was demanded of the archdiocese.

The Catholic statement said also that the concept of "reparations" for centuries of injustice to blacks was 'highly controversial."

A statement issued the same day (May 21) by the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church also "rejected the rhetoric of the Manifesto but turned the Church's attention to the problems and needs" to which the document pointed.

The Episcopal response came after a two-hour discussion of the Manifesto at the Executive Council's regular meeting in Greenwich, Conn.

It cited the efforts of the Church in helping to fight poverty and injustice and promised to increase such efforts. A resolution "in specific terms" was still to be voted on.

On May 1, Mr. Forman had presented the Black Conference demands to the Episcopal Church at its headquarters here which called for $60 million plus 60% annually of all of the income from the Church's assets.

MCGOVERN SAYS CHURCHES MUST ACT ON RACISM

LONDON, ENGLAND — The Church had better come to grips with the problem of racism or it will become an irrelevant institution, U.S. Senator George S. McGovern told an International Conference on Racism here. On May 21, the South Dakota Senator summed up the first three days of the Conference on Racism of which he is chairman, called by the World Council of Churches.

"The black man is obviously reaching the end of his endurance," the Senator told theologians and laymen from more than 30 countries at sessions at the Notting Hill Ecumenical Council in a predominantly nonwhite section of West London.

The Rev. Channing Phillips, a black minister of the United Church of Christ, also addressed the Conference.

"When a society does not permit restructuring power that produces justice through economics and political maneuvers," he said, "then the Church ought not to shy away from aiding and abetting the development of the only power available—which is the power of violence." Racism, he continued, will not be dealt with effectively until it is realized that economics is a primary motive.

It was his conviction, said Mr. Phillips, that the Church has a penchant for letting economic factors silence moral requirements. "Therefore, no miracles ought to be expected."

Mr. Phillips also spoke scornfully of "the insanity that allows economic expenditures for conquering space to have priority over conquering racism."

RIVERSIDE CHURCH AND UNION SEMINARY PLEDGE "POOR" FUNDS

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The Rev. Dr. Ernest Campbell, senior minister of The Riverside Church, announced on May 12 that the interdenominational church will pledge a part of its annual income to a fund for the economic development of disadvantaged persons. A fixed percentage of the annual budget will be set aside for this purpose, he said, "for the rapid improvement of all the disadvantaged people in this country."

In a statement to the press, Dr. Campbell stressed, however, that the money would not be turned over to James Forman, spokesman of the National Black Economic Development Conference, nor would he be given any radio time on the church's station, WRVR or office space in the church, as Mr. Forman had demanded.

Mr. Campbell did not rule out the possibility that the fund might be made available to the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), in which Protestant, Catholic and Jewish congregations are cooperating toward black economic development. (See article on page 5.)

Meanwhile, by action of the Board of Directors of Union Theological Seminary, across the street from The Riverside Church, an investment of $500,000 of its endowment will be made in black enterprises in neighboring Harlem, while a campaign to raise $1 million has been launched to involve the seminary in community projects.

Each member of the Seminary's board of directors was asked to make a personal gift to a special school fund 'the use of which is to be determined by the black community of the seminary, through a committee composed entirely of black students, faculty, alumni and directors."

The directors who, according to Religious News Service, include many prominent businessmen, adopted a resolution affirming the "imperative at this moment in history of black economic development under black control."

SEATTLE — Dr. Zelma George, director of the Cleveland Job Corps Center for Women, accepts 1969 Edwin T. Dahlberg Peace Award from Dr. Edwin Tuller, general secretary of the American Baptist Convention, at denomination's annual meeting here. Dr. George is the first woman and the first non-ordained person to receive the honor.

Professors at Union also have endorsed a plan to raise $100,000 in pledges, and considered channeling such a fund through the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO).

MANIFESTO HANDED TO CARDINAL CODY DURING MASS

CHICAGO, ILL. — A copy of the Manifesto of the National Black Economic Development Conference was presented to John Patrick Cardinal Cody at the World Communications Day Mass on May 18. There was no disruption of the service at the Quigley Preparatory School chapel.

With the document in his hand, Mr. Herman Holmes, midwest regional director of NBEDC, went to the altar with the other communicants. As he received the Eucharist, he handed the Cardinal a copy but the Cardinal brushed it aside to one of the other four concelebrants.

Mr. Holmes returned to his seat, then went to the rear of the chapel where he once again handed a copy of the document to Cardinal Cody and requested a conference on it in the next few days.

Mr. Holmes explained that he wanted to inform the Cardinal of the black demands but that, if they were not discussed, disruption of services would be the next step.

The World Communications Day Mass was attended by several hundred persons involved in the press, radio and television industries, and is annually sponsored by the Archdiocese.

AMERICAN BAPTISTS ACT ON ARMS CONTROL, LOCAL AUTONOMY

SEATTLE (RNS) — Delegates to the 62nd annual meeting of the American Baptist Convention overwhelmingly approved a resolution on arms control, but only after passing by a very narrow margin an amendment which, some observers said, stripped it of most of its punch.

The Baptists also refused to become deeply embroiled in a theological dispute which one clergyman called "the wrong battle in the wrong war at the wrong time."

As a result of the latter decision local churches were allowed to retain complete autonomy in electing convention delegates, including "open churches" which do not require baptism by immersion for membership.

The debate on the arms-control resolution opened hearings on a number of resolutions touching on most of the critical issues and problems of contemporary American life.

The amendment deleted from the resolution a section calling upon the United States to "take the first steps toward bringing the world closer to a controlled armament situation."

That section urged a freeze on production and deployment of nuclear missiles including the anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system. It also asked a pledge of the U.S. not to use nuclear weapons unless under attack and requested moratorium on underground testing of nuclear devices for military uses.

Hal Roberts, a delegate from Los Angeles, submitted the amendment after obtaining the necessary 25 votes on a petition. Signatures were obtained from delegates from widely scattered states in less than an hour and a half.

Mr. Roberts argues that the resolution, as offered by the resolutions committee, would take away from the United States its power to retaliate. He said the resolution was too one-sided in its emphasis on American disarmament.

The amendment to delete the section which proponents claimed was really the heart of the resolution, was approved, 700 to 620, indicating that conservatives held a slight edge at the annual meeting.

it says here . . .

NEW YORK — Mark Hansen, student at New York's Union Theological Seminary, tacks a poster on door of the institution's administration building after 50 black and white students occupied the building in support of the Black Manifesto.

YOUNG BAPTISTS SLEEP-IN AND FAST IN PROTESTS

SEATTLE, WASH. — (RNS) — A youth bloc in the American Baptist Convention showed signs of increasing willingness to confront the "church establishment" as delegates conferred here at the Church's 62nd annual meeting.

The Young Baptist Churchmen, a loose coalition of "under-40" Baptists, conducted a sleep-in at the Queen Ann Baptist Church near the meeting site at the Seattle Center, and a convention-long fast, to protest the expenditure of money for convention meals at a time of widespread world hunger.

The sleep-in was described as a protest against "conventions-as-usual," but the plan to curl up in sleeping bags at the church was also an economic necessity for many with meager resources.

DAVIS AND BAUM DEBATE 'INSTITUTIONAL RELIGION'

MINNEAPOLIS — (RNS) — It was billed as a "debate" but there were no major disagreements when Charles Davis and Father Gregory Baum appeared together on a platform here to discuss the validity of formal institutional religion.

Both agreed that the Roman Catholic Church needs to change.

Mr. Davis, an English theologian who left the priesthood and the Catholic Church in 1966, said only revolution will bring about the changes needed in the Church.

Father Baum, a Canadian Catholic theologian who, like Mr. Davis, was an expert at Vatican II, seemed to prefer a more evolutionary process of change. He defended the Church's infallibility.

Mr. Davis, who now teaches at the University of Edmonton, said he saw no evidence that the Catholic Church will consent to gradual self-renewal.

"It will have to face a death to go through a Christian resurrection," he said, advocating "a purification by destruction."

Attacking papal supremacy and authority, Mr. Davis said that certain teachings of the Church are "corrupting" lives of people and preventing Christian renewal.

He cited the Church's handling of the birth control issue as "destructive" and charged that central authority in the Church had blocked the bishops from practicing collegiality, the sharing of decision-making.

Father Gregory Baum, O.S.A., an Augustinian who teaches at St. Michael's University in Toronto, said the Catholic Church is undergoing "extraordinary change" and that its doctrines are being reinterpreted.

"Our entire moral teaching is wrong," he said, because it is "based on a static view of man" that came from a particular philosophy rather than from Scripture.

CATHOLIC MEMBERSHIP IN WCC DISCUSSED BY JOINT GROUP

GWATT, SWITZERLAND — Roman Catholic membership in the World Council of Churches was discussed but "left open" at a May 12-17 meeting here of the Joint Working Group of the World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church.

A press release issued at the close of the meeting—the first since the Joint Group's membership was increased this year—said the Roman Catholic membership discussion was in the context of general consideration of "the growing relationship in every part of the world of the one ecumenical movement, internationally and in various regions and nations."

A major part of attention was concentrated on the "structural forms which these relations should take," the release said.

The matter of Roman Catholic membership in the World Council, it was stated, will be studied "in its theological, pastoral and administrative implications" by a small commission which will report to the next meeting of the Group, to be held May 25-30, 1970.

LCA'S IOWA SYNOD OPPOSES ABM PLAN

DES MOINES — (RNS) — Delegates to the Iowa Synod of the Lutheran Church in America passed a resolution 95 to 85 declaring opposition to the proposed anti-ballistic missile system (ABM).

The resolution, adopted at the annual convention here, expressed general concern over the influence of the military-industrial complex. It opposes "the development and deployment of the ABM system."

"We hereby express our deep concern," it said, "for the fact that the power and influence of the military-industrial complex seems to be increasing and for the fact that all defense spending, including the wasteful and superficial, seems to enjoy automatic blanket exemption from any significant reductions.

"In view of our critical domestic needs and, in the light of those two facts, we urgently petition our government officials to restudy our national goals and purposes, giving priority to the use of our resources for meeting the human needs of poverty and social crisis."

'CENTURY' ON BLACK MANIFESTO: IMPLEMENTATION THE PROBLEM

CHICAGO — (RNS) — The real problem with the Black Manifesto is not the "idea of reparations" but the effective implementation of that idea, according to the Christian Century, ecumenical weekly published here.

In its comment on the National Black Economic Development Conference's demand for $500 million in "reparations" from the white religious community, the magazine disagreed with those who say reparations are "ridiculous."

Yet the editorial warned that serious issues must be faced "with candor if black America itself is not to become victimized by everything done in its name."

There can be no doubt, according to the Century, that the Black Manifesto and James Forman, its spokesman, has done some church foundation shaking. The question of whether the Forman projects will solv black poverty was left open.

OKINAWA—JAPAN CHURCHES MERGE

TOKYO — Described as the "first step in healing a long-gaping wound," the two United Churches of Okinawa and Japan moved into one United Church of Christ in Japan in services held recently at Ginza Church.

The move unites Christians in the two countries, who have been apart since Okinawa was turned over to the United States for "temporary" use for military bases at the end of World War II, a situation which has continued for more than 20 years.

Moderator Sadao Matsuda said that Okinawa Christians believe the merger is "in the providence of God." The main-island Japanese Church sees the merger as established on the basis of the Confession on War Responsibility issued in 1967.

The Okinawa United Church, which has 24 churches and preaching points, 26 pastors and 1,178 members, became the Okinawa district of the new United Church.

DANGERS OF EXTREMISM CITED TO METHODISTS

NORMAN, OKLA. — (RNS) — Because of white racism and black radicalism, the immediate future of the nation is at least "foreboding," a National Conference on Extremism was told here.

The speaker was Clayton Hammond, assistant executive secretary of the United Methodist Commission on Religion and Race, Washington, D.C. He addressed a meeting sponsored by the Women's Division of the denomination's Board of Missions and the Oklahoma Center for Continuing Education.

"Black America has found itself imprisoned by white racism," said Mr. Hammond, "and is utilizing its only weapon of offense — black fatalism."

BLACK MANIFESTO

(Continued from page 4)

one of the most important demands that we are making for we know that it can generate and raise funds throughout the United States and help our African brothers. The IBA is charged with three functions and shall be headed by James Forman:

(a) Raising money for the program of the National Black Economic Development Conference,

(b) The development of cooperatives in African countries and support of African Liberation movements,

(c) Establishment of a Black Anti-Defamation League which will protect our image.

9. We call for the establishment of a Black University to be funded with $130,000,000 to be located in the South. Negotiations are presently under way with a Southern university.

10. We demand that IFCO allocate all unused funds in the planning budget to implement the demands of this conference.

IN order to win our demands we are aware that we will have massive support, therefore:

(1) We call upon all black people throughout the United States to consider themselves as members of the National Black Economic Development Conference and to act in unity to help force the racist white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues to implement these demands.

(2) We call upon all the concerned black people across the country to contact black workers, black women, black students and the black unemployed, community groups, welfare organizations, teacher organizations, church leaders and organizations explaining how these demands are vital to the black community of the U.S. Pressure by whatever means necessary should be applied to the white power structure of the racist white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. All black people should act boldly in confronting our white oppressors and demanding this modest reparation of 15 dollars per black man.

(3) Delegates and members of the National Black Economic Development Conference are urged to call press conferences in the cities and to attempt to get as many black organizations as possible to support the demands of the conference. The quick use of the press in the local areas will heighten the tension and these demands must be attempted to be won in a short period of time, although we are prepared for protracted and long-range struggle.

(4) We call for the total disruption of selected church-sponsored agencies operating anywhere in the U.S. and the world. Black workers, black women, black students and the black unemployed are encouraged to seize the offices, telephones and printing apparatus of all church-sponsored agencies and to hold these in trusteeship until our demands are met.

(5) We call upon all delegates and members of the National Black Economic Development Conference to stage sit-in demonstrations at selected black and white churches. This is not to be interpreted as a continuation of the sit-in movement of the early sixties but we know that active confrontation inside white churches is possible and will strengthen the possibility of meeting our demands. Such confrontation can take the form of reading the Black Manifesto instead of a sermon or passing it out to church members. The principle of self-defense should be applied if attacked.

(6) On May 4, 1969 or a date thereafter, depending upon local conditions, we call upon black people to commence the disruption of the racist churches and synagogues throughout the United States.

(7) We call upon IFCO to serve as a central staff to coordinate the mandate of the conference and to reproduce and distribute en masse literature, leaflets, news items, press releases and other material.

(8) We call upon all delegates to find within the white community those forces which will work under the leadership of blacks to implement these demands by whatever means necessary. By taking such actions, white Americans will demonstrate concretely that they are willing to fight the white skin privilege and the white supremacy and racism which has forced us as black people to make these demands.

(9) We call upon all white Christians and Jews to practice patience, tolerance, understanding and nonviolence as they have encouraged, advised and demanded that we as black people should do throughout our entire enforced slavery in the United States. The true test of their faith and belief in the Cross and the words of the prophets will certainly be put to a test as we seek legitimate and extremely modest reparations for our role in developing the industrial base of the Western world through our slave labor. But we are no longer slaves, we are men and women, proud of our African heritage, determined to have our dignity.

(10) We are so proud of our African heritage and realize concretely that our struggle is not only to make revolution in the United States, but to protect our brothers and sisters in Africa and to help them rid themselves of racism, capitalism, and imperialism by whatever means necessary, including armed struggle. We are and must be willing to fight the defamation of our African image wherever it rears its ugly head. We are therefore charging the Steering Committee to create a Black Anti-Defamation League to be funded by money raised from the International Black Appeal.

(11) We fully recognize that revolution in the United States and Africa, our Motherland, is more than a one dimensional operation. It will require the total integration of the political, economic, and military components and therefore, we call upon all our brothers and sisters who have acquired training and expertise in the fields of engineering, electronics, research, community organization, physics, biology, chemistry, mathematics, medicine, military science and warfare to assist the National Black Economic Development Conference in the implementation of its program.

(12) To implement these demands we must have a fearless leadership. We must have a leadership which is willing to battle the church establishment to implement these demands. To win our demands we will have to declare war on the white Christian churches and synagogues and this means we may have to fight the total government structure of this country. Let no one here think that these demands will be met by our mere stating them. For the sake of the churches and synagogues, we hope that they have the wisdom to understand that these demands are modest and reasonable. But if the white Christians and Jews are not willing to meet our demands through peace and good will, then we declare war and we are prepared to fight by whatever means necessary. We are, therefore, proposing the election of the following (Conference) Steering Committee:

Lucius Walker	Mark Comfort
Renny Freeman	Earl Allen
Luke Tripp	Robert Browne
Howard Fuller	Vincent Harding
James Forman	Mike Hamlin
John Watson	Len Holt
Dan Aldridge	Peter Bernard
John Williams	Michael Wright
Ken Cockrel	Muhammed Kenyatta
Chuck Wooten	Mel Jackson
Fannie Lou Hamer	Howard Moore
Julian Bond	Harold Holmes

BROTHERS and sisters, we no longer are shuffling our feet and scratching our heads. We are tall, black and proud.

And we say to the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, to the government of this country and to all the white racist imperialists who compose it, there is only one thing left that you can do to further degrade black people and that is to kill us. But we have been dying too long for this country. We have died in every war. We are dying in Vietnam today fighting the wrong enemy.

The new black man wants to live and to live means that we must not become static or merely believe in self-defense. We must boldly go out and attack the white Western world at its power centers. The white Christian churches are another form of government in this country and they are used by the government of this country to exploit the people of Latin America, Asia and Africa, but the day is soon coming to an end. Therefore, brothers and sisters, the demands we make upon the white Christian churches and the Jewish synagogues are small demands. They represent 15 dollars per black person in these United States. We can legitimately demand this from the church power structure. We must demand more from the United States Government.

But to win our demands from the church, which is linked up with the United States Government, we must not forget that it will ultimately be by force and power that we will win.

We are not threatening the churches. We are saying that we know the churches came with the military might of the colonizers and have been sustained by the military might of the colonizers. Hence, if the churches in colonial territories were established by military might, we know deep within our hearts that we must be prepared to use force to get our demands. We are not saying that this is the road we want to take. It is not, but let us be very clear that we are not opposed to force and we are not opposed to violence. We were captured in Africa by violence. We were kept in bondage and political servitude and forced to work as slaves by the military machinery and the Christian church working hand in hand.

We recognize that in issuing this Manifesto we must prepare for a long range educational campaign in all communities of this country, but we know that the Christian churches have contributed to our oppression in white America. We do not intend to abuse our black brothers and sisters in black churches who have uncritically accepted Christianity. We want them to understand how the racist white Christian church with its hypocritical declarations and doctrines of brotherhood has abused our trust and faith. An attack on the religious beliefs of black people is not our major objective, even though we know that we were not Christians when we were brought to this country, but that Christianity was used to help enslave us. Our objective in issuing this Manifesto is to force the racist white Christian church to begin the payment of reparations which are due to all black people, not only by the Church but also by private business and the U.S. Government. We see this focus on the Christian church as an effort around which all black people can unite.

Our demands are negotiable, but they cannot be minimized, they can only be increased and the Church is asked to come up with larger sums of money than we are asking. Our slogans are:

ALL ROADS MUST LEAD TO REVOLUTION
UNITE WITH WHOMEVER YOU CAN UNITE
NEUTRALIZE WHEREVER POSSIBLE
FIGHT OUR ENEMIES RELENTLESSLY
VICTORY TO THE PEOPLE
LIFE AND GOOD HEALTH TO MANKIND
RESISTANCE TO DOMINATION BY THE WHITE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUES
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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

Reviewing: "JOANNA" Produced by Michael S. Laughlin, Written and Directed by Michael Sarne, With Genevieve Waite, Calvin Lockhart, Glenna Forster-Jones (20th Century Fox Release)

Actress Genevieve Waite stars in title role of "Joanna."

HO-HUM. Another zippy-zany mod movie. Set where? In London of course, the zippy capital of moddom. Miniskirts galore, rock music, biracial hanky-panky, eye make-up, sports cars. Haven't we seen all this before, like over and over again? But wait. Something else begins to happen. The sleeping-around young heroine actually starts to love someone. A playboy who likes to fly his friends to his Mediterranean villa in the middle of the night falls prey to a fatal illness and dies. The mod chick's lover gets on the wrong side of the police and finds himself sentenced to ten years in prison. What's happening? You mean mod life in swinging London is *not* all fun and games, that people cry on Carnaby Street? That under those see-through blouses there is not just skin but heart? Yes, and in "JOANNA" we almost see it — almost, but not quite.

Someday a director will make a movie in which the mod world is the environment instead of the object of interest. He will focus on the *people* in the bell bottoms and striped jackets. In "JOANNA" Michael Laughlin almost does, but at crucial moments he turns back to the shimmery surface and is content to revel in the sporty sets and pretty props of mod-ness. Not that there is anything really wrong with such reveling. But once you lead an audience into thinking you are going to dig a little deeper, and then hold back, you are likely to appear chicken. Still, director Laughlin and his cameraman, Walter Lassally, have done a superb job with the sheerly visual elements of "JOANNA." It is well worth seeing. Some of the slightly out-of-focus photography reminds me of the lovely gossamer scenes in "ELVIRA MADIGAN," and the classical romantic love-death mood is similar also. As critic Deac Rossell has correctly seen, "JOANNA" is the first film about the mod world which sees the sources of that world in romanticism — with all its strengths and weaknesses.

"JOANNA" joins a genre of films about a woman seeking identity in life. It is a favorite theme for film-makers. Fellini dealt with it superbly in "JULIET OF THE SPIRITS." John Schlesinger scored a near miss in "DARLING." Luis Buñuel played with the theme in "BELLE DE JOUR." In each of these pictures, the pilgrim-heroine exudes one or another form of discontent. Each goes from man to man, dream to dream, in a quest for something sex doesn't seem to deliver. Oddly, in each of these films there is, as I recall, a death or funeral sequence. In "JULIET" it is the portrayal of a martrydom scene, flames and all. In "DARLING" it is the funeral of one of Julie Christie's paramours. In "JOANNA" it is the playboy. In "BELLE DE JOUR," with a characteristic Buñuel inversion, it is Belle herself who lies in the casket, albeit to play out the necrophiliac fantasies of well-heeled kook.

For none of these women does death come at the end. It intrudes in the middle as one of the phantoms with which Everywoman must grapple, but not as the Last Enemy. No, for women, at least in these films, the final protagonist is not death but Loneliness. In the end each of them loses, in one way or another, the person who has meant most to them. "DARLING" leaves us with that stark unvarnished fact. "BELLE DE JOUR" ends ambiguously. "JULIET" ends with the suggestion that she will have to be satisfied with her daydreams because her spouse is really not available. "JOANNA," in one of the director's biggest bungles, ends with a song-and-dance chorus line in the railway station.

It is not only pretentious but downright arrogant for a male reviewer to say much more than I have about the Woman Problem, as depicted in movies or elsewhere. Women, like black people, are fully capable of speaking for themselves these days, and do so all the time. It might be worth noting however that adultery, that dependable old method of feminine revolt, doesn't seem to work for the mod lady rebel. For Anna Karenina and Emma Bovary, it was a perfect symbol of self-liberation, and led ever so naturally to a splendid pathos-ridden death. But even Flaubert's Madame Bovary overplayed the thing and was entirely too melodramatic about it.

By now, it doesn't work at all because no one really cares. When the wife comes home unexpectedly and discovers Joanna in bed with her husband, there is no scene, no screaming, no confrontation. The wife glumly waits for her to get dressed and Joanna then prances through the park admiring the flowers and the early morning joggers. What used to provide sufficient grounds for duels to the death and crimes of passion is now viewed, at least by the mod cinema-makers, as an unfortunate mishap in scheduling. Joanna is not using sex as a weapon of rebellion the way her mother might have. She uses it more as an antidote to boredom.

Joanna is not a very bright girl. She is politically naive, provincial and childlike. She floats along the surface of life like a pretty bubble, reflecting the colors around her, rushing with the current, ever so fragile. When she has to cope with violence, death and separation, she does it with a wide-eyed insouciance. Though she attends an art school, we know she will never really be a painter. She lives from day to day in a world which will not either supply a life-meaning or allow her to remain forever in childhood. That is the problem with the romantic vision. Now and then we must become as little children, but we cannot stay that way all the time. Neither Joanna nor this film about her ever really comes to grips with that. But then, who among us really has?

Still, Joanna may be a little demodé already. The most interesting new arrival in the youth arena today is what might be called the "festive radical," and it comes in both genders. The festive radical combines some of the celebrative verve of Joanna with a growing political awareness. He or she dresses brightly, dances to loud rock and otherwise conforms to the mod scene. But he also exhibits a radical political orientation. This group may be what Godard was portraying in "LA CHINOISE." It is "JOANNA" with a picket sign. But let's not ask a director to make a different movie. In what it tries to do, "JOANNA" succeeds well. I just wish it had tried to do a little more.

BOOKS:

by Cynthia C. Wedel

TOMORROW'S CHURCH — CATHOLIC, EVANGELICAL, REFORMED, by Peter Day, Seabury Press, 1969, 192 pages, $2.95.

"I have just one question. Why? I just can't see any reason why the churches should do anything different from what they are doing now." This quotation from a layman attending a conference on church unity provides a spring board for Peter Day's excellent new book. A layman himself, and an experienced journalist, Dr. Day understands the questions of the laity and writes in a clear, intelligible and lively style.

In his present position as ecumenical officer for the Episcopal Church, Dr. Day has intimate involvement in the World and National Councils of Churches, the Consultation on Church Union, Episcopal-Roman Catholic conversations, relations with Jews, Pentecostals, and the Eastern Orthodox. His experience has given him insight into the present state of the churches and some of the possible shapes of the future. From this background, he answers the layman's question very persuasively. The book is addressed especially to Episcopalians, but would have equal appeal and relevance to clergy and laity of all churches. Its major focus is on the Consultation on Church Union, seen within the context of the total ecumenical movement. But — since COCU will have reverberations in all churches — this focus adds to, rather than diminishes, the wide usefulness of the book.

There are chapters on the present ecumenical scene, the urgent need for change in the churches, the surprising doctrinal agreement which already exists among churches.

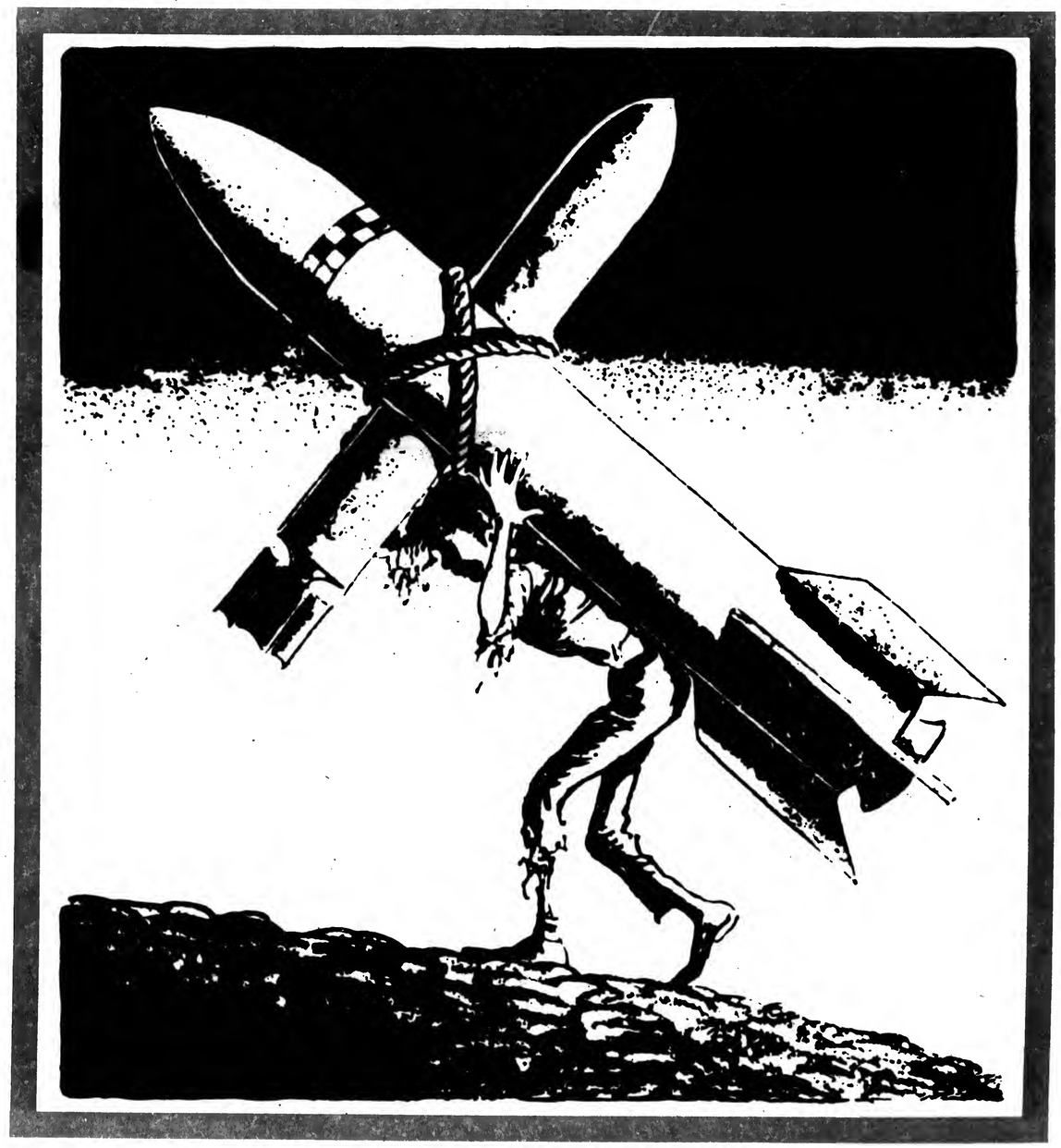
"The worship of God is the first, and the only permanent business of the Church" is the sentence which opens a stimulating chapter on renewal in worship in a united church. The sometimes sticky problems of baptism, the Eucharist and the ministry each have brief chapters. One of the most interesting features of these discussions is the extent to which re-thinking of these questions within the Roman Catholic Church since Vatican II is contributing to ecumenical thought and discussion. Dr. Day concludes the book with a chapter which suggests some of the probable marks of the Church of the future — and perhaps a nearer future than some of us imagine!

The final third of the book consists of an appendix, made up of a series of very important statement on unity made by various churches. This is a valuable pulling together of documents formerly found only in a wide variety of publications.

Sister Ann Patrick Ware of the Roman Catholic Sisters of Loretto has written a brief and very helpful study outline for the book which will make it extremely usable by adult and youth study groups. ■

TEMPO

In Pace With The Changing Church June 15, 1969



A CRISIS OF CONSCIENCE • THE PEOPLE AND THE PENTAGON

TEMPOsitions . . .

THE PROGRESS OF PEOPLES — II: Responsibility And Population

by Barbara Ward

THE developing nations today are not static or stagnant. With an average growth rate of 4.8% a year they are growing more rapidly than did the Atlantic world in its decades of development a century ago. They are positively leaping forward compared with the full stop to all growth which took place in the depressed '30s.

Yet two heavy anxieties cloud a picture which is, in essence, much more encouraging than popular judgment often supposes. The first we have explored. It is that the 4.8% rate of growth has been sustained by critically important inputs of foreign exchange — of dollars and marks and francs and sterling — made available either by ordinary investment, which however does not reach the poorest, or by economic assistance, which shows more and more alarming signs of falling away, or by international trade, which is pretty well rigged in favor of the rich nations while they show few signs of being willing to lessen the bias in their own favor.

Population Growth Narrows Gains

The second anxiety lies in the fact that although 4.8% is better than the Atlantic nations' traditional three per cent, it is not enough. The reason is well known. In most of the developing countries, population growth, unleashed by the control of epidemics and the beginnings of public health, is driving forward by not much less than three per cent a year. This leaves too small a margin for all the required investment in new technologies and for the food and health and schooling people need to modernize themselves.

Much of the pessimism freely expressed about the prospects of the poor nations springs from the belief that Thomas R. Malthus, who wrote 150 years ago prophesying that rising population would always swallow up the resources needed for investment and growth, may have been wrong in the 1800s but is right now.

Is he? The fact that he was wrong before suggests that he may be wrong again and there is, in fact, reason to suppose that the present situation, though difficult, is not hopeless. We now know from history that peoples as diverse as the Japanese, the French, the Italians, the Scandinavians and the British do in fact have smaller families when their standards of living and education begin to rise.

With Development Comes Stabilization of Population

If no population had ever become stabilized, if birth rates had always remained at three per cent instead of Europe's and Japan's one per cent, the despair would be in order. World population — at 3.5 billions today — cannot go on doubling every 25 years without exhausting the resources of our little planet. But the growth rate in developed nations has become more stable and this is precisely because they are developed.

When parents know that most of their children will survive the first five years, when a large family is not the only source of labor on the farm—a tractor represents quite a sizeable unit of "child power" — when a large family is not the single prop of old age, when women are educated to want something more encouraging than an annual pregnancy with a 50% rate of infant mortality — when all this occurs, then in all kinds of society and culture, the birthrate ceases to go up like a rising flood.

Hope and Responsibility

And the reason is the simple one — the parents' own choice. Short of inconceivable interventions by government, reducing citizens to the level of animals in a stud farm, parents' decisions control and will control population growth; and parents, on all historical evidence, exercize what has come to be known as "responsible parenthood" when the preconditions of development — health, schools, jobs, hopes — are becoming a reality.

Governments may properly seek to encourage this attitude. But it cannot force or take the place of parental decision and parental conscience. And these, in Europe, in America, in Russia, in Japan, in Australasia, in Taiwan and Korea conform both to personal morality and to the rhythms and hopes of full development.

Chief Hope: Press On!

It follows that the chief hope of securing a workable balance between population and resources lies in stimulating and hastening full scale development. Those who advocate family planning without accepting all the economic assistance, the modifications of trading patterns and the global strategy for full development that are necessary to modernize world society simply mistake band aids for basic cures. Responsible parents regulate their families by means their conscience accepts when their hopes of development, health and schooling encourage a smaller family. When there is no hope, there is no responsibility.

So the questions is: do we have such a hope? Can development get ahead of the population surge? And the answer is a decided "yes." ■

This is the second in a series of six guest editorials by Miss Ward (Lady Jackson), well-known economist, lecturer and writer, and prominent Christian laywoman.

The tragic paradox of obsessive U.S. spending for costly "defense" at the expense of continuing deterioration of the nation's cities and the quality of life of millions of poor and disadvantaged Americans — of such deep concern to the churches among others — recently came under the sharp scrutiny of a select group of thoughtful leaders meeting in Washington. Perhaps by design and intent of the participants the sessions got virtually no publicity. With the cooperation of the editors of The Progressive, **who obtained transcripts of what was said in addition to a special statement by ten members of Congress, TEMPO in this issue is able to report on this little-known event. As is indicated on Page 3,** The Progressive **in its June issue, carries full details. TEMPO thanks** The Progressive **for the privilege of simultaneous publication of the articles on pages 3, 4 & 5.**

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause

ART AND LAYOUT: Heff Heisler

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbot, David M. Ackerman, John Fisher, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, David Poindexter, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell, Maza Tilghman, Albert Tippit, Glen Trimble, John W. Turnbull.

Subscription Correspondence: TEMPO, P.O. Box 81, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010

Editorial Correspondence: Dept. of Information, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027

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A CRISIS OF CONSCIENCE

By The Editors of "The Progressive"

The control of military arms is undoubtedly the most important political question in the world today, for the arms race devours the money and influences all other questions of poverty, race, jobs, and housing, both here and abroad.

—James Reston, The New York Times

Herblock in The Washington Post

"By the way, what ARE we developing to protect our cities?"

THE signs of spring point ominously to another long hot summer of domestic strife. The warning signals are plain in every corner of this unhappy land. The cities crackle with tension—and occasionally with gunfire. The colleges, and increasingly the high schools as well, are engulfed in turmoil. Even those ultimate bastions of conformity, the armed services, are discomfited by unprecedented manifestations of dissent and disobedience. The nation is racked by a crisis of conscience the likes of which we have not seen in our time.

More is at stake—much more—than merely putting out a few more fires, mobilizing a few more regiments of National Guardsmen, hauling a few more demonstrators off to jail, putting a few more statutes on the books to preserve "law and order." America is not merely confronted with a minority of malcontents—the poor who claim a share of the national affluence, the blacks who demand the rights denied them for 300 years, the young who insist that society's actions should match its rhetoric. America is confronted with the challenge of delivering on its historic promises. Time is running out. The nation is confronted not only with the insistent clamor for change by the picketing, protesting minority forces; the nation is confronted, too, by a rising tide of discontent among countless middle-aged, middle-class, and generally middle-of-the-road Americans who are expressing deepening despair over the country's mounting stockpile of unsolved problems and unfulfilled promises.

Spiraling Disorder

The grim lessons of spiraling domestic disorder seem to have been lost on the men who wield power. The most glaring injustices, the most blatant contradictions in our society are blandly accepted as inevitable, or rationalized as desirable or, at best, deferred for possible remediation at some unspecified future time.

"The Nixon Administration has decided for the present against a major Presidential-level attack on hunger," The Washington Post reported at the end of April. "Lack of available money in the reduced fiscal 1970 Federal budget is a prime reason for the decision. Another reason is that some White House officials are not convinced hunger is a serious national problem."

For "lack of available money," ten million Americans are to continue suffering the agony of hunger or chronic malnutrition. For "lack of available money," twenty-two million Americans remain below even the Government's minimal poverty line. For "lack of available money," more than twenty million Americans are ill-housed. For "lack of available money," the Administration has proposed reducing the Federal share of Medicaid payments. For "lack of available money," elderly couples dependent on Social Security benefits now subsist on the magnificent average stipend of $110 a month.

Shadow of the Military

There is no "lack of available money," however, for the monstrous military machine that has come to dominate the nation's life and cast its shadow over the entire world. Appropriations for "defense" consume the lion's share of the Federal budget. The catastrophic adventure in Vietnam continues to gobble up $30 billion a year—precisely the sum that President Johnson's half-forgotten Commission on Domestic Disorders proposed to spend on urgently needed domestic programs. Senator Stuart Symington, a former Secretary of the Air Force, has advised Congress that the nation's "total investment in what are now acknowledged to be unworkable or obsolete missiles . . . totals over $23 billion," but the Administration bends its undivided political energy to the task of securing Congressional approval for a new departure in missile madness — the anti-ballistic missile system — that will not only cost more billions but set off another perilous round in the arms race. Still other costly baubles for the Pentagon are being energetically peddled to the Congress by officials who profess to be preoccupied with protecting "the free world." Meanwhile, freedom at home stands in the gravest peril.

Against this background, an event of historic significance took place recently in Washington. Under the sponsorship of members of the House and Senate, a "Congressional Conference on the Military Budget and National Priorities" was convened on Capitol Hill March 28 and 29 to explore in depth the crucial issues encompassed in its title. The participants included Democrats and Republicans, as well as some who have abandoned all trust in the conventional politics of the two-party system; distinguished scientists and scholars whose counsel has been sought by past Administrations, and former officials who have enjoyed the confidence of Presidents.

Redefining Priorities

In two days of wide-ranging deliberations, they dealt with such immediate topics as the anti-ballistic missile (ABM) and other weapons developments, with strategies for ending the Vietnam war, with possible techniques for restoring a measure of Congressional oversight to burgeoning Pentagon budgets. They also explored the larger context of the militarization of American foreign policy and domestic policies, the need for redefining the national purpose, the prospects of restructuring the total society. From their varied perspectives and points of view, they produced a provocative and immensely informative dialogue.

The Conference was patterned on a similar symposium on the Vietnam war held in January 1966, under the sponsorship of many of the same Members of Congress and with some of the same participants. That conference produced a remarkably prophetic assessment of the war and a strong appeal for de-escalation which was, tragically, ignored at the time. Like its predecessor, the Conference of March 28-29 was intended primarily as a vehicle for informing its Congressional sponsors. Except for a brief opening session and a concluding press conference, the discussions took place behind doors barred to the press and the public. Participants were assured by the Congressional sponsors that their comments would be held in confidence.

Because of the overriding importance of the issues discussed, however, and the unusual caliber of the participants, the editors of *The Progressive* appealed to the Congressional sponsors for permission to devote its entire June issue to publication of an edited transcript of the proceedings. The request was met with heartening enthusiasm and cooperation.

Remarkable Document

In accord with the original intent of the Conference, many of the Congressional sponsors took little or no part in the proceedings, choosing instead to listen to the experts they had assembled. The intensity of their concern is made manifest, however, in the Introduction the Congressional initiators have written especially for this issue of *The Progressive*, (and, by permission, for TEMPO). It is, in itself, a remarkable document, combining the strongest strands of conservative and radical thought — conservative in its return to the original ideals of the Republic, as set forth in the Preamble to the Constitution; radical in the best sense of that much-abused term in its attempt to propose ways to heal the malaise that grips America. ■

(By special arrangement, TEMPO simultaneously prints the foregoing article by the editors of THE PROGRESSIVE, together with the succeeding article by ten members of the U.S. Congress. Both appear in the June issue of THE PROGRESSIVE *as prologues, in effect, to a comprehensive transcript of the vitally important two-day discussions in Washington mentioned above.* TEMPO *commends the entire "Power of The Pentagon" issue of* THE PROGRESSIVE *to all its readers who are deeply concerned for the spreading malaise in the social fabric of our society and want to do something about it. Single copies may be obtained at $1.00; 6-10 copies at 75 cents each; 11-20 copies at 50 cents each; 51-100 copies at 40 cents each; other rates correspondingly lower according to bulk quantities ordered. For church discussion and other purposes, orders may be placed directly with* THE PROGRESSIVE, Madison, Wisconsin, 53703. ED.)

THE PEOPLE AND THE PENTAGON

by Ten Members of Congress

The ten authors of this essay are the Senators and Representatives who initiated the recent Congressional Conference on National Priorities. Their comments were prepared especially for publication in THE PROGRESSIVE *and, by arrangement, in* TEMPO. *The authors are: Senators George S. McGovern and Gaylord A. Nelson; Representatives George Brown, Jr., Phillip Burton, John Conyers, Jr., Don Edwards, Donald M. Fraser, Robert W. Kastenmeier, Benjamin S. Rosenthal, and William F. Ryan.*

ON March 28, 1969, two separate but ironically related events occurred which insistently pointed to the most urgent public issue of our time: the role of the military-industrial establishment in the United States.

The first event of that day was the death of Dwight David Eisenhower, himself a hero of the American military heritage. As a departing President he had startled the nation with his Farewell Address, in which he warned of a military establishment supported by an immense arms industry which "has the potential for a disastrous rise of misplaced power." Eight years later his words take on new import — after at least $500 billion dollars sunk in military expenditures, a disastrous war in Vietnam, a senseless intervention in the Dominican Republic, more than forty-two treaty commitments to as many countries to intervene "in case of aggression" — all this while acute poverty and distress persist within the United States itself.

These misplaced priorities were the setting for the other event of March 28, the Congressional Conference on the Military Budget and National Priorities, which brought together former Government leaders, foreign policy scholars, experts on weapons technology, economists, Senators and Representatives to investigate the actual enormity of that "misplaced power" of which President Eisenhower warned.

WE initiated the Conference in the conviction that Congressional control of military policy must be reasserted and that the level of Congressional analysis of these critical issues can be raised through a greater intimacy between the legislative branch and the intellectual community. Our purpose was to articulate the basic issues of the militarization of American society for the general public as well as for Congress, and to examine concrete proposals for restoring democratic control over the military budget. Two principal themes of our discussions should be underscored.

The first is the nature of the national security bureaucracy itself. It is composed of the Armed Services, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the Atomic Energy Commission, and other bodies provided for in the National Security Act of 1947, and it is closely linked to the aerospace and armaments industry, segments of the labor movement, and a new middleclass of scientists, engineers, businessmen, and universities with defense research contracts. This complex is not a conspiracy; it is an enormous, self-perpetuating institutional organism. It receives such a disproportionate amount of Federal funds that there is no effective counterbalance to it, and such decisions as those on Vietnam and ABM are generated from institutional momentum rather than conscious policy decisions.

Second, to reassert control over this enormous bureaucracy we must undertake a new look at our own role in the world, assess the nature of our own social, economic and political institutions, and redetermine our national priorities. Without such a public debate, we will be unable to translate public anxieties into political realities and forge a new political will to reverse our present priorities.

We hope this Conference will be a forerunner of a debate that will be taken up by local organizations, political clubs, university groups, and every individual man and woman who cares about the society in which he lives. There is a fundamental decision to be made by all of us, and that is how we want our tax dollar to be spent. We are heavily taxed by Federal, state, and local levies. Even with added sales taxes, gasoline taxes, surtaxes, not enough money is generated to provide for such necessary services as schools, public transportation, parks, pollution control. The pattern is nationwide.

THE urgency of our concern is underscored by the critical juncture at which we stand in the development of nuclear weapons. The reason we called for the postponement of ABM development, a moratorium on testing of MIRV (multiple independently-targetable re-entry vehicle), and immediate commencement of strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union is that the time for such talks with the Soviet Union is that the time for such talks may soon pass the point of no return. Because of the impossibility of detecting the number of warheads inside the deployed missiles, we will reach a stage in a few months when neither nation will be able to accept a limitation on its strategic force. *The Soviet Union has been pressing for such talks, and we have been putting them off while we complete testing.*

A profound indication of the acceleration of the arms race is the fact that our own military strategists are presently engaged in a debate to shift the basic question of defense policy from preventing nuclear war to surviving it.

Unless we act decisively within the next few months, the opportunities for maintaining any kind of security in the next decade may be almost non-existent. The bureaucratic momentum of the defense establishment, with its parochial view of the world, is projecting decisions that are contrary to the needs of the nation and to the well-being of mankind.

THE staggering costs of this proposed arms spiral cannot be measured accurately in dollars or in percentage of Gross National Product. The proper measures are in "opportunities foregone": funding the Manned Orbiting Laboratories, or providing Upward Bound summer courses for 600,000 ghetto students who have college potential; permitting excessive contractor costs to go unchecked, or providing Head Start education for 2,250,000 additional children plus enough school lunches to feed twenty million children for a whole year; spending this year's Safeguard funds, or training 510,000 more hard-core unemployed.

Justus in Minneapolis Star

The Arms Race Goes On—and On

In the decade from 1959 to 1968, direct defense outlays of the United States came to more than $551 billion. This is twice the amount spent for new private and public housing in the same decade, and nearly twice as much as Federal, state, and local governments allocated to education. In 1967 alone, a conservative estimate of military-related spending was $100 billion. This was more than all Federal, state, and local expenditures on health, hospitals, education, old age benefits, welfare, unemployment, and agriculture.

This order of priorities prevails at a time when twenty million Americans live in dilapidated, rat-infested housing while the building industry cannot even keep up with the population increase and is, in fact, declining in productivity; when there are at least ten million victims of malnutrition and untold thousands of children with permanent brain damage because of insufficient food; when there are close to forty million people living in poverty with little access to medical or welfare care; while millions of children are doomed to lives of misery and poverty because of inadequate or non-existent school facilities.

THE degree of economic damage done each year by the massive allocation of resources to military spending has been noted by such economists as Kenneth Boulding, who points out that by reducing "domestic consumption by about fifteen per cent and by diverting the growth resource into the rat hole of competitive weapons systems, or even space technology, it unquestionably diminishes the rate of growth by as much as two per cent per annum."

Unlike investments in education or in new factories, expenditures for missiles add nothing to the nation's productive capacity, although they do generate income for a certain segment of the population. Other costs are just as great, although less easily quantified. Civilian businesses suffer because they cannot match the salaries offered by subsidized defense firms; scientists and engineers are trapped into doing research that is contrary to life-serving causes; a new class of business executive arises — men who know little about marketing or cost controls, but who know how to negotiate effectively with Government officials.

The most striking evidence of the decay of our society is that we have sought to meet the local crises of race and poverty by increasing militarization — by training more than 400,000 National Guardsmen and police in local riot control. The pervasive use of military means to solve our social and political problems is the most alarming indication of the emptiness of other conflict-resolving institutions.

In many other subtle ways individual values and ideals have been eroded. We are slowly becoming conditioned to the acceptance of regimentation, wiretapping, snooping, and spying by large national and internal-security related agencies. In many communities the existence of large defense installations has retarded necessary social reform by reinforcing prevailing patterns of segregation and economic rigidity. In industry, the military have taken over fundamental business decisions, even necessitating security clearances for business executives.

Eventually we must recognize that the factors which determine our massive military budget are to be found less abroad than they are here at home. The reason we are able to move a wounded Marine from the jungles of Vietnam to the finest medical care in minutes, yet cannot do the same for a sick child on the Mississippi delta or on an Indian reservation, is very much bound up in our image of ourselves.

Justus in Minneapolis Star

Watchdog

BEING the greatest power in the world carries not only political and economic implications, but psychological elements which many of us have not yet truthfully faced. We do a great deal to buttress that image of power. Other sacrifices we find harder to make. We are six per cent of the world's population using more than sixty per cent of its goods and developed resources. We are convinced that the American way of life is the best in the world, that American management and enterprise are the best in the world, and that capitalism is the best tool for development. The result is that our foreign policy is not dictated as much by external threats as we would like to think, but is an extension of our own economic, political, and social institutions.

The questions we must ask ourselves are not who are the Russians, or what are the Chinese or Vietnamese about, but who and what are Americans? If anti-Communism is all we can agree on as a national credo, we will never be able to break the psychosis of force and destruction which is the American tragedy.

OUR national priorities were set out in the Constitution. Somehow we have forgotten them. The priorities of our forefathers were "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, and to provide for the common defense." Our first task is to reinterpret these great goals in light of the realities of the Twentieth Century and the dawn of the Twenty-first Century.

"To form a more perfect union" is to end the racism and discrimination that have long permeated American life. "Our society is moving toward two societies, one white, one black — separate and unequal." The extraordinary Kerner Commission Report on Civil Disorders outlines the decisive deepening of the racial division of our country. To continue on our present course can only lead to the fragmentation of America into increasingly violent and repressive factions and to the ultimate destruction of basic democratic values. Despite all our talk of strength and wealth and power, we are a weak and divided society.

To form a more perfect union is surely our first task.

"To establish justice" is to end the exploitation of the poor and the weak and to make our legal system one that will insure we are governed by laws and not by men.

At a time when we have equated justice with law and order, it is important that we take a look at the "crime" in our society. The crime we talk about in America is crime in the streets. What about the crime of a society which would shoot a sixteen-year-old for looting a television set but think nothing of hungry children in a land of surplus food? What is not talked about is the crime of a society with dual standards of justice, where property is protected at any price while the costs of extortion, price-fixing, rake-offs, restraint of trade through duress or threat, blackmail, and consumer frauds are either ignored or passed on to the citizen in the form of higher prices. Organized crime drains the body politic of an estimated $22 billion per year. This crime does not appear in the statistics, but it underlies the moral fabric of our society and gives a hypocritical ring to cries for law and order. The real issue is justice.

"To ensure domestic tranquillity" is to redefine the difficult yet essential role of the police in contemporary society; to assist them in becoming more effective and creative servants of a pluralistic society and to make sure that their role is not reduced to that of mere agents of a local power structure. The continued training of police and National Guardsmen in military techniques will not eliminate the economic and social failures which generate discord and disruption.

In the next five years twenty million Americans will leave the rural poverty in which they no longer can eke out a livelihood and migrate to cities which cannot house, feed, educate or employ them. Massive disorder will be the inevitable result.

In the next few years millions of students will rebel against institutions which allow them no real responsibility, offer them careers they find abhorrent, and send them off to die for wars in which they cannot believe. They will disrupt the only segment of society over which they have any control — schools and universities.

The police and National Guard can quell riots. They cannot bring tranquillity. "There is no more urgent task than to break down the walls of isolation which surround our local police," warned the President's Commission on Law Enforcement. Our police are isolated from the society they serve, and the redefining and reorganization of our entire system of law enforcement — police, courts, and correctional apparatus — are essential to ensuring domestic stability and tranquillity.

"To provide for the common defense" means in the nuclear age to find new ways of leading in international cooperation, of building international institutions which can provide effective arms control and disarmament. The common defense does not require maintaining an American force for every conceivable contingency, however remote, nor does it require an endless arms race of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons which, if used, would destroy exactly what we are trying to protect.

One nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union would claim at least 120 million American lives. To offer up a percentage of our population as a human sacrifice is not to provide for the common defense.

The current strategic plans of our armed forces do not meet their Constitutional obligations as historically defined. To provide for defense in the nuclear age is to formulate and carry through a policy aimed at a stable peace. It means, at this point in time, a moratorium on further ABM deployment, and successful arms limitation and disarmament agreements with the Soviet Union and other nations. A policy consciously directed toward creation of a stable peace which allows for profound change in the third world must now be fashioned to provide for the common defense of the United States.

HOW can we reassert the realities of our national priorities? It is clear that President Nixon will be no more able to control military spending than were Presidents Johnson or Kennedy. The size of our national security institutions precludes any partisan responsibility. The most urgent challenge confronting the Congress today is to reassert control of the military bureaucracy and the policy decisions it has preempted.

This can be accomplished only by effective Congressional leadership backed by a broadly-based, informed, and concerned public constituency. In recent years the military budget and weapons policies have been determined by the Pentagon and the Armed Services Committees without critical evaluation by the Congress or the public. Last year the House Armed Services Committee held months of hearings on the military budget, but of hundreds of witnesses only two were not employees of the Pentagon.

The size and complexity of the military budget make effective review almost impossible once the appropriations measures reach the floor of either House. This year some of our colleagues will attempt to impose a ceiling on the military budget, a ceiling of $50 billion, which would match the Soviet Union's military budget plus an additional twenty per cent. An attempt will be made to analyze the budget on a line-item basis which would permit us to explore the policies underlying the equipment for which we are asked to vote. If we are asked, for example, to vote millions of dollars for high-speed troop transport, we should ask whether or not we want to be able to move troops around the world to various trouble spots at a moment's notice, and if we do, why? Our policies should determine our weapons and not vice versa.

This Conference reflects a new depth and awareness in the public mood which for the first time seems ready to translate concern into effective action. It is our hope that the Conference itself will serve as a catalyst to develop similar debates across the country which will allow us to assert our role as legislators for programs of the future rather than speechmakers on the problems of our past. ■

New York City's Mayor Speaks Out On . . .

the city and public welfare

by John V. Lindsay

OF all the problems that beset urbanized America today, none is more serious and stubborn than public welfare.

No public policy spawns such strong feelings as the welfare system and no program has met with more widespread discontent. Welfare is damned by the left and the right, by liberals and conservatives alike. Welfare is resented by those who receive it. Welfare is derided by those who administer it. Welfare is hated by those who pay for it.

Mayor Lindsay

This dissatisfaction exists for a very good reason. As it now stands, the welfare system is irrational and uncivilized. It benefits no one. It perpetuates dependency. It stifles initiative. And it imprisons the city in a network of regulations that makes real reform on the local level all but impossible.

To understand what is true about the welfare system, however, it is first necessary to understand what is not true — to dispel those myths which seem to promise simple solutions to the problem.

It is said that poor people flock to the cities to get welfare. That is *not* true. Barely two per cent of those on welfare have been in New York City less than a year. What this means, then, is that the job market cannot sustain those who want jobs — and that it is only after a fruitless search for self-sufficiency that people turn to welfare.

It is said that the poor on welfare do not want to work. *That* is not true. According to one recent independent survey, seven out of ten welfare mothers in New York said they would rather work than continue on welfare. And two of the remaining three said they would prefer work if there were some way to have their children cared for.

A High Price

What they really feel was eloquently put by one such mother, divorced, with three children:

"I know now," she said, "that being on welfare might guarantee a roof over your head, but at the price of practically everything that is necessary for a person's confidence and self-respect."

It is said that thousands of people "chisel" to get on welfare for a free ride. And *that* is not true. If you believe this, I invite you to join me in talking to those on welfare, to those trying to feed their children on 66 cents a day. I invite you to talk with those middle-income families who attempted to feed *their* families for a week on the welfare food budget. Ask *them* what kind of free ride it is for a family that lives by a welfare check!

These views — widely held by many New Yorkers—are false. But that in no sense vindicates the welfare system. For the realities of what it costs and what it does to us are more than grim enough to warrant fundamental, far-reaching and urgent action to replace it.

What are the realities of welfare?

It is, first of all, a network of Federal and state laws and regulations that effectively imprisons a city. Every feature of the system, from the level of benefits, to the way it is administered, to programs to provide jobs, must gain approval at another level of government. *The city by itself can do nothing* — despite the fact that it pays 35 per cent of the welfare costs out of its own pocket.

New York City Slum Renters, Most on Relief, Stage Rent Strike Demonstration

Relief Recipients Line up in Chicago — A Scene for All Cities

Each time we have sought a reform to lower the cost of welfare — to save taxpayer's money, to increase job possibilities for welfare recipients —each time we have had to ask permission from the Federal and state governments. And that process has meant delay, further obstacles to change, and a higher cost to the city.

Welfare is also an explicit cause of much of the urban crisis, for the national system permits some states to set benefits so low that it literally forces poor people to flee elsewhere. The state of Mississippi, for example, provides eight dollars a month to a welfare child — eight dollars a month for food, clothing, shelter, medical care, and the total cost of survival. Other states put benefits at similar outrageous levels and couple it with a network of medieval intrusions into personal lives.

Yet, not only does the welfare system permit this—it actually pays a greater share of costs in a starvation-level state than it does in a state like New York, where the benefits are at a minimal level of decency.

Population of the Unskilled

The shocking fact is that the Federal government pays 80 per cent of all welfare costs in Mississippi, and only 35 per cent in New York City! Thus, it forces migration to the North and West—and with it, all of the problems of a concentrated population of the unskilled.

The third and perhaps the most indefensible aspect of welfare is its absolute impotence to help solve the most critical part of poverty—joblessness and poverty-level employment.

To understand why so many are on welfare, you must understand the realities of the job market in New York City. The fact is that 800,000 New Yorkers earn less than $80 a week — a poverty-level income for a family of four. What this means is that, for thousands of New Yorkers, employment income is *less* than what they could receive on welfare.

For many New Yorkers, no level of poverty is worth the indignity of welfare — which is why more than a million people in this city work at such wages. But this dilemma of low-paying jobs is also why many, who desperately want self-sufficiency, remain on welfare — for, under the present system, leaving welfare means less money to feed and clothe their families.

Yet not only does the welfare system ignore the critical need to provide decent-paying jobs for those now dependent, it actively discourages such employment. Take the case of a welfare mother who wants to undertake part-time work to supplement her income. Such work means at least the possibility of advancement and, ultimately, full self-sufficiency.

Now what does the welfare system do under such circumstances? It lowers the welfare check by one dollar for every dollar this woman earns! It imposes, in other words, a 100 per cent tax on her earnings. That is not exactly a compelling incentive to work. And, in fact, this combination of dead-end jobs and discouragement of part-time employment adds up to an incentive to *stop* work —and to improve a family's prospects by going on welfare.

The Biggest Losers

In fact, welfare does something else, even more outrageous. For a man earning $3,000 to $5,000 a year, there is a strong temptation to desert his family. For he can keep his job while the mother and children go on welfare, thus raising his family's income. Of course, the children are the biggest losers because the system orders recipients *not* to earn money and begin to develop self-sufficiency, and thus actively promotes family instability. It supports families at the price of full and absolute dependency. There is no defense for that kind of system!

What we have is a system imposed from outside the city — a system which encourages migration and further burdens big city taxpayers — a system which isolates its recipients from the job market — a system which stifles incentive and the urge for self-worth — a system which, together with the large number of low-paying jobs, traps citizens into a "welfare life" instead of protecting them from it. And all this at a cost of more than one billion dollars plus a social cost of mutual resentment and polarization.

This country *can* create a better system than welfare. And it must begin that process *this* year, before the fiscal and spiritual costs become intolerable. It must undertake a national commitment to junk this existing program and replace it with something better. And it must make that commitment now!

Such a new program would have four basic features:

First, it would provide a national income-maintenance program, with national standards adjusted for regional cost-of-living differences. It would provide a decent level of income for those who could not support themselves because of some disability. And it would be *fully funded* by the Federal Government, so that urban taxpayers would not be forced to pay for national problems.

Second, it would totally separate the task of *providing support* from the social services. At present, the welfare system imposes so many national rules and regulations that it is strangling itself in red tape. The administrative costs of the system are as high as the entire Internal Revenue Service, which handles twenty times the money and has far more "chiseling." Those services that can in fact help — in health, housing and employment — should be locally directed and not tied into the wholly different function of keeping needy families alive.

National Commitment Needed

Third, such a system would actively encourage recipients to work, by providing incentives instead of totally taxing all earnings of welfare families. Here in New York, we have begun an experimental Earnings Incentive Program which permits welfare families to keep a portion of what they earn from jobs without losing welfare allowances. It is our hope that this will lead swiftly to full-time employment at self-sufficient levels. But we need a national commitment to this kind of effort so that people will not come to New York City for a program which is better than elsewhere.

Fourth, and perhaps most important, we need an integration between support and employment — a system which feeds people directly into a rewarding, meaningful job market. Unless we find some way of upgrading those in poverty-level jobs, we are going to find more and more people turning to welfare as the only mechanism capable of supporting their families.

I therefore propose a new, radically different program designed to improve the earnings of low-income workers at the lowest possible cost to the city.

This new effort is called the Training Incentive Payments Program. Its operation is quite simple. An employer would train low-income workers by any method he chose. If that worker's salary rose, the city would reimburse the employer for the cost of his training, based on a proportion of the increase in earnings.

No New Bureaucracy

There would be no high-risk training in this proposal which would cost money without succeeding — since payments would be made only when a worker's wages actually increased. There would be no new government bureaucracy — the employer himself would train by whatever methods he chose. There would be no training for jobs which don't exist — since employers would clearly train people for jobs which they need filled.

There is no question that job openings exist —about 40,000 well-paying jobs are now unfilled because there are no trained people to fill them. We hope that, if the Federal Government approves this proposal, the Training Incentive Payments Program will fill those jobs, will increase the salaries of low-income workers, and will protect against a source of ever-increasing welfare.

Of course, this is not enough. We still need manpower-training programs for those who lack even the elementary skills — in English, in reading, in technical ability — to hold any job at all.

We need programs to meet all the other needs of the poor — in housing and health. But we need, most of all, a system of help which substitutes jobs and dignity for welfare and dependency. We need a system which does not drain more and more of the taxpayer's money for fewer and fewer results.

We need a system which encourages employment — which ends the debilitating drain on our resources — which lets both taxpayers *and* the poor retain confidence in a program which links needy people to needed skills.

We have had much study and debate. But the need now is for action — this year — to replace welfare with a system that protects dignity, encourages work, and ends the disgrace of dependency.

—From the address by Mayor Lindsay before a May Fellowship Day luncheon sponsored by Church Women United of Manhattan.

A WHITE PAPER ON A GATHERING DARKNESS

What follows are significant excerpts from a White Paper on the War in Vietnam, released recently by the American Friends Service Committee, and signed by Gilbert F. White, AFSC chairman, and Bronson P. Clark, executive secretary. TEMPO editors believe there has been no plea for ceasefire and withdrawal to equal it in eloquence. The full text may be obtained from AFSC, 1515 Cherry St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102.

IT has been more than a year since the rhetoric of peace began in Vietnam. During this time scores of thousands of men, women and children have died in the fighting. They will continue to die unless there is an unparalleled demand from the American people that the slaughter be halted. The American Friends Service Committee calls for a halt now. U.S. military and government leaders are fostering illusions.

The human situation today in Vietnam is worse than it has ever been. An entire nation is being destroyed and the tempo of destruction has increased. One-third of the rural people of this rural nation have become refugees. Hundreds of thousands of acres have been defoliated, countless villages have been razed. B-52 raids alone have torn 2-½ million holes 45 feet in diameter and 30 feet deep—holes that serve as breeding grounds for malarial mosquitoes. More tons of explosives have been dropped on this tiny country than on all the Axis powers in World War II, and with every month the loads are bigger and the bombs heavier. In December, 1968, the U.S. for the first time began using in Vietnam 10,000-pounds that had been stored in military depots for 15 years. The suffering of the Vietnamese has reached levels that would appall the American people if they could see it. The American Friends Service Committee, which has been involved in the relief of war suffering for more than half a century, has rarely encountered such misery as in Vietnam today.

The U.S. has stepped up its military activity since the bombing of the North was halted on November 1. There are more U.S. troops in Vietnam than ever. The number of battalion-sized operations initiated by the Allies has grown steadily since the bombing halt: in November, 800; in December, 956; in January, 1077. The total tonnage of bombs dropped has increased: in January, 129,700, the highest monthly tonnage since the war began. U.S. battle deaths show a rise every month since the bombing halt: 703 Americans in November; 1265 in March.

The countryside has not been pacified; it is less secure in 1969 than it was in 1965. Even the major cities, though ringed with fortifications, are vulnerable to attack. Quaker workers report anti-American feeling has never been so intense. The Thieu-Ky government is a military government propped up by American power, despised and corrupt. Freedom of speech is suppressed. No one knows how many Vietnamese political prisoners languish in Vietnam's prisons, but the figure is certanly in the thousands and includes university professors, religious leaders, lawyers, students, newspaper editors, politicians — anyone who has dared to advocate political initiatives to end the war. Many of the leading figures in the Saigon government fought for the French against their countrymen. Whatever the outcome, they will be swept away once the Vietnamese regain control of their own affairs.

It is not hardware or training that is lacking in Saigon's armies. It is will. A Vietnamese dressed in the peasant garb of the NLF is one of the world's most formidable fighting men; the same man in the uniform of Saigon is one of the poorest. Why? Because one believes he fights to drive the foreigner from his soil while the other fights only to sustain the power of a corrupt military clique.

As the only foreigners in South Vietnam, the U.S. and its allies have nothing to negotiate but the rate and manner of their withdrawal. There will be suffering and turmoil if the U.S. leaves. Withdrawal does not mean that justice will be done. But whatever happens will in our judgment be preferable to going on with the present agony that is literally destroying Vietnam, undermining our own domestic social fabric, and damaging our country's name in the world community. Every day sees the armed forces of the world's most powerful nation raining bombs and chemicals and napalm on the rice fields and bamboo huts of one of the poorest and most defenseless. As long as this continues, millions must wonder whether the Americans have become the New Barbarians. Let us order a ceasefire and a withdrawal, unilaterally and immediately. Let us get on with the rebuilding of their country and ours, and lifting the burden of poverty from the backs of Vietnamese and Americans alike. ■

NCC SPEAKS OUT AGAINST THE ABM

DURING its critically busy spring business meeting, May 1-2, in New York City, the policy-making General Board of the National Council of Churches joined a mounting national chorus of Nays to the proposed costly ABM System, which now goes under the public relations term of "Safeguard." In clear and precise terms, the denominational representatives, in a voice vote that was virtually unanimous, said the following:

1. *Recognizing* wide diversity of opinion and controversy in our churches and the country concerning construction and deployment of a United States anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system, the most recent version of which was announced by President Nixon on March 14, 1969, as the "Safeguard" ABM system; noting that this debate has become a *primary focal point* for the broader national debate on the meaning of national security and the reordering of national priorities;
2. *Reaffirming* the Policy Statement of September 12, 1968, "Defense and Disarmament: New Requirements for Security," which addressed itself to the issues of national defense and security in Christian perspective and attempted to set forth a *framework for a new concept* of security;
3. *Recalling* that one of the next steps toward a national reorientation on defense and security matters suggested in that Policy Statement was "a *mutual halt* in the further production and deployment of strategic *offensive and defensive* missile systems, including the anti-ballistic missile system";
4. *Believing* that the ABM debate has raised *questions of fundamental importance* for the future *direction* of United States foreign policy, for the real *security* interests of the nation, for the use of our *national resources*, and for the *quality of our society;*
5. *Understanding* that among the *serious questions* calling for clarification are those concerning the basic justification for the ABM, its effectiveness, its eventual cost, its effect on the arms race, its relation to the spirit and intent of the Nonproliferation Treaty, its use of resources needed for other national and international needs, and its contribution to the real security of the nation;
6. *Believing further* that these questions, raised frequently by *knowledgeable* persons including many of the nation's *leading scientists*, experts on *Soviet and Chinese* affairs, many members of the Congress, and former high government officials, have not been given satisfactory answers;

THE GENERAL BOARD OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES DOES THEREFORE:

1. Oppose deployment of the ABM on the basis of the case now made as to its necessity for national security, its effectiveness, its effect on the arms race and disarmament negotiations generally, its implication for the Non-proliferation Treaty, its cost, and its drain upon national resources;
2. Request churchmen, and all concerned citizens, because of the potential consequences of this watershed decision for international peace and the quality of our own society, to consider these grave matters and to exercise their rights and responsibilities as citizens and to state their conclusions to appropriate decision-makers. ■

Herblock in The Washington Post

"Excuse me—I didn't quite catch how this puts me in a nice bargaining position"

CHURCHES AGREE ON NEW TAX POLICY

IN an historic and unusual meeting of minds, two official religious bodies, one predominantly Protestant, the other Roman Catholic, joined together last month in recommending that Congress eliminate the special exemption of churches from taxation of unrelated business income. In other words, if a church or church group is making money out of a commercial enterprise it owns, the income derived from profits should be taxed like that of any other business.

The joint statement was drawn up by and agreed to by the National Council of Churches and the U.S. Catholic Conference. Approval was given it by the General Board of the National Council after this policy body priorly approved a formal policy statement on Tax Exemption of Churches. (*Copies of both documents are available from the NCC Department of Information.*)

The joint statement endorsed two proposals for tax reform which affect churches. One would eliminate the historic church exemption from taxation from unrelated activities and commercial activities. The second would eliminate a potential abuse from the use of debt financing to acquire commercial income property.

The Protestant and Roman Catholic organizations made their recommendations to the Ways and Means Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives which is considering changes in the tax laws.

Under existing law, certain non-profit exempt organizations are subject to tax on income from any unrelated business. This tax on unrelated taxable income does not now apply to churches, or conventions or associations of churches.

In the joint statement, the two organizations said: "Such exemptions make available to churches a potential advantage over tax paying organizations engaged in commercial business activities. The NCC and the USCC favor elimination of this specific exemption of churches from taxation on income from *regularly* conducted commercial business activities which are unrelated to their exempt functions."

In response to another set of circumstances, the statement said, "ingenious tax planning on the part of some exempt organizations which are subject to the unrelated business tax has enabled them to purchase a business on credit, lease its assets to operators for 5 years or less, receive the business profits as rent and to use such rent to pay the purchase price."

Under this plan the operator pays little or no tax, the exempt organization pays no tax, and the sell enjoys capital gains type tax advantage, the statement said. This is the tax provision resulting from the so-called "Clay Brown" decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1965.

The two organizations also urged Congress to eliminate this type of transaction for all tax-exempt organizations, including churches.

The statement said the revisions in the law should "(a) provide adequate procedural safeguards to prevent governmental involvement in the internal and financial affairs of the churches; (b) preserve the present exemption of churches from taxation upon passive or investment income . . . . (c) protect from taxation the traditional function of churches . . . and (d) provide a five-year grace period for the divestiture of the *existing* unrelated business activities."

The statement was the carefully considered result of several months of negotiations between the Catholic and Protestant officials. ■

CHURCHES, GIRDLES AND TAXES

by Edward B. Fiske

THE Real Form Girdle Company of Brooklyn is owned by the Cathedral of Tomorrow, a 2,200-member Protestant church in Akron, Ohio. In New Orleans, the local CBS television outlet is owned by the Jesuit-run Loyola University.

In both cases profits are exempt from the normal 52 per cent Federal corporate income tax that their competitors pay because the companies happen to be owned by religious organizations.

With pressure building for a major overhaul of the nation's tax policies, such special treatment for churches is coming under increasing fire. Mortimer M. Caplin, the former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, has attacked the practice as a "plain inequity" in testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee.

"A number of churches have entered into active and aggressive commercial endeavors," he stated. "One, for example has become a wholesale distributor of popular phonograph records. Another has acquired at least seven sportswear and clothing manufacturing businesses."

Churches Exempted

At issue is a 1950 revision of the Federal tax laws that requires secular non-profit organizations to pay corporate profit taxes on their "unrelated business income," but specifically exempts churches from this obligation.

The law, which was spurred by New York University's ownership of the Mueller Macaroni Company, owes its present form largely to the reluctance of Congress to give the impression of attacking religion. Last year there was a bill in Congress to tax church income accruing from outside business activity financed by borrowed funds. The bill died in committee.

Ironically, such fears apparently contradict the body of public opinion both inside the churches and out.

Several major Protestant denominations, including the United Presbyterians, United Methodists and American Lutherans, have officially opposed the exemption. (On May 2, the General Board of the National Council of Churches approved a major policy statement urging that churches pay taxes on unrelated business income. Simultaneously, the National Council of Churches joined with the U.S. Catholic Conference in a recommendation to Congress that tax laws should be revised to eliminate present exemptions from such taxes. Details are spelled out above on this page. Ed.)

A recent survey by the Columbia Broadcasting System found that taxation of unrelated business income of churches was favored by 84 per cent of the general public, 93 per cent of clergymen—and 96 per cent of Congressmen!

The basic argument against the exemption is its inherent "unfairness" in allowing some businesses to plow all of their profits back into their operations while others must give a large proportion to the government.

Unconstitutional

A minority also maintains that the exemption is not so much unfair as unconstitutional. In January, Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State filed suit in Federal District Court in New York City against an exemption granted the Stratford Retreat House, an organization that has been given the legal status of a church in New York State, and which owns a number of businesses that allegedly have a sales volume of $15 million to $20 million a year. The suit charged that the exemption amounted to government support of a particular religion.

The most imaginative use of the present law is the situation in which churches purchase businesses at the market value or even higher and then pay for them out of the tax savings.

A spokesman for the Cathedral of Tomorrow, for instance, said that his church has not put any of its own money into its businesses. Rather, it is using the untaxed profits—which have been as high as $188,000 a year—to pay for the firms over a 12- to 15-year period while the former owners stay on the payroll to run the company.

Although it is difficult to find churchmen who will defend the present tax law, some are afraid that the act of closing the unrelated business income loophole could lead to re-examination of other exemptions that the churches share with other nonprofit organizations.

At this point there is virtually unanimous agreement that churches should be exempt from property taxes on buildings used for religious purposes and from income tax on contributions. The arguments are that nonprofit groups provide a useful social function and that, in cases of churches taxation of their essential operations would constitute a violation of the principle of separation of church and state.

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it says here . . .

COLUMBUS COUNCIL ACTS IN COUNTY WELFARE CRISIS

COLUMBUS, OHIO — When a series of events resulted in cutting off public relief funds in Franklin County, the Metropolitan Area Church Board here mobilized its Situation and Crisis Commission and the funds were restored. But it took pressure and a writ of **mandamus**, obtained by the MACB, to do it.

Efforts by the State legislature to raise the standards of welfare payments included permissive taxation by the counties to increase revenues thereby qualifying them for State matching funds. In Franklin County, this took the form of a sales tax on auto dealers, who promptly fought it with a referendum petition gaining 74,000 signatures to place the issue on the November ballot. This forced the County commissioners to cut off General Relief leaving thousands with no support.

At the emergency meeting called by the MACB Commission, three actions were taken. First, emergency food centers were organized to be set up in strategic locations, which were widely publicized. The "shades of the old soup kitchens and bread lines" aroused sympathetic press coverage.

The next action was the court order which the Attorney General accepted, taking 10 per cent from every County department to obtain action was scheduled in the State Supreme Court to deal with future funding of General Relief of which the County now pays 23 per cent.

The third action taken by the Church Board was to challenge the sales tax petitions in an effort to prevent the issue of a permissive tax from being placed on the November ballot and thus making the revenue immediately available for support of the welfare program.

Now, the MACB has undertaken a massive education program, in cooperation with other community agencies, to obtain increased funds for General Welfare when the whole program comes up for renewal in November.

"This issue is a prime example of a disfunctioning urban society when self-interest, ignorance and prejudice supplant concern, understanding and responsible humaneness," the MACB statement declared. "The role of the churches here is significant, pointing to the need for a total community responsibility to care for those who cannot help themselves."

The Rev. N.H. VanderWerf is executive director of the Metropolitan Area Church Board, which he says "will share in community responsibility as the Church at work on behalf of our urban brothers."

* * * * *

DISCIPLES CALL FOR INCREASED EFFORTS FOR RACISM VICTIMS

ST. LOUIS, Mo. — The General Board of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) has rejected the extremism of the Black Manifesto but called for dramatic increases in its own program on behalf of "the poor, the powerless and the victims of racism."

In an 11-page document, grievances of minority groups were acknowledged and the General Assembly was urged to extend "Reconciliation," its two-year urban emergency program, to four years and to double the amount of money sought to $4 million.

The paper proposed that the General Assembly ask the church and its units to deploy ten per cent of operating capital funds for the first four years of the next decade in programs that effectively deal with the urban crisis and with minority group needs. It also asked that the church commit itself to increase to 20 per cent its non-white staff in all general units.

* * * * *

RELIGIOUS LEADERS PLEAD FOR HUMANE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Hunger and malnutrition "have been irrefutably established" in the U.S., three religious leaders told the Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee on May 26.

In joint testimony, they called for national eligibility standards for those requiring food stamps, a board extension of food stamp program; easier accessibility to distribution centers; an increased of the value if the stamps with free stamps to the very poor; and laws enabling the Department of Agriculture to initiate and run distribution where local and state administrations refuse to do so.

Testifying for the National Council of Churches was Dr. A. Dudley Ward, general secretary of the United Methodist Board of Social Concerns.

The Rev. John McCarthy, director of the Division for Poverty of the U.S. Catholic Conference, and Rabbi Richard Hirsch, director of the Religious Action Center of the Union of America Hebrew Congregations, joined in the testimony.

Listing conclusions of many studies on malnutrition and starvation in the country, they declared: "What makes these conclusions morally outrageous is that hunger and malnutrition exist in this country needlessly."

"The three of us are here as one," they declared, "because our religious traditions are united on this issue, and because the moral imperatives ought to be clearly projected."

While the food stamp program was found inadequate to the need, the three testified that "basically it seems to be a good mechanism."

In addition to substantial budget increases for the program — President Nixon has asked an increase of $270 million to bring the 1970 level to $610 million, "which seems to us to be far too modest" — the three leaders also urged:

— Simultaneous operation of food stamp and commodity distribution programs;

— That estimates be periodically revised to reflect cost-of-living increases; and

— That a simplified certification system, which would apply to the special needs of migratory workers, should apply across county and state lines.

LONDON, Eng. — Professor J. Robert Nelson, Methodist theologian now teaching at Rome's Gregorian University, left, addresses the Consultation on the Church and Racism, held here May 19-24. Dr. W.A. Visser 't Hooft, honorary president of the World Council of Churches which sponsored the meeting, is shown at right. The week-long consultation recommended that the WCC adopt a 7-step program in the fight against racism throughout the world. (See statement, next page.)

* * * * *

MONEY IS LITTLE TO ASK

ATLANTA, GA. — Mrs. Coretta King, widow of Martin Luther King, Jr., approves of the concept of reparations for black people. Addressing the first joint assembly of the Associated Church Press and Catholic Press association here she said, "A substantial sum of money is too little to demand of churches; their help can be more effective if the enormous influence of their 80 million members were mobilized behind demands upon Congress. . . . It was encouraging to note," she concluded, "that some church groups resisted the impulse to evade the issue by concentrating on the provocative method of introducing the subject."

* * * * *

EPISCOPALIANS REPORT ON CHURCH "CRISIS" PROGRAM

GREENWICH, CONN. — Both success and failure have been experienced in the Episcopal Church's General Convention Special Program, an effort begun in 1967 to assist "the dispossessed and oppressed" of the nation. Expenditures so far have exceeded $1.5 million.

Authorized by the Church's General Convention and given top priority the Special Program has funded "organizations which have developed their own plans of action" with $1,676,512 in 66 of its dioceses, including six overseas.

Among projects in this country, funds have gone to a fishing cooperative in Hilton Head, S.C., organized by ten blacks to catch, process and market shrimp. The Chicago Black Action Committee has received $15,000 and another $10,000 has been authorized on a one to one matching basis.

Other recipients of grants include the Afro-American Society of Greater Atlanta; the Jackson (Miss.) Human Rights Project; and ABC (Action de Bronce Colectiva) in Los Angeles.

A grant of $100,000 will fund regional coalitions for training programs and conferences in community organization skills, economic and internal development.

Two failures cited in the report were efforts to aid farm workers in Washington State and a leadership training project on Long Island which each lacked indigenous interest and leadership.

* * * * *

A DIFFERENT MORNINGSIDE MANIFESTO

NEW YORK, N.Y. — East of the Riverside Church on Manhattan's Morningside Heights is the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine. If its services should be interrupted by advocates of reparations for black people Bishop Horace B. Donegan of the New York Diocese has laid down these instructions for the cathedral:

1) Reading of the "Black Manifesto" will be permitted during any service, whether with or without arrangement.

2) Clergy and the Cathedral Chapter will remain.

3) The police are not to be called, barring clear and present danger to the lives of the people.

New Race Policy Urged

RECOMMENDATIONS going far beyond present church policy on racism were adopted May 24 by the 38-member Race Consultation, which was called to up-date the World Council of Churches' race policy.

The recommendations adopted by the Consultation, which met in London May 19-24, will be presented to the Council's policy-making Central Committee in August to become a "program of action and education" for the 235 member churches of the World Council. A partial text of the consultation's statement follows:

The Consultation clearly revealed that the Church and the world are filled with the insidious and blatant institutional racism that is producing increased polarization and threatening an escalation of the struggle for power between white and coloured races into violent conflict.

The identification of the churches with the *status quo* means today, as before, that it has remained, in effect, part of the racial problem and not a means of eliminating it.

To the majority of Christians, the Church is a community, a group—perhaps even a movement—and it is therefore necessary that issues of racism be addressed by a group. Individual commitment is commendable—but not enough.

The patterns of racism have a universality that is frightening. UNESCO has found that, even where there were laws to discourage racism, the concentration of power, wealth and status in the hands of one racial group are working in favor of *de facto* discrimination. The situation is tragic when racism is manifested by well-intentioned but uncritical persons and dangerous when it is practiced by institutions.

It has become clear that racism is in large part an outgrowth of the struggle for power that afflicts all men. Racist ideologies and propaganda are developed and disseminated as tools in economic, political and military struggles for power. Once developed they have a life of their own.

A second clear fact is that the Church is not using the weapons it possesses to eradicate racism itself—even within its own institution. But the Church is charged with a ministry of reconciliation. And if it is to take that ministry seriously, then it must attack racism significantly—at its origins, as well as in its symptoms. Therefore, the Church must be willing to be not only an institution of love but also an institution of action (for justice).

To that end, the Consultation calls upon the World Council of Churches to take the following steps:

1. That the World Council of Churches and its member churches begin applying economic sanctions against corporations and institutions which practice blatant racism—

2. That the World Council of Churches and its member churches use every means available to influence governments in following a similar practice of economic sanctions to promote justice —

3. That the World Council of Churches and its member churches do support and encourage the principle of "reparations" to exploited peoples and countries (recognizing the churches' own involvement in such exploitation and hence, reparation) to the end of producing a more favorable balance of economic power throughout the world —

4. That the World Council of Churches should establish a unit with adequate resources to deal with the eradication of racism —

5. To circulate among member churches the UNESCO Report as background material to enable Christians to understand why the Church and church-related institutions must enter into the struggle against racism in areas of power —

6. That the World Council of Churches, through the initiative of its reorganized Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, serves as the co-ordinating center for the implementation of multiple strategies for the struggle against racism in Southern Africa by the churches—

7. That all else failing, the Church and churches support resistance movements, including revolutions, which are aimed at the elimination of political or economic tyranny which makes racism possible.

LETTERS

School Control — Suburb Style

I have appreciated TEMPO and have posted some of its articles on our church bulletin board as these have presented viewpoints and information many of our church people never see.

One factor that has bothered me is the tendency of some of the articles to try to shift the white and black hats around, giving us a new set of good guys and bad guys. The real need is to see that we are all sinners, to be aware of distortions in our own perspectives and to see the good in people whose perspectives are completely different from our own.

The May 15 issue with its strong emphasis on community control of schools seems to suggest it as some cure-all. Many of us in the white suburbs have been fighting for less local control of schools that has so often meant slashing of budgets for constructive programs, and refusal to become involved in the broader educational needs of the people in the ghettos. In white suburbs the value of local control depends on which people in the suburbs control the schools. Somehow I feel we need a balance between local control, state control, and national control. We have found it necessary to have state laws to decrease the influence of white racists on some of our suburban schools. Don't destroy what has thus been accomplished in the vain hope that black racists will solve the problems of inner city schools. More involvement and control by people in the inner city of their own schools is no doubt needed, but they need restraints on them just as the rest of us do.

The Rev. Allan McGaw
First Baptist Church
Branford, Conn.

Volunteering for the Box Project

I agree with the Rev. Browne Barr's comment (May 15th *Letters*) that the power of the church to reform society lies within the local congregations and perhaps even with the local individual. Americans are activists and The Box Project (*see note below*) seems to be a way of *doing* something. We do not consider it the ultimate answer to poverty, but with thousands of people becoming involved to feed and clothe the hungry they should be moved to use their influence on legislators and others in positions of power for massive programs of food distribution, job training, education and housing which will restore to every citizen the human dignity to which he is entitled.

Since April (when the national Box Project received publicity in the press) I have received over 1600 letters from ordinary Americans who want to do something about poverty. They tell of the frustration of reading about poverty, but never receiving concrete information on what to do about it!

If you consider The Box Project worthy of attention in TEMPO I'm sure that thousands of local church groups will respond. We would hope that they could (voluntarily) respond to human need within their local communities as well as that which exists in the more desperate areas of our country. This is what has happened to those of us already involved in The Box Project!

Mrs. Lowell Johnson
National Coordinator, Box Project
Seymour, Conn.

(The Box Project had its beginnings in 1961, when Mrs. Virginia Naeve, a Vermont housewife, wanted to do something about hunger in her native Georgia and asked Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. for the name of a family with whom she could share food and clothing. Mrs. King sent her the name of a family, and Mrs. Naeve, and soon her neighbors, began regular shipments to this and a number of other families of the rural poor. The idea has spread since to many parts of the country, the volunteers reaching needy families chiefly in the Southern states with monthly mailings of desperately needed supplies. The work begun by Mrs. Naeve [who has since been relocated outside the U.S.A.] is now being coordinated by Mrs. Johnson together with 24 area coordinators. Ed.)

Surplus Food for the Hungry

Having lived the greater part of my life on farms and ranches, and being a descendant of a long line of agricultural people, I cannot believe that malnutrition need exist in the United States. To my knowledge many farmers throw to their hogs sufficient good food to feed thousands of hungry, because the farmer cannot afford to haul his products to market for the price paid to him.

I am not a Mormon, but I see that the Mormon Church has established canneries in agricultural sections of many states where surplus fruit and vegetables is processed and distributed among their storage houses, resembling supermarkets, for re-distribution to their members, and others, needing assistance. Grain elevators, built by volunteer labor, are maintained for the production, preservation and distribution of food. Wherever possible, the recipients of food are employed, for wages, in these operations. It is said, no Mormon is on public welfare.

Why cannot other wealthy denominations be encouraged to conduct such operations, perhaps in connection with the Government?

(Mrs.) Susan C. Pentland
Santa Barbara, Calif.

Agrees with Senator McGovern

Thank you for many stimulating articles and items found in TEMPO — not that we always accept your points of view!

But particularly we want to thank you for Senator McGovern's article in the May 1 number of TEMPO. So well has he put the case against ABM.

He stimulates us to write letters to President Nixon and several senators about the matter.

Mrs. J. M. Bernard
Chicago, Ill.

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

Reviewing:
I AM CURIOUS (YELLOW)
Directed by Vilgot Sjoman

LENA Nyman is a plain slightly overweight blonde drama student in Sweden. She is acting in a movie being made by Vilgot Sjoman. Sometimes in this extraordinary film we are watching the movie being made (as in 8-½, *La Chinoise*, and *Greetings*.) Sometimes we see the movie itself. Sometimes we see Lena's fantasies. Sometimes we don't know which we are seeing, which is about par for the "real world" I live in where role, persona and fantasy so often intrude into each other. To make sure the confusion is clear, Lena plays a girl named Lena and Sjoman plays himself.

The film is brilliant. In one of the opening sequences we see the Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko (the self proclaimed child prodigy) on a visit to Sweden, his face ashen with pain as he recites *Babi Yar*. Sjoman then cuts immediately to a retarded child in a mental hospital banging his head painfully on the metal bars of his crib. Throughout the rest of the film Lena is both Yevtushenko and the child. At the end her head is bloodied. She's been badly hurt by the metal bars and smiling cruelty of the most humane modern welfare state. She is still curious, still trying to find the answers to come very fundamental questions. So are we all.

Lena is the daughter of a Swedish worker who was once a leftist, but who seems to have lost interest in politics about the time Lena's mother deserted him. Although he and Lena scream at each other there persists between them a touching element of tenderness. The scene in which the father gruffly tries to comfort her when she

Harvey Cox

finds out her boyfriend already has a child and a mistress is one of the best in the film. Still Lena has never forgiven her father for having returned too early from the Spanish Civil War. She keeps over her bed a running chart of the number of days that have elapsed since his cop-out. Although her political sentiments are also leftist, she has hung a huge photo of Franco in her room as a constant jibe at her father's alleged cowardice.

Lena never does anything half way. She pickets the American, Russian, *and* the Chinese embassies. She says she has gone to bed with twenty-three men (and then interviewed each on their class background, religious experience, political opinions, and sexual attitudes.) She watches an interview with Palme, the best known "comer" in Swedish political life, and with Martin Luther King. Deeply impressed by King, she determines to live her own life non-violently and to try to persuade everyone else to do so. So she invades the Swedish conscription office with her omnipresent microphone and tape recorder to ask the inductees if they have ever considered non-violence or induction refusal. (Most of them of course have not.) Undaunted, she pickets the conscription center.

Lena is a walking center of information gathering. She sleeps in a small room which is an unbelievable confusion of files, clippings, photos, tape recorders, and posters. When she meets Bjorge however, she begins to learn in another way, through pain and direct experience. She also learns why non-violence is so difficult: Bjorge deceives her.

Saddened by Bjorge's deception she goes on a kind of neoreligious retreat. She tries meditation, Yoga, Macrobiotic diet, and a revised set of Ten Commandments (the first of which is "Thou Shalt Serve Only Temporary Gods"). But nothing purifies her of her loathing for Bjorge, so when he comes to see her she takes a shot at him. Later, in a dream, she kills him. She cannot be non-violent and, peddling home to Stockholm on her bike, along the same road where she rode before singing "We Shall Overcome," she apologizes to Martin Luther King for not being strong enough. She then has a fantasy about Sweden adopting non-violence as a national policy, complete with training in non-violent resistance for all young men and women. Within this fantasy we watch a group of idealistic trainees doggedly trying to lie across a railroad track while fellow trainees practice trying to drag them off. A TV newscaster solemnly announces that by a close vote the Swedish legislature has decided that it will not resist any aggression militantly but will use only non-violent techniques, fraternization, sabbotage, and non-cooperation. Desolate that while her nation had gone non-violent she cannot practice it personally, Lena abandons her diet and gobbles huge pieces of thickly-iced chocolate cake. After a noisy fight with Bjorge she goes on a rampage in her room, destroying the tapes, clippings and books in a wild self-destructive melee.

Just as the story *within* the film has now come to a violent crisis, so has the story of the film. Sjoman now pictures himself as increasingly nervous about what is going on between Lena and the leading man. The actors and the director have a nasty tiff over his direction of one scene. The Sjoman asserts his control of the two wayward cast members first by photographing them in the humiliating circumstances of being treated for scabies at a clinic and then by running his footage of their parting backwards and forwards at grotesque speeds. The film ends with everyone urging the audience to see the movie (which we are already doing) and to watch for its stablemate *I am Curious (Blue)*.

If the reader is surprised that I have reviewed this whole controversial film without a single reference to its explicit sex scenes, there is a reason. The nudity in *I am Curious (Yellow)* is explicit but integral. It is not hauled in to titillate. One such scene, the savage fight between Lena and Bjorge, gains an added dimension of elemental terror because both persons are naked. In short, the unclothed scenes in *I Am Curious (Yellow)* make a very good movie even better. With this film Vilget Sjoman after his shaky effort in *491* emerges at last as a first rate, highly complex film-maker. He knows that for countless numbers of people today politics, sex and war combine to form a weird and baffling maze of distorting mirrors. He can depict that frightening funhouse with appalling accuracy. He cannot be overlooked in the future. ■

BOOKS: THE QUAKERS: WHAT ARE THEY UP TO?

THE QUIET REBELS, by Margaret Bacon, Basic Books, 229 pages, $5.95 (hard cover only).

THERE are only about 120,000 Quakers in America today, yet their firmly expressed views on many issues regularly put them in the headlines. People often have the impression that, whatever their convictions, Quakers are peculiarly tenacious about expressing them in words and action.

This impression of Quakers, while valid, is illuminated and qualified by a lively account of Quakers in America by Margaret H. Bacon. Mrs. Bacon, in a newly published book *The Quiet Rebels*, manages to convey the spirit in which Quakers offer their criticisms of society, and the whole-hearted dedication with which they give their service and support to the betterment of the human condition.

Quakers are often pacifists, and were so when pacificism — the opposition to all war — was extremely unpopular. Quakers were egalitarians in the rigidly stratified society of the 17th century. They were persecuted then for refusing special obeisance to the nobility and officialdom.

Later, having achieved prosperity and respectability in the new world, they were considered foolish for opting out of the slave trade and then freeing their slaves beginning about a century before the Civil War. The root of both actions was a Quaker conviction that "there is that of God in every man," that every person is equally worthy of reverence. A seemingly innocuous belief, it has gotten Quakers into hot water in every generation because rather than preaching the idea, they act upon it.

A source of the strength of Quaker views is the unique manner by which they are evolved. In their meditative meetings, members can bring any message to the group that they are moved to convey. Periods of silence are an important part of Quaker worship. The decisive actions that come to the attention of the outside community come only after a single member's concern has become the convinced concern of a whole meeting and is translated into a concrete manifestation, a plan to assist some part of the human family.

Quakers pioneered in the alleviation of conditions in prisons, hospitals for the insane, and in almshouses. Their insistence that war victims on all sides of a conflict are worthy of assistance has made them unpopular in several wars, including both world wars and the current one in Vietnam.

Mrs. Bacon livens her account of Quaker customs with vivid portraits of individuals whose lives exemplify the Quaker characteristics of introspection, unity of thought and action, and forthrightness of expression. She describes Quaker business meetings, which are very similar to their meetings for worship. Members do not vote, but either reach a decision in which all can concur, or hold a matter over for further thought. Some of the most successful Quaker enterprises have arisen as inspired routes out of seeming impasses. The method seems cumbersome and tedious to outsiders, but decisions reached in this fashion leave no disappointed minorities behind to sabotage a project.

What is the future of Quakerism? Mrs. Bacon speculates briefly in her book: "Today the walls which Quakers used to protect themselves from the world are all but gone. The hope of the Society . . . seems to rest on a renewal of the vitality which created it in the first place." An example of such renewal occurred in 1967, "when a group of young Quakers urged that the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting support the ship *Phoenix* in delivering drugs to North Vietnam without United States State Department approval. Many middle-aged Friends were originally opposed, but yielded to the spirit of the meeting when older Quakers rose one after the other to urge support of the youth. Gradually a feeling of unity developed within the meeting as though a giant bell had been struck, and was ringing true. Historically minded Friends wondered if it had been like that on the day in 1757 that John Woolman persuaded the Quakers, against their self-interest, to begin to release their slaves." ■

—Nancy Sartin,
for Kerygma Features

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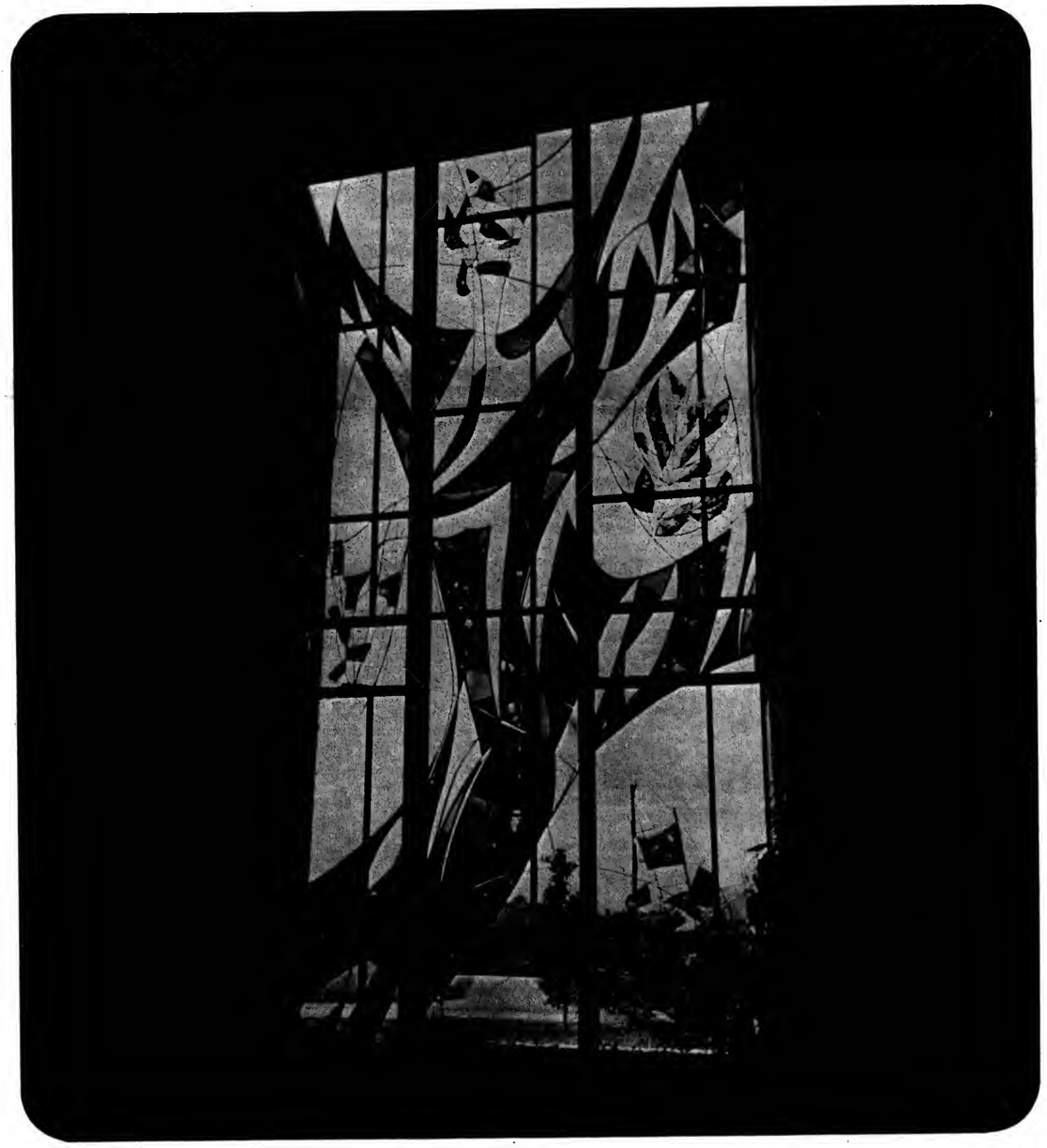
TEMPO

In Pace With The Changing Church

July 1, 1969



TEMPOsitions . . .

THE PROGRESS OF PEOPLES — III:

The Agricultural Revolution

by Barbara Ward

ONE of the most widespread causes of discouragement about the prospects of developing nations is rooted in the belief that population must run ahead of resources, particularly in the critical area of food supplies. It may be true that full economic and social development is the chief reason for falling birthrates. But are we not confronted now with a hen and egg dilemma? Development may reduce the rising flood of people. But population pressure prevents development. How can this vicious spiral be overcome?

The short answer is that it looks as though the world may be on the brink of a new economic revolution, as remarkable in its way as the industrial revolution. Over the last two decades, careful research, carried on in large measure by the Rockefeller Foundation, first in Mexico, then in the Philippines and now increasingly in the Indian sub-continent, has begun to produce and acclimatize new kinds of hybrid grains. Wheat, maize, rice — new types are appearing in all these categories. They are more resistant, stand better and can produce six to ten times the old yields.

Spiral of Expansion Possible

This is the really astonishing breakthrough. At last there is the chance of a sort of quantum jump ahead of the old rigidities. In India, production per capita actually fell between 1900 and 1947. For the next decade or so, there was a three percent annual expansion of acreage, but this no more than kept pace with rising population. Now there is the chance of doubling and trebling the rate of agricultural growth, ending grain imports, achieving self-sufficiency, flooding the industrial market with farm demand and setting in motion an upward spiral of general expansion.

Admittedly, the "miracle" seeds need special care. They give their six to ten-fold return only if they get enough fertilizer and water. But a farmer will invest in both if he can see a tripling of his return. To give a concrete local example, we can take a typical five-acre farmer in India — Japan, incidentally, sets a legal limit of 7½ acres on its farms. His net income at today's prices, using traditional methods and producing about 1.5 tons of grain, would be about $67.10 a crop. With new methods — water, fertilizer, improved seeds — this output can increase to 7.5 tons. Even allowing for higher costs, his net income still rises to $400. If he can double-crop, it may double again. Thus he begins to follow the pattern in Japan where between 1870 and 1914 farm output and income tripled.

Farmers Do Invest

Farmers facing these prospects do in fact invest in agricultural modernization. In 1965, India imported $80 million worth of fertilizer. For 1968, the figure is $315 million. The use of fertilizer has increased 300% in four years. In the early Sixties, Indian farmers installed about 8,700 tubewells a year. In 1967-68, the figure was 26,000. Acreage under the new seed has grown from nothing to 13 million acres in two years. The result this year is a 100 million ton grain harvest compared with 88 million in 1965, the last year with a good monsoon.

The story in Pakistan is no different. Between 1963 and 1967, fertilizer was trebled. Since the early 1960's tubewells have risen by 8,000 a year to 67,000 today. Land under the new seeds has grown from nil to nearly four million acres in two years. The result is a wheat harvest 33% higher than the last good weather peak in 1965 and an overall grain harvest 20% above previous records.

If such results can be achieved in the Indian sub-continent where nearly half the developing peoples (outside China) live and if they can be extended to other areas, we confront a perfectly realistic chance of agricultural growth becoming what it has been in all previous processes of modernization — in Britain, in America, in Japan — a powerful and decisive engine of general growth.

Systematic Investment Needed

But these vast changes will not occur without large and systematic investment in the new technologies. Although fertilizer plants are going up, our figures show what massive amounts of fertilizer still have to be imported. Tubewells require electric pumps. A lot of the equipment for generating stations has to be imported. Double cropping requires farm machinery. Much of this has to be imported. The need is therefore both for local investment and, as usual, for foreign exchange to bring in vital imports.

Can we say how much? President Johnson's Scientific Advisers made an estimate last year. For seeds, fertilizer, pesticides and machinery, they saw the need for some $21 billions before 1985. Since water, power, soil surveys, storage, farm to market roads and farmers' credit are fully as critical, we should probably increase the sum fourfold — say to $80 to $90 billions or between $6 and $7 billions a year in addition to present investment. ■

This is the third of a series of six guest editorial commentaries by Miss Ward (Lady Jackson), noted economist, lecturer, author and Christian lay leader. Theme of the series is The Progress of Peoples. Her next will deal with the waste of the world's wealth in arms.

THE COVER — The design on this issue's cover is a Jewish synagogue window (Temple Beth El, Rockford, Illinois), titled "To Climb The Mountain." As expressed by the artist, Saunders Schultz of Chesterfield, Mo., its theme depicts the mountain as a symbol of man's attempt to climb the heights of his spiritual aspirations. The architect for the temple is Walter H. Sobel, A.I.A., of Chicago. The design was an award winner at the recent 30th National Conference on Religious Architecture.

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Brane Kroker, Elsa Krause

ART AND LAYOUT: Heff Heisler

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbot, David M. Ackerman, John Fisher, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, David Poindexter, Dorothy Rennenbrink, L. I. Stell, Mana Tilghman, Albert Tippit, Glen Trimble, John W. Turnbull.

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Confrontation on Riverside Drive

THE MANIFESTO AND THE MAGNIFICAT

by Howard Schomer

THE strike called June 9 by James Forman against all nineteen stories of the Interchurch Center in New York City probably did not shut down 80 percent of the building as his victory communiqué claimed. The 28 organizations housed in the Center employ about 2,200 people, and there were several floors where the employing organizations were primarily concerned to relieve their people of the embarrassment of crossing a picket line. Most of the employing bodies are church agencies whose executives are ministers, and pastoral concern was real. Nobody wanted to ask black and Puerto Rican workers to face placards that denounced them as "house niggers" if they went to work. Nobody wanted to ask white workers to accept the leafleted charge that if they did not go out in a sympathy strike, they would be publicly known as "true racists." And since the major employers had announced before the week-end that no attendance roll would be kept on Monday, which turned out to be a beautiful June day, neither will anyone ever know how many people, whatever their ethnic label, simply had an extra holiday-on-the-house.

The success of this June 9 strike against the whole Interchurch Center does not depend on whether half of the working force of every hue came to work in spite of it all, as some believe, or whether James Forman is right in asserting that 95 percent of the black and Puerto Rican workers and 75 percent of the white workers were no-shows. This upturn of the rheostat of pressure against the national leadership of several American Protestant denominations scored big for James Forman and his National Black Economic Development Conference because it knocked the church bodies off balance. They had cooly kept even keel throughout the period since April 26, when he took over the church-sponsored conference in Detroit at which he was a speaker. Top-level executives, in the churches as elsewhere, usually have good nerves and speak in low keys. Until June 9 they had been able to listen quite calmly to James Forman as a guest in their firmly structured annual synods, and even suffer with quiet humor the intrusion of some of his well-disciplined friends in symbolic "liberations" or takeovers of portions of their headquarters space through sit-ins for a day or two or three. The new and shaking experience of this first day of strike at "475" was that James Forman (and some said H. Rapp Brown also) had now effectively inserted himself into the Interchurch Center family: he had co-opted a significant through indeterminate number of teammates within the "establishment."

It has been fascinating to see the disintegration of our long-trained liberal Christian social reflexes in the last two days. We have had the Manifesto in our hands for nearly six weeks, but not until this disruption from within did the scales fall from most eyes. Nearly everyone up until now has been mentally incapable of reading the black Manifesto except through the spectacles of meliorism, that is, our habitual readiness to face problems, and then to begin the required process of masterly amelioration: study, evaluation, recommendation, decision, implementation. Some church agencies, pencil in hand, were already studying the nine-point package of development projects, tagged by Forman at half a billion dollars, to see what impetus limited church resources, if channeled through effective structures, might provide toward their practical realization. On all sides, good churchmen agreed that this pragmatic approach was necessary, that it would be wise to disregard the "rhetoric of the preamble," and the smattering of Marxist, Maoist, or guerrilla warfare concepts throughout the Forman statement. The common accepted stance was that, recognizing the reality of the accumulated grievances of Black Americans, we should address ourselves to the issues raised by the Manifesto, and ignore its purple language and shock tactics.

THE greatest success of the June 9 strike is to compel all but the ecclesiastical ostriches at least to begin to face the shock principle:

Picketers march around the Interchurch Center in New York City when sympathizers with the demands of the Black Manifesto conducted a one-day work stoppage, June 9. In the vanguard at left is the Rev. J. Metz Rollins, executive director, National Committee of Black Churchmen.

James Forman and Co. are not demanding one more set of reforms. They are sounding the tocsin of revolution. The $500,000,000 worth of traditional educational and organizational projects listed somewhere in the Manifesto are just kindergarten-level handles to help moderate people, blacks and whites, climb aboard the whirl-a-gig of national and world Socialist revolution under the leadership of "revolutionary blacks who are concerned about the total humanity of this world." There is no longer any possible doubt that the real thrust of the April 26 challenge of James Forman "to the white Christian churches and the Jewish synagogues in the United States of America and all other racist institutions" is in the introduction and the conclusion, rather than in the programmatic demands of the Manifesto proper.

The churches are but the first, easy-access testing area for Forman's really grand design. He says: "not only are we the vanguard force, but we must assume leadership, total control and we must exercise the humanity which is inherent in us. We are the most humane people within the United States . . . we are dedicated to building a socialist society inside the United States where the total means of production and distribution are in the hands of the state and that must be led by black people, revolutionary black people who are concerned about the total humanity of this world. . . . We say . . . prepare ourselves to seize state power. . . . All around the world, the forces of liberation are directing their attacks against the U.S. It is a powerful country, but that power is not greater than that of black people. We work the chief industries in this country and we could cripple the economy while the brothers fought guerrilla warfare in the streets. . . . We must begin by seizing power wherever we are."

As the rheostat of revolutionary pressure is turned up not only in the stylized "liberation" charades at the Interchurch Center but in the less genteel confrontations of ghetto, campus, diplomacy and battlefield at key-points all over the world, it would be fatally easy for white American Christians simply to close ranks in battle readiness with all other relatively privileged people at home and abroad, ready for battle. We are accustomed, in our effortless superiority to most of mankind, to giving handouts to the respectful needy, near and far. We have had no experience whatsoever in confessing our own massive social guilt, offering proportionate restitution, or standing contrite before the justice of a God who visits "the iniquity of the fathers upon the children and the children's children, to the third and the fourth generation." Our imagination simply fails when we are summoned to work for a social order in which we shall not be first.

I do not know, of course, whether James Forman will prove to be but a flash-in-the-pan like Garry Davis. Who remembers the self-proclaimed "world citizen" who "sat in" in the UN General Assembly in Paris in 1948, receiving world-wide publicity? I do not know whether he is a serious contender for that role of unifying leader which the black community in the United States so evidently needs and so visibly fears to re-create. I do not know whether he is the early ripple of an incoming breaker that could presage a tidal wave of racial socialist revolution. Of only one thing am I sure: The Black Manifesto is a powerful reminder to many that the Gospel of Jesus Christ, like the prophecy of Amos, gives us no reason to expect that social righteousness will always flow in a well-channelled stream, a kind of perennial refreshing cup for men parched and tottering amid the flames of social evil, a continuous Christian "New Deal." There is a deeply disturbing echo of ancient and revealing words in the ultimate vision, if not the tactics, of this Manifesto on our door. It recalls Mary as well as Mao and Marx:

"He has shown strength with his arm,
He has scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts,
He has put down the mighty from their thrones,
And exalted those of low degree;
He has filled the hungry with good things,
And the rich he has sent empty away."

I suspect that the manifest issue for the church in this new phase of black and white confrontation right within the very courtyard of the temple will now move from mere practical palliatives to basic principles. Does Christian obedience in the face of the soul-hurt suffered by masses of colored men and the body-hunger afflicting hundreds of millions of every race and continent require of the American churches no more than token support for gradualist programs of welfare and development? As churches recruited among the best-off people history has ever known, do the predominantly white congregations of the United States have an obligation of faith to take a long, hard look at the arguments for and against basic social revolution? Do we have adequate models for change — answers we are prepared to stand by before the very throne of judgment — in our inherited American system of gradual progress for the poor and escalating advance for the rich? Indeed, are our parishes, synods and assemblies cool enough even to consider the radical claims of the Magnificat let alone the harsh summons of the Black Manifesto?

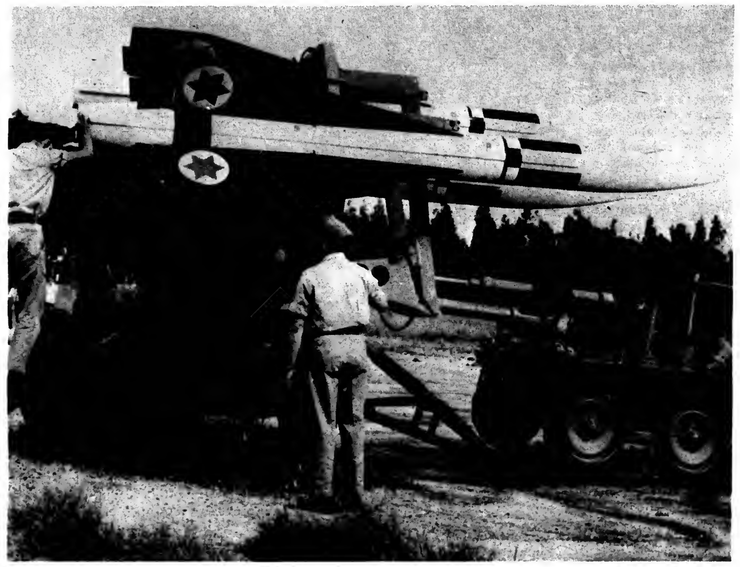
Some consecrated and skillful church leaders,

(See **The Manifesto**, page 11)

Can Deterioration in Christian-Jewish Dialogue Be Arrested?

CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST: A NEW CHALLENGE TO DIALOGUE

By Religious News Service



Israeli missile launchers are kept at the ready

TWO years after what was optimistically called the "six-day war" between Israel and the Arab countries, the sad aftermath of that brief, bitter encounter continues seriously to affect international and inter-religious relations.

Few would disagree with United Nations Secretary General U Thant, who recently said that a state of undeclared war still exists in the Middle East. Disagreement comes over two further points: who is responsible for this condition, and what is to be done about it?

Curiously, despite their many deep disagreements on other issues, Arabs and Israelis are substantially united against a growing world consensus on one point: solution imposed from the outside. As the United States and the Soviet Union apparently move toward agreement on the general outline of an acceptable Middle East solution, more and more objections are being heard from Israel and the Arab countries. Arab politicians are beginning to talk about being "sold out" by the Soviet government which has supported them with arms and diplomacy. Israeli leaders insist that, while they are ready to negotiate with the Arabs, they will not accept dictation from any third party.

The conflict, already 20 years old, shows signs of possible escalation. Israel and Egypt exchange artillery fire across the Suez Canal, while commando raids and Israeli retaliations multiply along Israel's eastern border. Most military observers believe that the Arabs are not ready for another war at present, but this does not necessarily mean that they will not engage in one.

Effect On Christian Attitudes

Meanwhile, in the United States, the bitter ramifications of the conflict have had a perceptible effect on Christian attitudes. The issue has divided some Christian spokesmen — for example, those engaged in work with Arab refugees from those identified chiefly with Christian-Jewish dialogue.

The effect of this crisis on the dialogue itself has been largely negative, despite one reassuring episode early this year when Christian leaders rallied in large numbers to the support of the small Jewish minority caught in Iraq and other Arab countries.

The most important fact about the Middle East tension is that it threatens world stability even more than the agonizing situations in Vietnam, Biafra and Czechoslovakia. This is so because of the strategic location of the land, near the juncture of three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe; because of the long, battle-scarred history which gives it a deep resonance in the religious feelings of the three great monotheistic faiths and most of all because Israel is important to long-term Soviet aspirations.

The Soviet Union, continuing the aspirations of Imperial Russia in this respect, has always wanted to exert itself as a major naval power in the Mediterranean. This objective requires not only access to the Mediterranean from the Black Sea (a goal finally achieved as the danger of being cut off by Turkey at the Bosporus was neutralized), it also necessitates friendly ports along the Mediterranean where Russian vessels can be serviced.

Russia now has these ports available in various Arab countries—obtained at a fantastic cost in military and propaganda aid to Arab nations. When Israel was originally established, the Soviet Union supported the new nation. A change of policy on this issue won the Soviets substantial support among Arab countries in the Middle East, with the notable exceptions of Jordan and Lebanon. But now, facing the real possibility that continued tension in that area might trigger a world-wide conflict, Russia seems to be trying to cool the situation.

The basic question facing Soviet leaders is whether they can pacify the Middle East without losing their now solid base of support among Arabs. A people whose traditional outlook is diametrically opposed to communism, the Arabs have been won to their present position chiefly by the Israeli issue. If the crisis is ended, particularly if the Arabs feel that the Soviet Union has abandoned their interests, the curious alliance between Islam and communism may be in for a shake-up.

The growing bitterness in the Middle East and the heightened activism of terrorist organizations has seriously undermined stability in the two Arab countries which have remained relatively friendly to the United States: Jordan and Lebanon. The rulers of these countries have been forced to accommodate increasing militancy against Israel, apparently against their better judgment.

In Europe, at the same time, the Arabs have lost their most staunch supporter, General Charles de Gaulle, ex-president of France. It will be some time before the details of a revised post-de Gaulle French policy toward Israel and the Arabs are worked out, but there is general agreement that the new president will have to reflect the French people's basically pro-Israel feelings more fully than the strong-willed general did.

An Israeli tank force and crews go into practice maneuvers

Religious leaders holding news conference critical of alleged Christian silence on Israeli reasons for attack on Lebanese airport early this year. From left, Fr. Bruno Hussar, director of the Dominican House of Studies in Jerusalem; Dr. Douglas Young, president of the Institute of Holy Land Studies; and Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, director of interreligious affairs of the American Jewish Committee.

Christians Disagree

If possible, the moral and religious questions surrounding the conflict are even more intense than the political issues. These questions center —with many ramifications—on two issues: the plight of the Arab refugees and the right of Israel to continue to exist as a state.

Disagreements among Christians on these issues are usually a matter of emphasis or dispute on available information rather than basic principles. There is general agreement that the refugees (many of whom were made refugees a second time when the 1967 war reached their camps) must be resettled and/or compensated. But the key questions of how, where, under what conditions and with what counterbalancing concessions to Israel remain a divisive point.

The right of Israel to a national existence is generally accepted by Christian spokesmen in the U.S., though some have expressed reservations. American Christians universally reject Arab calls for a holy war, for massacres and terrorist activity or for "pushing Israel into the sea" which are prominent in extremist propaganda.

In the major Christian denominations, pro and con attitudes about Israel cut across denominational lines and seem to have no correlation with the usual "liberal-conservative" polarizations. Some Christian "progressives" evidently identify with Arabs as "freedom fighters" while others support Israel as the chief exponent of modernity in the Middle East.

A heated confrontation between the two viewpoints took place in Atlanta at the first joint convention of the Catholic Press Association and the (predominantly Protestant) Associated Church Press, during which the basic issues and the opposing attitudes were thoroughly explored.

Two of the speakers criticized the press—religious and secular—in the U.S. and Canada for insufficient attention to the needs of the refugees and insisted that criticism of Israel must not be considered an expression of anti-Semitism. They were Msgr. John G. Nolan, president of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine and Dr. A. C. Forrest, editor of the United Church Observer, Toronto, who has been on a special assignment in the Mideast reporting on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Refugee Repatriation

Both men reported that Arabs generally believe that Israel has further "expansionist" intentions and will never repatriate or compensate the refugees displaced by war in 1948 and again in 1967. Dr. Forrest said that he accepts Israel's right to a secure national existence, but warned that any Arab leader who attempted to make peace with Israel would face almost certain revolutionary upheaval.

Upholding Israeli claims in this discussion, Father Edward H. Flannery, executive secretary of the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, said that Israel has a right to insist on direct negotiations with the Arab countries. He linked the settlement of the refugee problem to such negotiations, together with a peace treaty, the establishment of Israeli boundaries recognized by the Arab countries and guarantees against future invasions or terrorist activity.

While Father Flannery stressed that the refugee situation must be seen in the context of the whole Middle East situation, Msgr. Nolan and Dr. Forrest concentrated much of their discussion on the wretched condition of the refugees, the lack of funds for their support and the obligation of Israel to offer compensation.

They differed, at least in emphasis, on Israel's right to exist as a state but agreed in rejecting extremist Arab terrorism and "holy war" propaganda. At the same time, they insisted on the need for a dissociation between Judaism as a religion and Zionism as a political philosophy.

Father Flannery, speaking from his experience in dialogue with Jews and from his study of Jewish history and theology, said that such a dissociation is unacceptable to virtually all Jews and that the aspiration for a Jewish state in Palestine is a religious tradition dating back to the origins of Judaism. He noted the traditional closing line of the seder meal, "next year in Jerusalem," as one example of this attitude.

This problem was stated succinctly by Father Charles Angell, S.A., editor of The Lamp, a magazine devoted primarily to promoting Christian unity, in the June, 1969 issue which dealt entirely with Jewish-Christian dialogue.

In talks with Jews, Father Angell said, he found "a commitment to the State of Israel which assumed what I would call the status of a dogma of faith. It is my impression that most Christians do not feel this way. . . . The situation has resulted in what I feel is a deterioration of the Jewish-Christian dialogue throughout the world . . . especially evident in this country."

In his own view as a Christian, the editor said, Israel's existence as a state is justified on political and moral but not on theological grounds. This view "will not be acceptable to many Jews," he observed, but he indicated that such disagreements must be faced squarely in dialogue.

"Jews and Christians need each other as human beings and as fellow inheritors of the heritage of ancient Israel," he said. "If we are to go forward in dialogue we will apparently have to learn to live with differences of opinion on this question which is so vital and deeply felt by Jews. Dialogue is never easy, but it must be honest if it is to be fruitful." ■

NCC on Middle East Tensions

The National Council of Churches believes that Middle East tensions can only be abated through an all-out effort to meet the "human needs" of the people involved on both sides of the conflict.

In a policy statement adopted by the NCC General Board, which met in New York, May 2, the representative church leaders rejected any stand that could be construed as being pro-Arab or pro-Israel. Instead they asserted that political, military and national rivalries in the area are secondary to the human person, his society, and peace.

Specifically the General Board called attention to two needs:

1) That the 1,500,000 Palestinian Arab refugees must be provided with a home that is acceptable to them, and with a future of justice, security, and above all, hope.

2) That such a solution should also satisfy the need for security of the Jews in the area.

Referring to the first need, the Board noted that what will constitute a home "acceptable" to the Arab refugees must now become a matter of negotiation in which generosity will be required of many and compromise by all who are directly involved.

On the issue of security for Jews, the Board warned that until the Jews, both in Arab countries and in Israel, are assured of safety and their rights, "there will be no justice or peace in the Middle East." (The full text is available from the NCC Department of Information.)

Paul Goes To Geneva

By Thomas J. Hamilton

GENEVA — The reunification of the three great branches of the Christian church took a step forward June 10 when Pope Paul VI joined Protestant and Orthodox prelates in saying the Lord's Prayer.

The 71-year-old Pope cautioned that it was too early for the Roman Catholic church to join the World Council of Churches, which has 234 Protestant and Orthodox members. But his "fraternal visit" to the Council headquarters symbolized the remarkable advance of the ecumenical movement.

The 62-year-old general secretary of the Council, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, remarked that such a visit would have been unbelievable five years ago.

Although the Pope's speech at the 50th anniversary of the International Labor Organization had a larger audience, his call on Dr. Blake—the former executive officer of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. — was of special interest to a city that was known in Calvin's day as "The Protestant Rome."

The Pope's visit, it is believed, was motivated by his desire to emphasize the Catholic Church's social and economic program before the one intergovernmental organization that also includes labor and employer representatives.

Equally important, it is believed, the visit gave him an opportunity to pay his precedent-breaking "fraternal visit" to the World Council of Churches' headquarters here without making a special trip for that purpose.

According to one well-informed source, the Vatican hoped also the visit would improve the position of the Catholic Church in Switzerland—the Federal Constitution bars the Jesuit orders and does not allow any additional monasteries or convents without special authorization. However, Protestant militants were so hostile that it is uncertain whether the visit achieved this aim.

Dr. Blake conceded that the symbolism of the common prayer was less than it would have been, if the Pope "had joined in a full and formal service in the Council chapel" as Dr. Blake had suggested. Moreover, Dr. Blake felt that, while it was "graciously phrased," the Pope's statement, "We are Peter," called attention to what Dr. Blake considers the greatest stumbling block in the path of Christian unity — the centuries-old claim of the popes, as successors of St. Peter, to universal authority over Christendom.

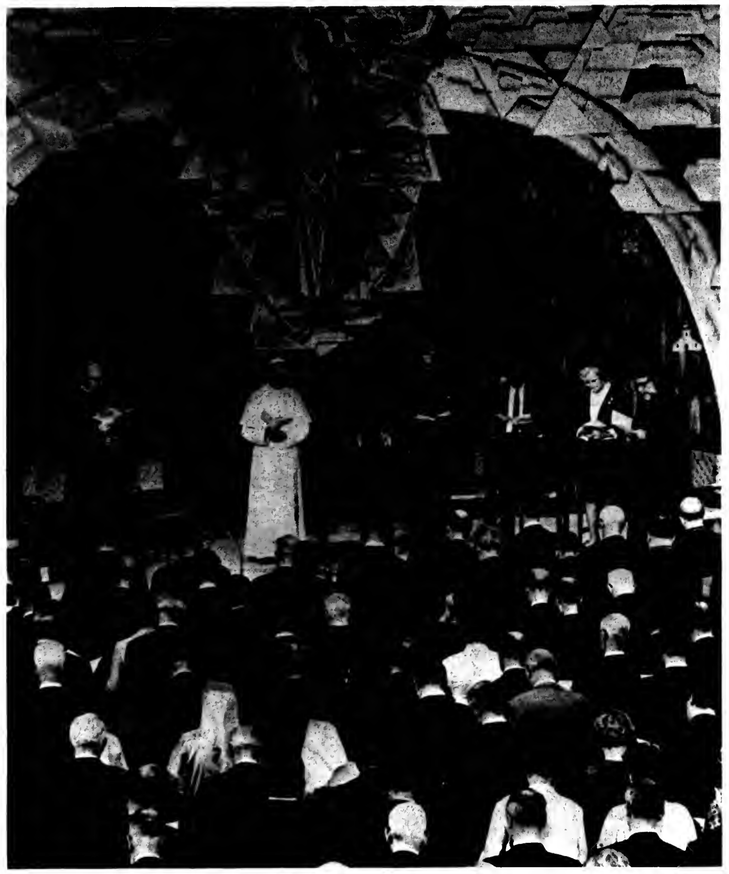
The Pope's declaration, however, reflected a continuing epic struggle within the Vatican between the advocates and foes of ecumenism. One authority, in fact, said the speech read as if one half had been written by one side and half by the other.

Others noted the deep feeling with which the Pope read the passages endorsing the goal of Christian unity. They said they were convinced he is personally an ecumenist.

One of the most encouraging developments regarding Rome's position, Dr. Blake believes, took place a few weeks earlier, when the Pope appointed Jan Cardinal Willebrands president of the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity to succeed the late Augustin Cardinal Bea. Dr. Blake thinks this foreshadows the continuation of Cardinal Bea's pro-ecumenical stand.

Secondly, when the Pope said the question of Catholic membership would require "profound study," this constituted authorization for such a study by a joint Vatican-World Council working group. The group, composed of 12 members from each side, had already placed this issue on its agenda, subject to the Pope's authorization.

The Pope in his comments to the Council, however, rejected immediate admission of the Catholic Church to the Council. He said "in fraternal frankness" that the question contained serious theological and pastoral implications, and "commits us to a way that honesty recognizes could be long and difficult."



PRAYERS FOR CHRISTIAN UNITY are offered by interreligious leaders during Pope Paul's historic visit to the World Council of Churches headquarters. From left, Jan Cardinal Willebrands, president of the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity; Pope Paul; Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, WCC general secretary; M. M. Thomas, chairman of WCC's Central Committee; Miss Pauline Webb and Greek Orthodox Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon, both vice-chairmen of the committee.

Certainly Dr. Blake does not underrate the problems ahead. Assuming differences over doctrine were settled, there would still be difficult constitutional problems, not least of which is the number of votes the Catholic Church would have in the World Council.

Total membership of the churches represented in the World Council is slightly more than that of the Roman Catholic Church, Dr. Blake believes. Other estimates put the total number of Catholics at around 400 million. But since all the World Council members are national churches, none of them has a membership of more than 10 million. Even a modified weighted voting system, such as the World Council now has, would give Rome many times as many votes as any other member. For Dr. Blake the solution is to admit Catholic churches of different countries as individual members, which would require a cutting down of the worldwide jurisdiction now exercised by the Pope.

Looking to the day when all Christian churches are members of the World Council, Dr. Blake said he was "definitely against one worldwide centralized, authoritarian Christian church."

He would like to see, at least as a preliminary step, a World Council with the communion of different members (including mixed marriages) accepted by all, and with some control over Christian doctrine, like that imposed by the early church fathers at the councils of Nicaea and Chalcedon.

Whether the re-established unity of Christendom will go further than this — he personally is in favor — Dr. Blake did not say. But he emphasized that "the ecumenical movement must not be confined to a mystical vision of God."

"The movement is important only if it makes itself felt in problems of justice and peace, hunger and race," he said. "Yet it must not go so far in dealing with these problems that the Christian church merely becomes a second class United Nations." ■

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The Clarence Jordan Story

by Dallas Lee

RESSED for a simple yes-or-no, Clarence Jordan confessed before a grand jury ten years ago that yes, he would "sell a ham" to a Communist.

Satisfying as that admission probably was, it was not sufficient evidence for indictment—the grand jury returned a no-bill. The public report, however, revealed that the jurors still were convinced Jordan was a Communist and stated that his Koinonia Farm operation could hardly be Christian, since there was not a sign of a church "or even a chapel."

Jordan, whose very presence in his native south Georgia seems to stir ill winds, laughs about that no-bill.

"I told them," he said, "that I would sell a ham to a hungry Ku Kluxer too, but that never made the papers. I also tried to explain to them the difference between Christ and Marx, but it soon became clear that the jurors didn't know anything about either one of them."

With education in agriculture and a doctorate in New Testament Greek, a perceptive country-boy sense of humor and a profound, radical interpretation of the Scripture, Jordan indeed does provoke emotional reaction from those who encounter him.

He is a quiet man with a gentle acceptance of people who profess all sorts of convictions or lack of convictions, an attitude that seems to confound and infuriate his foes. Confronted by an intimidating — "but polite" — 93-car caravan of Ku Klux Klansmen in robes and hoods who said he must leave and leave quickly or suffer the consequences, Jordan replied graciously:

"We are prepared to accept the consequences. And let me assure you that we are not violent people. None of you will be hurt."

Experiment in Discipleship

Even though he established Koinonia Farm in 1942 as an experiment in "honest discipleship to Christ" that included assisting other farmers with modern agricultural expertise, Jordan and the transitional, integrated residents of Koinonia (up to 60) have faced burnings, shootings, churchly condemnations, and a suffocating economic boycott.

His radical attitude obviously has been disturbing.

He has not talked about a Negro problem; he has talked about a white problem — "If you are standing with your foot on a man's neck, he is not the problem, you are." He has not expounded on bootstrap economic theories and "God helps those who help themselves"; he has talked about servanthood in the name of Christ. He has not tried to justify wars; he has demonstrated an ability to overcome evil with good. He has not lived by the accepted, segregated pattern; he has shared his table with "niggers."

His endurance in this impractical posture in the face of violence and threats—especially in the middle and late 'fifties—assuredly has put hope in the hearts of many south Georgia Negroes.

Now he has a larger vision, however. "An integrated, Christian community was a practical vehicle through which to bear witness to a segregated society a decade ago," he said. "But now it is too slow, too weak, not aggressive enough."

To move into a nationwide encounter, Jordan has formulated a ministry that includes proclamation of a "radical, transforming" gospel, traveling schools of discipleship, and a unique approach to "providing the disinherited with an inheritance" through jobs and housing.

This encounter could — just possibly could — rock the foundations of the American Way.

"A whole new spirit needs to be introduced in the land," Jordan said. "Our objective is to bring into sharp focus the clear gospel of Jesus Christ, which will cause a shift away from competition and a hostility and exploitation and greed to a new spirit of cooperation and trust and sharing and mutual respect of love.

"We want to throw every ounce of our weight into helping men to radically restructure their lives so as to be in partnership with God."

For implementation of this new effort, called PARTNERS, Jordan has designed a three-pronged strategy based on the New Testament emphasis of preaching, teaching, and healing.

The heart of the message to be proclaimed, Jordan said, is the "new order, the new spirit" announced by Christ in his inaugural address in the temple at Nazareth.

In that situation, he believes, Jesus was announcing the permanent arrival of the spirit of the Year of Jubilee — in Jewish tradition, the 50th year set aside as a year-long "sabbath of sabbaths," a time when the spirit of God was to rule in the hearts of men. Thus, slaves were freed, captives released, land returned to original owners, and debts forgiven.

Year of Jubilee

"The Jews," Jordan said, "had a built-in check against exploitation. Jesus felt that if you could live like that once every 50 years, you could live like that permanently. So he declared the permanent Year of Jubilee."

Such a radical interpretation of the Gospel is illustrated in the early experience of the church, he said, when the believers sold their property and possessions and distributed the income among all, each according to his need.

"The gospel still should carry such an impact — faith is not something to be toyed with," Jordan said.

"If God transforms the inner-self of a man into His image, the evidence of that transformation will be the works of Christ through that man."

With that fundamental precept, Jordan has declared that God's works in a man do not end with salvation, but began, thus transcending the social action-evangelism carryings-on currently disrupting so many Christian denominations.

The Rev. Clarence Jordan, experimenter in Christian discipleship.

Jordan describes this communication phase of PARTNERS as "throwing out the net, trying to draw people into this new spirit." For further development, the schools of discipleship come into play.

As PARTNERS moves into full swing, Jordan, co-worker-thinker Millard Fuller (a young former millionaire who turned his back on his riches), and others who identify with the new spirit will man schools of discipleship. Two approaches will be used: one of going out to groups of seekers in "Paul and Silas" teams, and one of bringing groups to the facilities at Koinonia Farm for weekends or weeks.

The matter of affluence is foremost in Jordan's mind in the search for the essential meanings of the Scripture that he expects to occur in the schools. He comments:

"Augustine once said, 'He who possesses a surplus possesses the goods of others.' That is a polite way of saying that anybody who has too much is a thief. If you are a 'thief', perhaps you should set a reasonable living standard for your family and restore the 'stolen goods' to humanity through some suitable means."

Third Phase

The third phase of PARTNERS provides at least one "suitable means," he feels.

Building from the $350,000 assets of Koinonia Farm, PARTNERS has incorporated a Fund for Humanity that will "emancipate" land for low-income farm families — black and white — to work together in partnership; create low-overhead, rural-based industries for job opportunity; and offer no-interest loans that should make it possible for more poor rural families to own their homes.

Primary in the housing and partnership farming aspects of the ministry is the absence of interest on loans. The Bible, Jordan says, describes interest as "usury" when forced on the poor.

Money loaned by the Fund for Humanity for housing will be interest free, reducing by about half what it costs to buy a home through normal financing channels.

On the farming side, the fund will purchase land, hold the deed to it, and make it available for two or several families to work in partnership at no cost other than paying taxes, thus freeing at least some families from the staggering interest rates that are forcing so many small farm operators off the land and into the cities.

"Usership, then, will replace ownership," Jordan said. "There will be no charge on the land, just as there is no charge on the air or on the sunset."

(Koinonia Farm itself already is being converted to partnership farming, and a 42-acre homestead area has been marked off for housing. Also, some 25 people are employed in the first partnership industry — the fruit cake-candy, direct-mail operation that has virtually supported the farm since local boycotts forced termination of cattle, hog, and chicken business a decade ago.)

The Fund for Humanity, then, is the healing application phase of PARTNERS.

"To keep discipleship from becoming theoretical, detached, and academic, it has to get into the needs of mankind," Jordan said. "Faith rooted only in theology and speculation soon makes dunces and idiots.

"The Word — any word — if it remains a word, becomes insipid, inane, insane, no matter how brilliant it is. It must become flesh to be living, just as God to be God had to become flesh."

The Growing Fund

To keep the fund growing and self-perpetuating, Jordan is not counting only on donations from concerned Christians elsewhere. He also is expecting successful beneficiaries of the fund to pay back into the fund as they can.

Recognizing the vulnerability of such a plan, Jordan said:

"We don't want sterile receivers of a dole. We want them to work hard to make a profit so they can have something to share with the poor—because they were poor. Under this system, a poor man can become a man with a mission."

Although at least one church already has been involved in helping one farmer-friend of Koinonia Farm get out from under an insurance firm loan, Jordan is neither purposely seeking to enlist churches nor to quarrel with them.

"Our thought for the moment is just to bypass the religious establishment," he said. "I think that is what Jesus did. PARTNERS is not concerned with being either the friend or the foe of the present church structure. It is the friend of humanity."

Contemporary Christians, Jordan said, often are so anxious for Christ to be God "that his humanity offends us."

"The emphasis on the deity of Christ is an escape from the humanity of God," he said. "We seem to want to send God back up into the heavens where we can sing praises to him, and build steeples that rise up to him — none of that messing around down here trying to be human.

"This spirit already is abroad," Jordan said. "It is just a matter of cultivating it and helping it to grow and to bear fruit."

Whether through his efforts to contribute to the agricultural ability of other south Georgia farmers, or his own translation of the New Testament (THE COTTON PATCH VERSION OF PAUL'S EPISTLES), or his counsel with a steady stream of visitors and temporary residents of Koinonia Farm's modest facilities, Jordan seems always to stay close to the fundamental question he has spent a lifetime exploring.

Pressed again recently for a quick answer—this time to a query on what he hopes to have achieved at some point in the future through PARTNERS, he just smiled and without hesitating said:

"At the end of 10 years or 20 or 50, we hope to have been faithful." ■

Mr. Lee is news editor of the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board.

WASHINGTON COMMENT

ACTION ON HUNGER: REALITY AND RHETORIC

by David M. Ackerman

THE House on May 27 by a vote of 322-50 passed the Appropriation Bill for the Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1970. The bill included $1.556 billions for the operation of the government's various food programs, an increase of approximately $400 million over fiscal 1969. The Senate Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee has completed its hearings on the bill, and probably will approve a similar amount soon, possibly by the time this article appears.

The Administration on May 6 announced its intention to seek legislation increasing the authorization for the food stamp program and making several substantive reforms in that program and on June 6 went even further and proposed that states be required to set up food programs in all counties by June 30, 1970, and that the authorization ceiling on the food stamp program be removed.

These and other events give the appearance of progress in combatting hunger and malnutrition in the U.S. They make it look as if responsible officials are moving rapidly to assure adequate diets to the nation's needy. But in truth, the appearance of progress is little more than that. The will to act decisively is still lacking. The moves that have been made, though commendable, do not go nearly far enough. A closer analysis of the above actions reveals how inadequate they are, and how difficult it continues to be for significant legislation to be passed.

"I can never wake up in the morning without wondering if we'll make it, one of us or all of us, until sundown."

Department of Agriculture Appropriations Bill

The Appropriations Bill for the Department of Agriculture as passed by the House provides $742 million for child feeding programs, which help poor and non-poor children alike; $340 million for the food stamp program; $365 million for distribution of commodities to needy families; $54 million for commodity distribution to institutions, and $30 million for the nutrition aid program. Despite the rhetoric that claims this provides a total of $1.53 billion to feed the malnourished, only about two-thirds of this total actually benefits the poor. The school lunch, special milk, and distribution of commodities to states programs benefit well-nourished children as well as malnourished. Twenty million children, for instance, benefit from the school lunch program, but this includes only about two million of the six million poor children.

The increases over fiscal 1969 are slight. As reported by the committee, child feeding programs are increased by $15 million, the food stamp program by $60 million, the commodity distribution to families program by $107 million, the nutrition aid program by $20 million. In addition, the special milk program—which both the Johnson and Nixon administrations have sought to end in favor of providing full meals for poor children—was revived by voice vote on the House floor, at the request of Rep. Poage (D-Tex.) Chairman of the House Agriculture Committee.

Yet the report accompanying the bill from the Appropriations Committee would have the reader believe that the Committee has done and is doing everything in its power to alleviate hunger and malnutrition in the U.S. Submitted not in the name of the Appropriations Committee or Sub-committee, but in the name of Rep. Jamie Whitten (D-Miss.), Chairman of the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee, the report claims that:

"It is this committee (Appropriations) which has initiated and supported additional efforts to seek out and care for especially needy cases of malnutrition and hunger . . ." and that "For many years this committee has tried its best to determine the facts regarding the true extent of hunger and malnutrition in this country and to act on them."

The report takes several pages to commend the committee and Rep. Whitten for their role in feeding the nation's hungry. Two pages, for instance, are used to cite the committee's role in fostering nutrition education among the American people; yet the sole instance cited is its support—**in 1950—of** the development of a pamphlet on human nutrition.

The tragedy of the report is that it belabors the minutiae while failing to grasp the immorality and urgency of the need. In discussing the complexity of malnutrition, the report mentions in passing the "possible" need for greater federal assistance, but gives prominent attention to factors such as the absence of car pools to get people to the food stamp centers, the lack of education in the selection and preparation of nutritious foods, the non-enforcement of state laws governing parental neglect of their children and the need for parents to guide their children to foods other than hamburgers and soft drinks. It makes no mention of the need for radically increased funding for the food stamp program so that recipients can receive enough stamps to purchase an adequate list without paying the 30-50 percent of their income most are now required to pay. It does not speak of the need for national eligibility standards or of the need for federal authority to set up and run food programs in areas that refuse to do so or that improperly administer their programs. It fails to discuss the need to simplify and humanize the methods used to certify eligibility and to issue the coupons and commodities. Nor does it note the failure of the school lunch program to benefit those most in need.

In short, the report is in large measure a self-righteous justification of Mr. Whitten and his committee that only thinly veils their failure to grasp the nature of hunger and malnutrition in the U.S.

Administration Proposals

The Administration on May 6 announced its intention to propose legislation that would increase the authorization for the food stamp program from $340 million to $610 million for fiscal 1972 and to $1.34 billion for fiscal 1971. The President proposed also that all recipients receive a minimum of $100 worth of stamps (for a family of four) each month—the amount the Dept. of Agriculture estimates as the rock-bottom minimum necessary to purchase an adequate diet—and that the purchase price for stamps be reduced so that no family would have to pay more than 30 percent of its income for stamps. He also asked that those with incomes under $30 a month receive stamps without charge, and that national eligibility standards be established. On June 6 it went further and proposed that every state be required to institute either a food stamp or commodity distribution program in every county by June 30, 1970, or face the cut-off of all food programs in that state—over 420 of the nation's 3,129 governmental units still have no food stamp or commodity distribution program. It also proposed that the authorization ceiling be removed for fiscal years 1971 to 1973, and that a national income standard of approximately $4,000 for a family of four be established as the basis of eligibility for food stamps.

There is much that is commendable in the President's proposals. Even these modifications, however, fail to go far enough. The guidelines used as the minimum amount necessary to purchase a adequate diet — $100 month/$1,200 year — is inadequate even by the estimates of the Department of Agriculture. It is better than the amount of stamps most families now receive, but a better model still would be USDA's low-cost food plan, which would provide $120 month/$1,440 year for a family of four. Secondly, the President is right in seeking an open-ended authorization but is entirely too cautious in the increase he seeks for fiscal 1970. Appropriations are the key to the program, and he must seek an adequate amount. Thirdly, he is also far too cautious in proposing that stamps be provided without charge only to those whose income (for a family of four) is less than $7.50 a week. Surely this nation can do better than that; it should provide free stamps to all families who cannot buy food without scrimping on other necessities. Fourth, it is good to require states to institute food programs in all their counties; but in the event of their failure to do so, the proper remedy is not the cutoff of all food programs but the establishment of the programs under Federal authority. To do otherwise would penalize the poor for the failure of county and state officials.

Conclusion

Nevertheless, the President has at least decided that hunger and malnutrition is a real problem, and is making some effort to deal with it. He is out in front of the various Agriculture committees in Congress on this issue, though this can hardly be said to be a great achievement. But his power is limited. He can propose, but it is Congress that must dispose. And Chairmen Whitten, Poage, Ellender, Holland and their committees still lie at the center of the process on this issue.

The time for effective action on this issue is long overdue. The ensuing weeks will tell whether these committees, this Congress, this Administration, this nation can muster the energy and compassion to assure that every citizen's most elemental need will be met. Rhetoric cannot suffice; substance in the guise of reform and money must be provided. In moral terms the moving power on this issue is man's conscience; in political terms, it is public demand. Whether that demand is strong enough, and that conscience sensitive enough, will soon be demonstrated. ■

it says here . . .

BOSTON, Mass. — Making demands on Boston churches, Hayward Henry, chairman of the Metropolitan Boston Committee of Black Churchmen, addresses the annual meeting of the Christian Science Church, held in the "Mother Church" here. Mr. Henry read a statement of demands in "reparations" to the black community for past "exploitation" of blacks by the churches, calling for a total of $100 million from all churches and synagogues in the area.

THE BLACK MANIFESTO: A TEMPO UPDATE

NEW YORK N.Y., June 17 — After a month or more of sporadic "liberations" of various Interchurch Center boards and agencies by James Forman and other representatives of the Black Economic Development Conference, the Board of Trustees of the building, with the concurrance of tenant agencies, obtained a court injunction barring them from these activities.

Signing the restraining order, along with the trustees, were the seven agencies whose floors had been occupied: the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.'s Board of National Missions, Commission on Ecumenical Relations and General Council, the United Methodist Church's Board of Missions, the Reformed Church of America's General Synod, the National Council of Churches and the United Church of Christ's Board of World Ministries.

The injunction specified that Mr. Forman and his supporters associates must appear June 19 in Superior Court, N.Y. to show cause why they should not be kept from (a) entering or remaining within The Interchurch Center without permission, (b) from congregating or assembling in or adjacent to the building to block ingress or egress, (c) from employing force or threat of force and (d) from threatening or enticing others to do the aforementioned acts.

A few hours after the injunction was read to him, June 17, Mr. Forman, who at that time had been occupying the 16th floor (UCC's Board of World Ministries) held a press conference. He challenged the "racist Christians" to enforce the injunction, called upon "those so-called brave Christians who were so eager to march in Mississippi to interpose their bodies between the police and himself," and called for a "splintering of the Church between those willing to fight racism and the Church bosses who perpetuate it."

He also claimed he had discovered that the churches work, through their overseas ministries departments, "with the Central Intelligence Agency," and showed UCC financial records indicating that some $220,000 had been spent in South Africa last year, among other figures. Dr. Everett Parker, the UCC's communications director, later indicated that these sums had been spent in churches, schools, seminaries and hospitals —for Black South Africans.

Hours later on the same day the Center trustees released a statement declaring themselves "deeply in sympathy with the needs of minority groups and always ready to listen to their ideas and demands. However we no longer can tolerate the daily disruption of work and the inconveniencing of staff by forcible occupation."

Mr. Forman's forces began their occupation May 14 with some offices of the United Presbyterian Church. Staying for various lengths of time, they took certain offices of the United Methodist Church on May 22, the Reformed Church of America on June 5 (remaining for six days), the executive offices of the National Council of Churches, briefly on June 6, and again the UPCUSA briefly on the same day. On June 11 began their occupation of the United Church Board for World Missions which, at press time, was still occupied.

Elsewhere in the nation, a spot check of Manifesto-related events showed the following:

—In **Richmond, Va.**, the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. did not give approval or disapproval to the manifesto but noted the "agony of their message" and stated: "We cannot close church doors or Christian hearts to so desperate an appeal."

—In **Philadelphia**, two representatives of the National Black Economic Development Conference presented its demands to the United Presbyterian publishing house, Westminster Press, and "borrowed" a typewriter "as a show of good faith." Among their demands was one for $20,000 toward their campaign, staff residence and office space, and publication of five million copies of the manifesto. Westminster officials pointed out that it is a publishing house and not a printing plant, and the church declined to press charges for the "borrowed" typewriter.

—Services at Second Presbyterian Church in **St. Louis** were interrupted by members of the Black Liberation Front where its spokesman, Ocie Pastard, is a member and president of the Mid-City Community Congress which Second Church helped found and supports. His demand was for $50 million from St. Louis area Presbyterians.

—A delegation from the Black Radical Action Project in **Indianapolis** interrupted services at two churches to read the manifesto but both occasions were reported as "orderly and courteous."

—In Nashville, Tenn., preparations for "additional security" were taken the first week in June by the Methodist Publishing House "in view of statements contained in the Black Manifesto. These were not spelled out but are believed to have included permanent identification cards. Although no demands were made to the publishing house, a list of requests from a group of Black Methodists includes one for the transfer of ownership of at least one of the publishing house's facilities to the NBEDC. The manifesto has the support of Black Methodists for Church Renewal, headed by the Rev. Cain Felder. Methodists have been asked for $300 million "in support of black economic development." The demand was made to the church's Board of Missions in New York, which refused to contribute to the NBEDC but committed $1.3 million for special programs to be determined by black bishops and members of the church.

Methodist churches and church leaders have also received the NBEDC demands in **Houston, Dallas** and **San Antonio, Texas.** In general, sympathy for the "cause of the black man" was voiced, and agreement reached to circulate copies of the manifesto to the laity.

—In **New York City,** the president of the National Baptist Convention in the USA, Inc., the nation's largest Negro religious body, compared the manifesto to the Communist Manifesto of 1848, and stated that it would neither share in nor contribute to the fund the NBEDC is seeking to raise.

—In **Philadelphia,** the general secretary of the United Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, William A. Morrison, stated, "We cannot accept the principle of acceding to the demands of any group. We are committed to the ordered process by which we and other agencies of the church function."

—On June 8, Mr. Forman addressed the congregation of St. George's Episcopal Church in New York City at the invitation of the rector, Dr. Edward O. Miller, who called him "intelligent, articulate, energetic and dedicated to his cause." Mr. Forman, who spoke from the pulpit dedicated to the memory of J. Pierpont Morgan, was applauded by the congregation.

—The North Carolina Methodist Conference meeting in Chapel Hill, passed a resolution "to insure that no money or other assets of the United Methodist Church be given" to the NBEDC or any other group supporting the Black Manifesto, or any similar demand for reparation."

—In Boston, representatives of the Metropolitan Committee of Black Churchmen spoke in the Mother Church of the Church of Christ Scientists, including disclosure of membership figures, financial and other assets—which it has never done—were rejected. But the church's directors said it was "especially desirous of contributing to the well-being of the black community." NBEDC demands are for $100 million from the churches and synagogues in Boston.

—In an unprecedented action, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York reported on June 9 that it operated with a deficit of more than $1.2 million in 1968, and that its expenditures for charitable, educational and pastoral work totalled $20,953,000 in that year. The largest deficit was $11,606,000 for education, said the report. Mr. Forman's demand for $200 million had previously been rejected by the Archdiocese.

• • • • •

FIRST BLACK BISHOP CALLED BY EPISCOPAL CHURCH

BOSTON, MASS. — The first black Episcopal bishop to be elected in the United States is the Rt. Rev. John Melville Burgess of Newton, who will head the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts. He succeeds the Rt. Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes Jr., with whom he served as Suffragan Bishop since 1962.

A leader in civil rights during the past decade, he has also been a staunch supporter of the national and world ecumenical movement.

it says here . . .

by Richard Deats

On a sunny day in Texas not long ago, seven organizations in Ft. Worth and Dallas sponsored a march and rally for peace and against the ABM proposal now before Congress. The 16.4 mile march began at the LTV Missile plant between Ft. Worth and Dallas with forty marchers — teachers, students, housewives, clergymen, business and professional men and women. By the time they reached Dallas, their number had grown to 140, then to 200 and finally over 400 for the rally itself. Carried in the march were an American flag and a U.N. flag, a large cross, and numerous signs.

The final rest stop on the day-long march was at the Kennedy assassination site in downtown Dallas. By late afternoon the marchers arrived at Ferris Plaza for an outdoor rally. Short speeches were given by an SMU professor, Dr. Jay Allen; Rabbi Herschel Jaffe, Father John Kade and Rev. Wm. McElvaney. Folk songs were led by Lou Mitchell and the rally was MC'd by Dr. Richard Deats, coordinator for the day's activities and Texas representative for Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam.

Supportive telegrams for the rally were received from Senators Cooper, McGovern, Fulbright, Hatfield and Muskie. The featured speaker was General Wm. Wallace Ford, veteran of both world wars.

Anti-ABM protesters marching into Dallas, concluding 16-mile hike from LTV missile plant outside the Texas city. Teachers, clergymen, housewives, professional men and students, their ranks swelled from 140 to 400 at march's end.

General William Wallace Ford, veteran of two World Wars, was spattered with red paint by youth in Nazi uniform, as he addressed ABM protest throng in Dallas plaza near J. F. Kennedy assassination site.

Before Ford finished his speech, a youth in the audience ran forward, yelled "Hitler was right!" and threw a can of red paint on the general, the rabbi, the priest and the several ministers who participated in the program. Throughout the rally two uniformed Nazis picketed the meeting with a large sign that said, "Death to Red Scum." Hostile signs ("ABM—yes! Reds—no!") and jeers had followed the marchers along the route. Some of the marchers were stoned coming into Dallas, although the police escort during the entire route was as helpful and courteous as possible.

Despite the incidents, the day's activities were successful in focusing the attention of the Ft. Worth-Dallas area on the current ABM controversy.

"CATONSVILLE NINE" GET STATE AND FEDERAL TERMS

BALTIMORE — (RNS) — Nine Roman Catholic priests and laymen—the so-called "Catonsville Nine"—were given sentences here by a county circuit court judge to equal those ordered in a Federal court last fall.

Judge Kenneth C. Proctor imposed sentences of 2 to 3½ years on the group and ruled that they would run concurrently with the Federal terms which were handed down for destroying Selective Service records in Catonsville on May 17, 1968.

Two of the defendants, Fr. Philip F. Berrigan, S.S.J., and Thomas P. Lewis, an artist, were given 3½ year sentences. They also face a six-year Federal term in another action for pouring blood on the records of the Baltimore draft board. All sentences will run concurrently. Fr. Daniel Berrigan, S.J., brother of Philip, was given a term of three years.

* * * * *

TEN GRAPE GROWERS AGREE TO BARGAIN WITH STRIKING WORKERS

COACHELLA, CAL. — Ten prominent grape growers announced on June 13 that they would negotiate contracts with the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, headed by Cesar Chavez, a major breakthrough in the three-year boycott of California table grapes.

The union voted unanimously at its executive meeting in Delano to begin talks with the growers and said it was joining them in asking the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service for a joint meeting.

The growers involved produce about 25 percent of the state's grape crop in the Coachella Valley and Arvin areas where one grower was quoted as being eager for formal meetings to begin "because we are definitely hurting" from the national grape boycott.

* * * * *

JUDGE WEEPS AS HE SENTENCES OBJECTORS

MILWAUKEE, WIS. — Tears rolled down the cheeks of Judge Charles Larson as he imposed two-year jail terms on 11 war protesters who burned draft cards here last September. The judge's voice broke as he read the sentence of the Rev. Antony Mullaney, 39, of Boston, a Benedictine monk and clinical psychiatrist.

Said Judge Larson: "Father Mullaney has been a true gentleman from the beginning of the trial to the end." Outside the court room some 200 sympathizers could be heard singing, "We Shall Overcome."

Six Roman Catholic priests were among the 11 sentenced in the state trial charging them with burglary and arson.

On Monday, June 9, the same defendants began a Federal trial on charges of conspiracy, destruction of government property and interference with the Selective Service Act.

* * * * *

"VIOLENCE" STUDY WARNS OF GARRISON CITIES

WASHINGTON, D.C. — (RNS) — The U.S. will either carry through with "widespread political and social reform" or it will develop into a "society of garrison cities," according to a study group serving the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

The 262-page report was released here by the commission, headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower. At a press conference, he said: "As human beings we deplore violence. We are not trying to justify or condone violence but to understand it. What we are saying is that people will use violence if they see no other way of achieving justifiable goals."

* * * * *

DETROIT COUNCIL CONTINUES FIGHT FOR SANE ABORTION LAW

DETROIT — Efforts by the Metropolitan Detroit Council of Churches to help pass an abortion reform bill in the state failed in the Senate by two votes when two bills were tabled. One of them recommended the model penal code which makes abortion a matter between physician and patient.

Two years ago the Council's Social Service department set up the Michigan Council for the Study of Abortion, a non-profit corporation, to do research on the issue. Within the past year, the department has also taken an active role in organizing "Michigan Clergy for Problem Pregnancy Counseling" involving 35 clergymen in the state's major cities. Many doctors who cooperate in the program refer patients to physicians in neighboring states.

LETTERS

CREDITS FOR ARCHITECTS

We were thrilled to see the article by Dorothy Rensenbrink entitled "Church Architecture and Social Crisis" which appeared in the June 1, 1969 issue of TEMPO. We were very flattered to see that two works which were the products of our office, Beth El Synagogue, Cherry Hill, N.J., and the Lutheran Seminary Chapel, Columbia, S.C., were included in the photographs. We were, however, somewhat disappointed in the fact that neither the religious buildings nor the sculpture were named nor the authors thereof.

Since the conference concerned church architecture, we feel that it is of interest to readers to know where the buildings are located and what their names are. I doubt if they are too much interested in the architects, but it would be nice if their names could be included too.

Thank you again for recognizing the conference and for including our work in it.

Harold E. Wagoner, F.A.I.A.
Harold E. Wagoner and Associates, Architects
Philadelphia, Pa.

(TEMPO of June 1 was particularly hard pressed for space and regretfully we had to omit the credits Mr. Wagoner mentions. The two exteriors shown are, of course, to be attributed to Mr. Wagoner and his Associates. The church interior was designed for the Chapel of Our Lady, at Bucho, Switzerland, by Dr. Justus Dahinden, of Zurich. The sculptured lamb, done in metal as a design for a baptismal font, was created by Mrs. Una Hansbury, Washington, D.C. All won prize awards at the National Conference on Religious Architecture, held in St. Louis, April 28-May 2. Ed)

WARS AND CONSEQUENCES

The articles (on the ABM) in the May 1 issue of TEMPO were very timely, it seems to me. Especially so, since wars like that in Viet Nam are usually prosecuted in the name of destroying "Godless Communism." There are some sincere Christians who feel it is better to be "dead than red" and would rather see our entire planet cease to exist should that become necessary. Hence: justification for use of atomic bombs regardless of consequences. . . .

Betty Willet
Los Angeles, Calif.

THE MANIFESTO

(Continued from page 3)

who deeply desire at least a billion-dollar involvement of the American churches in compensatory aid to America's desperate poor, long to use the Forman bombshell to stir the churches to the kinds of action they ought to have taken long ago. When Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated, the highest hierarchs — Catholic, Jewish, Orthodox and Protestant—at once called for the realization of the martyred leader's last published appeal—an Economic Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged requiring about 10 or 12 billion dollars from the combined efforts of the public and private sectors, including the religious community. But nothing at all came out of their witness which lacked industrious implementation. Now James Forman seems to have broken open a new path, and they are eager to see his revolutionary ideas fade in order that his practical projects might be effectively adapted by traditional American Christians. If this happens, funds may indeed be assembled and reformist programs undertaken. Yet the question will not be stilled: Is such a movement equal to the claims of Christ upon this generation?

Dr. Schomer is Executive Director for Specialized Ministries in the National Council of Churches Division of Overseas Ministries. His article appears in the June 25 issue of The Christian Century which has kindly shared it with Tempo. For further news on the Manifesto and the churches, please turn to pages 9 and 10.

CHILDREN'S DAY

I'd like to suggest a new holiday: Children's Day. On this day we would treat people from one to twelve not as imbeciles, nor itsy-bitsy darlings, but as leaders of humanity, tomorrow's people today.

Not a holiday of presents and dinners-out, but a celebration of what a mess we are handing them to rejuvenate into a world of peace and brotherhood. Exhibitions of their art, dance, poems, and all the other creativity that children are born with, until they are driven down to the dull unplayful level of us deteriorated infants.

Many of us say "everything for the future." But the future is with us in the children. Let's give them one day a year all their own. This is a pressing need now when repression and detention and arrests and beatings are being organized on a top level against young people just above childrens' age.

What day? Any day, perhaps the first day of Spring would be fitting. Whatever the date, on that day, "a little child shall lead them."

Walter Lowenfels
Peekskill, New York

BAD MANNERS AND LEGITIMATE DEMANDS

We are keeping an unbroken file of TEMPO, since it is vigorous, refreshing, and very, very helpful.

Those of us who seek to follow Jesus, reducing the Grand Canyons between our faith and practice, surely are not going to pay any mind to Mr. Forman's manners, in interrupting a Church service! But by studying the demands, we may well become fully clear as to our sins of omission down the years.

Isobel Cerney
Atlanta Meeting of the
Religious Society of Friends

DOUBTS ON PARENTS AS TEACHERS

I have just read the May 15, 1969 issue of TEMPO and it is really a shame that what could have been constructive has become so one-sided that it is self-destructive.

I hope — with my tongue in my cheek—that "Parents are coming to feel concerned in the learning process" but, if so, they are damn late in getting concerned. And, as for being "in many cases as *qualified* as school personnel to supervise the learning process," either way you look at it, it is a cruel and misleading hoax to use the term. . . .

Ross A. Cobb
Fishkill, N.Y. 12524

TEMPO FOR YOUNG MINISTERS

I am enormously encouraged by TEMPO, and push it among young ministers whose "believing hope" in the Church as an institution is waning.

Your April 15 issue, e.g., touched all the gut issues at home and abroad, and with courageous compassion. . . .

I have no doubt of the contribution to man of some of the National Council of Churches spin-offs — TEMPO included. What more can an institution living-toward-the-Kingdom ask?

The Rev. Willis E. Elliott,
Division of Evangelism
United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
New York, N.Y.

A POX ON TEMPO

I find myself disagreeing fundamentally with many of the articles in the past several issues of TEMPO, such as pages 3 and 4 of the April 15, 1969 issue. I am persuaded that these articles do not properly interpret statements of the NCCUSA which I have participated in fashioning as a former member of the General Board, representing the Lutheran Church in America.

I wish to express my emphatic disapproval of much of your publication. I cannot excuse vitriolic diatribe, slanted in directions which many will reasonably interpret as leading, if not directed, toward the destruction of our democracy, as being founded upon sound Christian principles as I comprehend them or as I understand the Council has intended to interpret and apply them. Consequently, I must ask to be completely disassociated from any future connection with TEMPO, even as a reader.

G. Allan Dash, Jr.
Philadelphia, Pa.

MEXICAN-AMERICANS AND RURAL POOR

I have read and re-read your March 1 issue of TEMPO and have seen to it that it gets the widest possible circulation. It has just occurred to me that I should tell you, and those who are responsible for its publication, how helpful it is to us working in the organizing effort among farm workers to have available throughtful, accurate, and readable material such as this issue carries. . . .

Again, deepest personal thanks for the articles on rural poverty and the Mexican American community. Keep up the good work.

(Rev.) James L. Drake
United Farm Workers Organizing
Committee, Delano, Calif.

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

Reviewing:
HIGH SCHOOL,
Directed by Fred Wiseman

I was delighted when **Titticut Follies**, Fred Wiseman's jarring portrait of a mental hospital, made a hit last year at the New York Film Festival and received an enthusiastic review in **Life.** It looked for a moment as though America's most gifted practitioner of cinema verité might finally get the national notice he deserves. Instead, a Massachusetts court order banned the screening of **Titticut Follies** in a state where it was made (at Bridgewater State Hospital) and the case is still on appeal. Now Wiseman has made an equally fine film about one of the most influential institutions in American life.

Harvey Cox

In some ways, **High School** is more upsetting than the **Follies.** We've grown accustomed after all to muckraking exposés of looney bins. But high schools — especially modern ones, with orchestras, guidance counseling, and sex education courses—we usually list on the plus side of our society's strengths and weaknesses. After **High School** I wonder. No dilapidated ghetto monster, Northeast High School (in Philadelphia) is a "quality", well ventilated, airy school whose major visual fault is its depressing collection of long corridors lined with identical lockers. But after ten minutes of this extraordinary film it becomes clear that something is grotesquely wrong at Northeast. Nothing unusual happens. Teachers drill Spanish vocabularly, the band rehearses, a Home Ec teacher offers clothes tips to overweight girls, an instructor drills a typing class, a gym teacher bawls out a student. It's your high school and mine on an average day.

An average day of what? That's just it. The business of Northeast High School seems to be chiseling the rough edges and recalcitrant bumps off adolescents so they fit easily into the slots waiting for them in American society or the coffins waiting for them in Vietnam. So despite the "modern" atmosphere, Northeast High is terrifying, and Wiseman's portrait indicts our whole putrefactive school system.

Wiseman's technique is reason enough to see the film. He uses no actors at all. Everyone in this surrealist nightmare is a real person playing himself. In fact if you had cast people like that for gym teachers or guidance counselors film critics would probably accuse you of overdoing it. They have all internalized their own stereotypes so completely they are playing out socially assigned roles without even knowing it. Wiseman also uses no prepared situations, no stories or scenarios, no special lighting effects or instant flashbacks. Except for the first few minutes he uses no background music. His approach, is simply to film miles and miles of celluloid, taking enough pictures so that people act normally when the camera is around, and then use only the best of what he has taken. This technique uses up a lot of film, but the result makes it worthwhile.

In **High School** we see a document that raises the question about whether schools as such are really the best way of educating the young or anybody else for that matter. A few years ago Mary Perkins Ryan wrote a book entitled, **Are Catholic Schools the Answer?** in which she told Roman Catholics that parochial schools really do not fulfill the needs of Catholic education. Now someone ought to write a book called **Are Schools the Answer?** Maybe they are not.

Schools, as Ivan Illich said in TEMPO earlier this year, are designed in our society to serve a number of purposes — educational, indoctrinating, custodial, and selective. They not only seek to educate young people, they also inculcate them with the society's values, keep them off the streets, and channel them into appropriate niches. The trouble is that the social values themselves are twisted, the channeling process is brutal, and the custodial function turns the schools into jails. As the Northeast gym teacher says to a student, "If you want to be a man, you've got to learn to take orders." And education? Very little of that seems to be going on at Northeast. One wonders indeed whether it is even possible given the predominance assigned the other three tasks. The faces of the students at Northeast are terrifying in their vacancy and boredom. Although their bodies still occupy the modern movable desks, their spirits are elsewhere.

But can't a really gifted and dedicated teacher break through? It is doubtful. The most poignant scene in **High School** shows a pretty dark-haired English teacher, obviously just out of college, trying to reach her class by explaining the poetic imagery of a Simon and Garfunkel song, then playing the record. She fails. The faces of the students are as expressionless as ever. A moving close-up of the teacher's face reveals that she knows it isn't working. What will she do? I thought sadly of what she would look like in twenty years, cynical and bored herself, like the other teachers, going through a ritual she really does not believe in. But then I realized something more clearly than I ever have before — it can't last twenty years. The cruel process of anaesthetizing and spiritual lobotomy which we now call high school education must be changed. The only frisky and animated class we see at Northeast is a special one for potential dropouts. At least they recognize what is happening to them and are struggling against it.

Wiseman's **High School** supplies no alternative to the depressing system which now exists. It's ten o'clock. Where are your kids? If they are in high school don't feel so cozy about it. But cheer up. Maybe they'll drop out and really make something of themselves. ■

BOOKS

The End of Conventional Christianity, by William H. van de Pol, Newman, $7.95

The End of Conventional Christianity is very much like a survey course entitled "This is the World that Was, and Why"—world in this case meaning that of Christianity "as it has been conceived and practiced by Christian people since the beginning of the Christianization of Western Europe globally."

This is van de Pol's conventional Christianity, the shut-up system that until this century generally thought it was ready to fight to the death to withstand the assaults of the secular. Obviously this is no longer the case, and Father van de Pol's book is firstly a wide-lens, long-range report on what went into the breakup of the conventional kingdom (Copernicus to Freud), and secondly a record of the later-starting, but then more or less parallel attempts of philosophers and theologians to proceed with **their** work in the ever-new milieu. Under this second heading there are substantial summaries of the work of Heidegger, Barth, Tillich, lesser ones of Kant, Kierkegaard, Bultmann.

Like all survey courses it suffers from the tension between abstraction and concretion, and from proportions and opinions that sometimes seem puzzling—in spite of the connecting reasoning which accompanies them—to anyone who is not the teacher. (There is, for instance, in this centuries-sweeping book by this Dutch priest a whole chapter on the "philosophico-theological approach" of Paul Tillich. Is this farsightedness or nearsightedness?) But essentially the book manages to be a real encounter with a whole phenomenon, with both its innerness and its outward shape. There are also glimpses of the surprising shape of the future, but gratifyingly little attempt to do any extended projecting.

—New Book Review

A History of Christian Thought by Paul Tillich, edited by Carl E. Braaten, Harper and Row, $8.00

This posthumous Tillich volume, companion to his **Perspectives on Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Protestant Theology,** comprises lectures delivered in 1953 at Union Theological Seminary. It is a revision of the text of the second edition (1956), the first being simply a transcribed, limited edition, and the second essentially the same. For this edition Carl Braaten reports he has made "liberal" style changes, "conservative" content changes.

Tillich begins with the pre-Christian setting of Christianity, establishing briefly its Greek, Roman, and Jewish currents, and then moves into a detailed exposition of the mix of theological and philosophical development that characterized Christian thought from the Fathers to Augustine. The next major section, "Trends in the Middle Ages," shows a fine appreciation of medieval methodology and contextual originality—a thing perhaps rarer in 1953 than today. This is followed by a survey of Roman Catholicism from Trent to the present (i.e., 1953), a summary which ends on an understandably depressing note. "The Theology of the Protestant Reformers" and "The Development of Protestant Theology" are the final sections; the former is especially good on the qualitative theology of Luther.

Not surprisingly the book is a fine, vital history—the work of an obviously great teacher and scholar, which means as much as anything else it is Tillich's own dialogue with the tradition that formed him, and which he loved with true respect, originality and knowledge.

—New Book Review

Christ and the Moral Life, by James M. Gustafson, Harper and Row, $8.00

In spite of a preface which explains its procedure with a meticulousness that makes one expect a nearly unreadable book, **Christ and the Moral Life** is gratifyingly readable and to the point.

It is basically a dialogue between ethics and christology, one that proceeds on the assumption that the content, form, and method of theological ethics is not different from that of any other ethics, and that there is great wisdom all the way around in seeing how theologians have developed, and been developed by, christology in their dealings with the fundamental ethical questions. (These to Gustafson are three: "What ought I to do?" "What criteria, principles, modes, or values do I turn to for guidance in proceeding to answer the personal moral questions?" and "How is my answer to personal moral questions conditioned or determined by what I have become and am as a person?")

The author's method, then, is essentially survey, and it takes shape under five titles: the claims of Jesus Christ as creator and redeemer; as sanctifier; as justifier; as pattern; and as teacher. The ethically oriented considerations of relevant theologians are ranged, analyzed, and related under these heads. Among them: Barth (preeminently), Bultmann, Augustine, Aquinas, Luther, Calvin, Kierkegaard, Schleiermacher, Bonhoeffer, Haring, Reinhold Niebuhr.

Both for content and method the book is a notable contribution to ethical literature.

—New Book Review

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In Pace With The Changing Church
July 15, 1969

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CHINA TODAY:

TEMPOsitions . . .

THE PROGRESS OF PEOPLES: IV

The Waste of The World's Wealth in Arms

by Barbara Ward

TODAY, we confront the curious fact that many people in the Atlantic world talk about the "drain" and "waste" of economic assistance programs which are not much above $6 billion a year. Yet they swallow, without any apparent trouble, the annual arms figure of some $150 billions a year spent by all developed governments, including the Communist States. The United States, with $80 billions a year, is the largest absolute spender. But in terms of percentage of national income—about ten percent—the Soviet Union is in the same class, as far as can be estimated from incomplete statistics. Of the lesser powers, Britain and France are both in economic difficulties, yet use part of their national income on such expensive follies as hydrogen bombs they cannot afford.

The sums spent by the developed powers do not, of course, exhaust the terrible hemorrhage. Some developing countries spend much higher proportions of their pitifully small resources on arms. In most cases, this is because they are engaged in some ugly dispute over national frontiers. India and Pakistan, contesting Kashmir; Egypt and Israel, locked in Middle Eastern conflict, eat up resources that might be devoted to peaceful development if a solution to their quarrel could be worked out.

Russian and American Policy

But this short column cannot discuss all the angers and griefs of our troubled world. What is at issue here is the policy of the developed powers, above all, of the so-called "super-powers," America and Russia. It is clear that if they can find means of working together towards a general detente, the major problem of world waste through the use of resources for destruction will be some way along the road to solution. Some of the lesser problems will also look rather less intractable.

This is no longer a wholly academic problem. In recent weeks, the two great powers have not only collaborated to secure a Non-Proliferation Treaty, they are feeling their way to talks on a limitation of their own missile programs.

Taking local and regional problems first, we can therefore ask some more hopeful questions. Could America and Russia go further than to use their joint influence to check local fighting—as they did over Kashmir in 1965 and in the Middle East in 1967? Could they agree, through the United Nations, on forms of mediation and arbitration and on international policing and supervisory teams to oversee possible settlements?

Above all, could they improve a cut-off of arms deliveries to the smaller contestants who tend not to be arms producers themselves? At present, Great Power rivalry renders every dispute more lethal because if America refuses to send or sell arms, the appeal goes to Russia to provide them and vice-versa. Thus, the super-powers envenom the very issues they need, in sheer self-interest, to calm and cure.

The fact that negotiations have opened in Pasis to end the worst of all the local involvements—the terrible engagement in Vietnam—opens up at least the possiblity that Russia and America can agree on the form of a compromise solution which both sides in Vietnam, dependent as they now are on Great Power support, may be brought to accept.

No Rational End to Arms Race

Yet in spite of the cost of the Vietnam fighting, the most heavy spending flows from the direct confrontation of strength between the super-powers. Here it is "normal" to talk of $50 billions for the next stage of an anti-ballistic missile screen even though giant anti-missile lasers may make it before long as obsolete as are manned bombers today. To the arms race in this form there is no technological or rational end, since science renders every stage of defense obsolete almost as soon as it is introduced.

It follows that vast sums can be saved, now and in the future, provided both Great Powers agree to accept a political solution—for instance, controlled de-escalation—say from four times "overkill" to only twice. Thus they might keep the balance of terror within limits which both sides can live with, while they work for the day when they accept for themselves the rational controls of international arbitration and supervision.

De-escalation no Longer a Pipedream

This possibility of agreed de-escalation is no longer a pipedream. The cost of arms on both sides is pushing the super-powers toward some form of accommodation. It is not wholly fanciful to look for percentage reductions in the expenditures of arms over the next two or three years—say, a modest 10% cut on both sides.

If, in addition, the war in Vietnam is negotiated to a peace, one could envisage a fall of some $20 to $30 billions in America's arms budget by the early Seventies.

What then? The truth is that we do not know. And it is time to ask ourselves how, as taxpayers, we want such savings to be spent. ■

The fifth in this series of six editorial commentaries by Miss Ward — noted economist and Catholic lay leader — will appear in TEMPO's next issue.

THE COVER — The Chinese calligraphy, which literally translates into "China Today," was done by Mrs. Evelyn Whang, of the United Presbyterian Mission Boards staff in New York City. TEMPO is indebted to her. Two features in this issue carry out the cover theme: "Religion in China Today," by Baden Teague; and "U.S.-China Relations: Time for A Change," by Donald MacInnis.

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates
ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause
ART AND LAYOUT: Heff Heisler
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbot, David M. Ackerman, John Pisler, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, David Poindexter, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. J. Stell, Maxa Tilghman, Albert Tippit, Glen Trimble, John W. Turnbull.
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A TEMPO News Update:

THE NCC AND THE BLACK MANIFESTO

by Dorothy Rensenbrink

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The 25-member Executive Committee of the National Council of Churches met here on June 23 to grapple with the challenge presented by James A. Forman and his Black Manifesto, calling for $500 million in "reparations" for American blacks.

Mr. Forman first made his demands to the nation's churches last May 2 at the NCC's General Board meeting in New York City, where he read his Manifesto to stunned board members. They reacted by empowering the Executive Committee to deal with the Black Manifesto at its June meeting. Since that time, Mr. Forman and his co-workers have forcibly called attention to the Manifesto by interrupting worship services at Riverside Church, making invited appearances in other churches, staging a series of sit-ins which closed down the offices of various denominational boards and agencies, and calling a successful one-day strike at the Interchurch Center.

The NCC Executive Committee went further than any denominational body in that it agreed to appoint a committee of sixteen members "empowered to enter into consultation with the National Black Economic Development Conference (Mr. Forman's corporation) to recommend program proposals for the NCC." This committee was directed to report on its proposals by July 14.

No denomination so far has agreed to deal directly with the NBEDC although in some cases, notably the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, sums of money were to be released for poverty programs through the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization.

The executives stipulated that the committee of sixteen was to be chaired by President Arthur H. Flemming and should include the chairmen of the seven major units of the NCC, along with eight members selected from the black communions, the National Committee of Black Churchmen, and the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization.

The NCC leaders also commended to member communions, for funding, five regional conferences for black clergy sponsored by the NCBC to:

a) initiate regional black clergy plans to meet urban and rural problems; and

b) to develop, in cooperation with the National Black Economic Development Corporation, programs of mutual interest and concern.

Twenty-two of the 25-member NCC Executive Committee attended the session. They are: The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church; the Rev. Marion deVelder, general secretary of the Reformed Church of America; the Rev. James A. Millard, Jr., stated clerk (executive head) of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.; William P. Thompson, stated clerk of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; the Rev. A. Dale Fiers, executive secretary of the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ); the Rev. Edwin H. Tuller, general secretary of the American Baptist Convention; and the Rev. George Harkins, secretary, Lutheran Church of America.

Also: the Rev. Kenneth G. Neigh, general secretary of the United Presbyterian Church's Board of National Missions; Peter Day, ecumenical officer of the Episcopal Church; the Rev. John S. Groenfeldt, president of the Moravian Church in America: Bishop James K. Matthews of the United Methodist Church; the Rev. Theophilus M. Taylor, secretary of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A's General Council; the Rev. Alford Carleton, executive vice-president of the United Church of Christ's Board for World Ministries and the Rev. John W. Williams, pastor of St. Stephen's Baptist Church, Kansas City, Mo., National Baptist Convention of America.

Also: the Rev. Hamilton Torrey Walker, executive secretary of the Lutheran Church in America's Board of Publication; the Rev. George L. Blackwell, secretary of Christian Education of the AME Zion Church; Mrs. Wright W. Brooks, laywoman of United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; Grover L. Hartman, executive secretary of the Indiana Council of Churches; the Rev. P. W. S. Schneirla of the Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Church; Mrs. Stuart Sinclair, laywoman of the United Church of Christ and Carl W. Tiller, layman of the American Baptist Convention.

Explaining their action, the Executive Committee said it found itself "under Christian constraint to make every effort to understand these demands (of the Black Manifesto) and by the grace of God to respond in a way consistent with the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

"Cognizant of the great injustices done to the black and the brown man by Christian white men throughout the entire history of our country . . . we declare that we have no right under God to refuse to listen to any demand presented to us, whatever may be our initial reaction to the form it takes. The physical, psychological and spiritual distance which separates white churchmen from the ghetto, . . . the increasing race gap between white liberals and the new black movements, the recent appearance of black caucuses within most of the larger communions, the threat to integration as a clear and unquestionable objective, and the continuing evidence of white racism as a major component of our present-day culture make it imperative that white churchmen in the name of Christ open every possible door and make every attempt to listen.

"But openness alone is not enough. There must be penitence and a readiness to make recompense. Remembering that if our brother has anything against us nothing we do is acceptable before the altar of God until first we be reconciled to our brother, we here solemnly commit ourselves to the removal of those barriers to first-class citizenship which are the product of racial discrimination and human greed. We confess that we have no right to appear before the altar of God so long as this priority has not taken possession of us or in any moment of time when we have renounced it."

The NCC action, however, ran into immediate opposition from black churchmen. This group advised the NCC to use the word "recognize" in its statement of intention to deal with the NBEDC and to commend to member communions the funding of its administrative costs in the amount of $270,000.

In their anger over the fact that this advice was not taken, the black churchmen decided to boycott the committee of sixteen. Meeting the day after the Executive Committee, they released his statement:

"White churchmen have a problem. They have been confronted by an adversary whom they choose not to recognize but whose message wrecks havoc with their consciences. They would like to walk both sides of the fence. That is, for the sake of the body of white constituents, they will not speak of recognition, while in hopes of pacifying black churchmen, they would encourage us to sit with them in consultations with the National Black Economic Development Conference. We refuse to be used in this way.

"We must remind you that in the course of searching for a response, white churchmen persistently voiced the plea that they be advised by black churchmen as to what they ought to do. We have not ignored this plea. . . . We have spoken independently, through many of the several black caucuses, and through the National Committee of Black Churchmen. In each of these instances we have advised white churchmen formally to recognize the NBEDC. At the June 23 meeting of the (NCC) Executive Committee, white churchmen, with cold deliberateness, refused to vote recognition by voting to urge the denominations to provide a minimum of $270,000 through IFCO, to NBEDC for the purpose of getting the initial administrative and field services needs of NBEDC off the ground. You white churchmen did not even consider this matter.

"In view of the foregoing, and in light of the fact that we recognize your demonstrated indifference to our opinions as a totally unacceptable insult, we advise you that no black churchmen shall sit with either eight or eighty of you to discuss anything with the NBEDC. You have chosen to make NBEDC a problem. We will not be party to that problem. . . ."

The NCBC concluded its statement by indicating that the doors between it and the Executive Committee would be opened only through the latter's acceptance of formal recognition of the NBEDC and the provision of $270,000 to fund it administratively.

Further confusing the situation was the matter of the injunction obtained by officials of the Interchurch Center, restraining Mr. Forman and his friends from entering the building other than by written invitation.

The decision to obtain the injunction was made sometime during the June 13 week-end. Although Mr. Forman blithely ignored it on Monday morning, July 16, when he showed up on the "liberated" sixteenth floor (United Church of Christ Board for World Ministries), he apparently dismissed his helpers to keep them from police action. After holding a press conference that day, he also left the sixteenth floor to its original occupants, moving down to the Park Avenue offices of the UCC to continue his pressure there.

But the hardening line of Center officials brought support for Mr. Forman from denominational and NCC staff. Meeting June 18 in the chapel during lunch hour, the NCC staff voted to urge its general secretary to seek a reversal of the decision to get an injunction. This meeting also prompted the formation of an Ad Hoc Committee of Center employees which held a "teach-in" on June 25 and 26. The Ad Hoc Committee hopes to be a humanizing force between the polarizing opinions at the Center, which it feels the injunction has promoted.

As of TEMPO deadline, the court hearing in which Mr. Forman must show cause why he should not be restrained from entering the building was postponed, with the concurrence of both parties, until July 11. Speaking of the black churchmen's action, NCC Associate General Secretary Dr. David Hunter called it "understandable but also very regrettable . . . because the Executive Committee . . . authorized a relationship on the part of the NCC with the NBEDC which is real and which could grow into something of significance for blacks and whites."

Dr. Hunter said the NCC will nonetheless "continue to work for the building of a relationship with the NBEDC which is acceptable to both parties." ■

A MESSAGE FROM SCLC

During the June 23 meeting of the National Council of Churches' Executive Committee (reported elsewhere on this page), NCC General Secretary R. H. Edwin Espy received a telegram from President Ralph D. Abernathy and Executive Vice-president Andrew J. Young of the Southern Christian Leadership Council. It is both interesting and eloquent, and we print it here in full:

The churches have long been guilty of a lack of stewardship as institutions. We have invested in profit-making corporations without concern that those profits come from exploitations of our brethren in Southern Africa, Asia, or Latin America. We have allowed God's treasure to be used to develop weapons of death and destruction. We have failed to invest in housing for the poor, jobs for the jobless, and given only a pittance to those instrumentalities which labor for peace and justice among men.

Years ago, Truman Douglass, Eugene Carson Blake and Martin Luther King, Jr., each in his own way, issued a challenge to move stewardship over the tremendous investments of our churches.

Theirs was in reasoned, eloquent, and sound theological perspective, but their seeds fell on poor soil and took no roots. Now God has sent a crude but determined prophet to plague us to repentance, and we debate his language, his methods, and ignore his message. There can be but one question to debate in regard to the so-called Black Manifesto:

"Is Our Lord speaking to us through it?"

We Black Christians have too often ignored the church and felt its power to be too limited or irrelevant to the principalities and powers of this age. Had God raised up this one from his own children of Abraham?

There are questions to be discussed by men of faith, not a court of law. And if we discover that we are now the money-changers in the temple of our Lord, can we but confess our sins and determine the nature of our repentance?

Signed,
Ralph David Abernathy
Andrew J. Young

Another Look at The Black Manifesto—And Ourselves

AN OLD QUESTION IN A NEW PACKAGE

by Judge William H. Maness

THE General Board of the National Council of Churches has been agonizing over the role of the Church in the world from the day it first met. Before that, its several predecessor organizations were never free of the same conflict. My own reason for seeking and accepting a place on the General Board was to convince that body that the issue of race should be kept out of church debate and action—that the church should be a shelter from the world.

But after becoming involved in the business of the church at the national level, I could not hold that position very long. As a lawyer by profession, my training and experience keeps me looking for the true facts in any situation and for solutions to human problems which fit those facts. Add to that approximately 5 years as a Circuit Judge, seeking **only** truth and making decisions based solely on an **honest** appraisal of all the facts presented, leaving the chips to fall where they may, and you will begin to understand my frame of references as I listened to James Forman present the Manifesto drafted by the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC) and adopted by that Conference in Detroit, Michigan, on April 26, 1969.

Even knowing all that will not put you in my exact position, unless you also understand that since early 1964 I have drastically changed my view of the role of the Church in the world and the importance of the institutional church coming to grips with the problem of black-white relations in the United Statse. Then, you must also add the fact that my changed view occurred suddenly (within two or three months) and was directly produced by my efforts to obtain voluntary desegregation of public accommodations in a community strictly segregated and in which "responsible community leaders" were unwilling to openly advocate such changes, even in their individual capacity, much less as concerned Christians in or outside of Church structures. This failure of my community (which more recently has changed for the better) and the inability or unwillingness of the churches to say anything (or even face our problems honestly, much less propose meaningful solutions) left me out on the proverbial "limb," while those from whom I expected support "sawed" that limb off by their dead silence.

On Friday morning, May 2, 1969, in New York City, I took my place as the General Board convened on the second day of its two-day May meeting to hear Mr. James Forman present the Manifesto drafted by the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC) and adopted by that Conference in Detroit, Michigan, on April 26, 1969.

The presentation of the crisis in the city program from the night before was still ringing in my ears. I could still hear the voices of the black participants shouting their defiance and disgust at the suggestion that blacks still have some white friends in the predominantly white churches.

Weak Sisters

The first indication of what was to come later came from bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church from the South who showed me a clipping from that morning's **New York Times**, which reported Mr. Forman's presentation the previous day to Right Reverend J. Brooke Mosley and Right Reverend Stephen Bayne at the Episcopal Church Center. The **Times** reported that "The Bishops said they agreed that their denomination and others were racist, and that the half-billion dollar demand was just." Some validity was immediately given at least part of that statement, as the southern Bishop commented, "We have a couple of weak sisters there." The **Times** also reported that Bishop Mosley had said, "You are not wrong in asking, you're asking the wrong people."

Before long our turn came. As Mr. Forman mounted the platform, the 11-page Manifesto was distributed to the delegates, newsmen, and others assembled. There was not time to read the Manifesto and listen, so it was not until much later that the angry and intemperate demands could be fully studied. There was plenty to hear. Newsmen later reported that "Top leaders of major American Protestant Churches listened in **bewildered**

silence—"or 'stunned silence' "—as Mr. Forman made his presentation "demanding $500 million in reparations to Negroes."

Such a description did not characterize my feeling. To me, much of what Mr. Forman had to say seemed almost "old hat" as he rattled off the shocking statistics that somehow do not seem to shock any more. He reminded us again of how our "Christian" nation and "compassionate" society permits 200 families to own 80 per cent of the wealth; of how we permit milk to be poured out on the ground within the sound of starving children; of how we pay some 40,000 prosperous farmers more than $20,000 each not to grow crops on land, the inhabitants of which are starving; of how cattle and hogs are sometimes slaughtered to protect the prices of beef and pork; of tax loopholes that permit the very rich to escape taxation; of the billions in payments to airlines, oil companies, and users of second class mail; of cutbacks in welfare and other programs designed to help people escape from the cycle of poverty; of the millions of black Americans for whom democracy has not worked; of how black capitalism is just a way to placate blacks; of how all manpower programs are piecemeal; of the need for a total overhaul of our economic system and our racist, colonial and capitalistic society.

A New Thing

The new "thing" that I heard Mr. Forman say was this:

". . . but we are saying that not only are we the vanguard, we must assume leadership, total control and **we must exercise the humanity which is inherent in us**. We are the most humane people within the United States. We have suffered and we understand suffering." It seemed to me that this statement was the key that unlocks the doors of understanding of all Mr. Forman was saying—for the most humane people I have known, black or white, have been people who have suffered the penalties, real or imaginary, our society is quick to impose upon those who dare to be different: the non-conformist, the innovator, the artistic, the creative, the lover of nature, the conservationist, and those who advocate population control, abortion laws, or who fight "progress" that comes at the expense of water and air pollution.

By the time Mr. Forman finished it seemed to me that from his almost fortuitous appearance before the General Board there **could** emerge the most dramatic and creative opportunity ever opened to the religious people of America. To my mind that part of his presentation which was "demanding," "intemperate," "offensive," or "legally and morally unjustified" should be considered totally irrelevant to the opportunity being suggested by which the churches might validate their claim of concern for "the last, the lost, and the least."

A Cheap Tag on a Bad Suit

In my business as a lawyer I am indoctrinated to demands and threats, as well as claims made by other lawyers and litigants that are totally unfounded in law or fact. But I also know that what to one lawyer and one litigant is a totally unfounded claim in law or in fact is, to another lawyer and litigant fair, reasonable and just. The members of my profession have learned to look beyond the "wrappings" that surround the claims and demands of others. We look beyond the legal or factual justification thereof to such considerations as, "Would reasonable men differ" as to the validity of the claim. If so, we know that the final determination will be made by a jury trial. If, then, a jury trial is inevitable, we next try to assess what a jury is likely to do, the points on which the jury's verdict will probably turn, as well as the points that can be exploited and used to sway the minds of the jurors, one way or the other. And we look at the potential liability, the risk involved if the jury decides against us.

After assessing these and many other factors (such as the knowledge of the judge: community attitudes: who the plaintiff is and who the defendant is: the race, color, and sex of the prospective jurors; and the ability and reputation of counsel for the respective parties) there always comes a time when a careful lawyer must put a price-tag on his lawsuit regardless of which side he is on—a figure for which he and his client would settle the case and be satisfied without letting the judicial system run its usual course to an "all or nothing" verdict.

So, it seemed to me, Mr. Forman's demands should be taken in the context of the threat of a lawsuit, or a great claim being made against the Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. A claim not unlike claims frequently made against giant corporations and persons of wealth by persons of more humble circumstances who seek recovery of money (justifiable or not) for injuries (real or fancied) or other wrongs. I could see the church in a position not unlike that of a railroad, bank, insurance company, or other corporate client against which there was at least a "color" of a claim, however slight, nebulous, unfair, or doubtful.

From this frame of reference, I was convinced that here was a cheap price-tag on a bad lawsuit. Who could give a "release" was another matter. I was convinced that if the Christian churches and the Jewish synagogues of American could obtain from a **responsible** black group in this country a "release," even one based on "good faith" and not in writing, for the real or imagined grievances of the descendants of persons enslaved by other men in another century (from persons not legally or morally responsible therefore) it would still be a good "settlement" of a "bad lawsuit."

With this in mind I quickly scribbled my thoughts on a piece of paper and showed it to one of my fellow Board members, a businessman from the South, and with his full agreement obtained recognition and made the following motion:

"That the demands of the Black Manifesto are recognized and endorsed on the basis of need to meet America's most pressing social problem, leaving to the conscience of individual Christians the moral or legal justification thereof."

As expected, the motion was immediately referred to the Committee of Reference, since the order of business did not permit the introduction of new business at that time. In due course, the final action taken by the General Board at that meeting was to refer the Manifesto to the General Secretary with instructions to report to the Executive Committee of the General Board at its special meeting already scheduled to be held on June 23, 1969, (see report on page 3), with the request that the General Secretary indicate the most appropriate course of action that the Council should take on this important matter, authorizing the Executive Committee to act on behalf of the General Board if it should determine to do so.

A Proposal for Action

To further underscore my feelings about the opportunity thus presented, I supported that final action by the expression of my personal view that the "most appropriate course of action" for the Council to take would be the calling of a first national study conference on racism in America and the response of the Christian Churches and the Jewish Synagogues to the Black Manifesto. My idea encompasses the calling together of appropriate representation from the highest national body of the Roman Catholic Church, the top leadership of the Protestant denominations and the Jewish groups. Such a body could also include within its deliberations the response of the religious communities to the Kerner Report and deal with the widening gap between black and white, rich and poor, and the legitimate grievances of "people under 30" against the "Establishment."

So far as the NCC is concerned, participation should be by both member and non-member communions, including grass roots participation of previously "uninvolved" members of local churches and synagogues. My suggestion would also anticipate that knowledgeable experts in the field of theology, law finance, sociology, education, and government would be called upon to participate both as voting delegates and resource persons and that a staff of such experts would be assigned to work with the NBDEC representatives well in advance of the Conference in refining and developing the proposed structures through which funds are to be channeled and projects implemented.

The Flak Hits

After the General Board adjourned on Friday afternoon, I had no difficulty getting out of New York. The "flak" began hitting when I reached Jacksonville. First, my dear wife greeted me with the charge that **again** I had opened my mouth when I should have remained silent. She presented me with a copy of the Saturday morning **Florida Times-Union** and the headline "Negro Group Demands Churches Pay $500 Million." Buried way down in the bottom of that article was the statement, to-wit:

"James (sic) William Manness a Jacksonville, Florida, attorney suggested that the demand be 'recognized and endorsed on the basis of need but that methods and questions of legal justification be left open." The remainder of the article simply detailed Mr. Forman's presentation of the Black Manifesto and some of the more "offensive" aspects of his demand.

In one sense of the word, my wife proved to be right. Never in my more than five years on the General Board of the National Council of Churches has there been such unanimous objection to an idea being considered by the NCC.

A "liberal" friend passed me on the street and said, "Sorry, Bill, I can't go along with you on this last one." A Roman Catholic friend said, "Don't you go giving away our money, Maness." A Jewish civil rights lawyer said, "Bill, you can't solve an irrational problem with a rational solution." A rich, prominent, civic minded businessman, Episcopalian, confronted me in another city with the statement, "If you do that, this country will go **atheist**." When pressed for the meaning of the phrase, "go atheist," the explanation was that the speaker and everyone else would never give another nickel to the church. This same man went on to explain that if we are going to meet Mr. Forman's demand, then he wanted to put in a claim for his wife whose father was a sharecropper for sixty years. Another group of friends caucused and came up with the question, "Do you think the s.o.b. is out of his head?"

Some people I have talked to, who I never dreamed **belonged** to a church, announced their intention not to give the church any more money if we honor Mr. Forman's demand. Other persons asked, "What are you going to do for the Poles, the Irish, the Italians, the Puerto Ricans, the Spanish-Americans, etc." "This will just be the beginning." "How can he make such threats?" "Why don't they arrest the bastard?" " 'They' can make it if they want to." "Let me show you what happened when they were given this . . ." "If that will move them all back to Africa, o.k." "How did he get on the program in the first place?" "Did you see what he did at Riverside Church?" "There can be no doubt that some have made it and more will make it." These are just a **sample** of the expressions made to me in less than a week after I returned home from New York. Telephone calls indicate there's more to come, for I have not returned some calls from people who aren't calling me for legal direction.

A Lesson From Black Students

The final chapter of my "learning experience," flowing from my unpopular response to Mr. Forman's presentation, came on Sunday night, May 4, 1969, at Tallahassee, Florida. While in the process of disembarking from a train, I became engaged in a conversation with five black students from Florida A & M University. The conversation began when I made a statement to a clergyman to the effect that my 21-year-old son "feels just like these black students."

The students were quick to begin to mumble in my direction, "No he doesn't—he couldn't—nobody can feel like a black man?" This prompted me to say, "Oh, yes he does, he wears a beard and long hair, he has been the victim of police brutality, and feels just as alienated from the processes by which to bring about meaningful change as you do."

The black students' response was quick and unanimous—"No, he doesn't, because he can always 'walk away'—he can always rejoin the white majority, be a part of the Establishment, simply by shaving his beard and cutting his hair — we can't get away from being black or from the police oppression that follows black people everywhere."

I was forced to back down from my earlier statement. I knew the students are right. My son has a choice—a remedy—a base from which to complain and be heard.

Then as the passengers began to move out of the car, my clergy-friend, said to the student with the African haircut, "What are you studying, what is your major in College?" I will never forget the reply, "I'm studying criminology, they are not going to shove me in no gas chamber."

That may seem like a far-fetched idea to most people but it is becoming the idea that many blacks see behind many political acts and legislative proposals of the white majority of this country. It is not enough to call the thought irrational—irrational thoughts abound today in the minds of black and white.

I am "stunned" and "bewildered" not by the demands of Mr. Forman and the NBEDC but by what I find to be the **irrational reaction** to such demands by the people who fill the pews in the churches and synagogues in America.

Contrary to what the critics of the NCC believe, the top leaders of the major Protestant churches of this country know all too well the sentiments of the men and women at the grass roots level of the church. In my opinion, it will be nothing short of a miracle if these top leaders ever agree, among themselves or with Roman Catholic and Jewish groups, on any response to the Black Manifesto that Mr. Forman and his steering committee can call meaningful. But I suspect that in determining all of the major Protestant denominations, Roman Catholic bodies, and Jewish groups, the Committee knew that those religious bodies would react just as irrationally as the Bull Conners of the Civil Rights Movement.

I suspect that the Committee figured that the church would pontificate long and loud about the intemperate language, the impropriety of demanding, how irresponsible such a payment would be, how impossible it is for the churches to produce the money, how much the churches are doing and have done already, how many black people have "made it" already, the world-wide responsibility of the church, our commitments to all men everywhere, how the church must be concerned about **both** the poor whites and the poor blacks, how it cannot discriminate in its missionary efforts, how "you must understand that people cannot be changed overnight," and, as desirable as some of these projects are, the church must first be concerned with "saving souls."

One-Half of One Per Cent

The latest figures I have seen on the estimated wealth and combined holdings of all types of all the churches and synagogues in America is $100 **billion.** If that be so, the demand of the NBEDC is only 1-200th of our wealth, or ½ of 1 per cent. In my local church we would have to come up with only $2500 or $2.50 per member.

Yet, such a demand strikes the church where it is most vulnerable. It demonstrates, or forces the churches to demonstrate, that the commitment of the religious community of America is no greater, if as great, as the non-religious folks who live and move and have their being in this country. Mr. Forman has asked the last question the church wanted asked, "Do you love Him enough to 'feed' the total needs of these 'other sheep.' "

The answer is, "maybe we don't." Programs already authorized, which are designed to provide solutions for the crisis in our nation, are already under-subscribed, under-financed, and being cut back. Now that the demands of the Black Manifesto have been thrust upon us, we find ourselves in the impossible position of saying that too little is already too much, and too much is really not enough to solve the most pressing social problem of our time.

The church is trapped. With a "business as usual" attitude, it cannot finance the programs it has already undertaken. On the other hand, to call upon the members of the church to provide a half-billion dollars is to "dry up" the sources of its meager finances. In all sincerity, I doubt that the Executive Committee of the General Board of the NCC can say to Mr. Forman or the NBEDC anything that will not make a bad situation worse.

We might try being honest and say: "Our institutional commitments to social justice and Christianity are only token—our members have reserved the right to 'walk away' from whatever financial commitment they have made to the institutional church and we are sure that they will do just that if we even try to fulfill the aspirations of your group. There is too much 'good work' yet to be done to sacrifice the whole church program at this point in history."

We might say: "You've come to the wrong group. We are still studying how to be the church, what it means to love God and our neighbor more than ourselves, and until we 'graduate' we just won't have the money to do what you want to do. Why don't you contact some of our 'graduates.' There's more of them than you realize. The President of our Alumni Association is Dr. James A. Pike—why don't you go to see him?"

Or, we might try putting forth more money and effort in reversing habits of thought, which the churches have themselves helped to establish, so that the NCC can make a meaningful, response to challenges such as the Black Manifesto and, hopefully, reflect the wishes of the member churches and their constituency. ■

Judge Maness prepared this article for both TEMPO and ENGAGE, United Methodist publication. It appears in substantially the same form in ENGAGE for June.

(The article that follows is a first-hand report by the leader of an Australian student tour group that visited mainland China in early 1968. Mr. Teague, whose report appears exclusively in this issue of TEMPO, is now carrying on graduate studies at Caius College, Cambridge University, England.)

DURING our travels in China in January and February of last year, there was a continual diet of Mao Tse-tung every day, in every place; almost every action was supposed to be an application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It was obvious that many of the people of China deeply loved Chairman Mao, and it was possible to imagine 700 million people awake and asleep thinking Mao Tse-tung continuously.

For my part, I traveled to Peking, Shanghai, Canton, Wuhan, Changsha, Tsinan, and to communes in the countryside. In these areas I visited exhibitions, factories and workers' homes; met with cadres, politicians and propagandists; inspected palaces, halls, harbors and army barracks; lived with students at universities and attended kindergartens, a school and a teachers' college.

I lived in villages with the peasants on the communes, and in all places wandered among the people in the shops and streets. In every place and on every occasion Mao was venerated in almost every conceivable way. Unanimously the Chinese repeat that Mao is "the red, red sun in our hearts" and everywhere banners proclaim him "our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman."

I saw eleven churches in China, all of them shut or in ruins, full of junk, or converted to other purposes. There is no public meeting or worship by Christians in China or, for that matter, by any religious group, it seems. Maoism swallows minorities. Maoism is a total concept.

Religion Is A Non-Subject

In China religion is almost a non-subject, whereas politics is everything. Especially among cadres and students there is a universal rejection of religious discussion, or what they would call "metaphysical thinking." The little red book (*Quotations from Mao Tse-tung*) that everyone carries states that "idealism and metaphysics are the easiest things in the world, because people can talk as much nonsense as they like without basing it on objective reality or having it tested against reality." Religion is thus regarded as an intellectual dead end, a mass of empty words, an opiate or mind-muddler which gives a false sense of satisfaction. Religious people according to the Maoists, blunt the knife-edge of revolution and delay constructive practical achievements for the masses.

This philosophy was most forcefully brought out during my stay in a small village near Shanghai.

There were altogether 120,000 people in the many towns and villages belonging to this People's Commune, but only 120 lived in the small village where I stayed. I was the guest of the leader of the village and lived for a few days in his very old peasant home establishing a strong friendship with him, his wife and their four children.

One evening after dinner a long conversation developed. Besides my host, Lo Fu-shing and his family, a number of peasants and two interpreters whom I had also come to know quite well were also present. Before the smaller children went to bed we talked about their school, their toys, what they each did about the home, how the children helped their parents and why they liked the countryside so much.

Later on I began to talk about religion, sparked by a question to Yon Tai, Mr. Lo's eldest son, an apprentice carpenter about eighteen years old. I asked whether he thought that man was immortal and what he thought happened to a man when he died. He looked puzzled, while the peasants smiled and chatted with one another. Laughing self-consciously he said, "it is difficult to answer this." After another question he replied, "That's 'the finish' when a person dies!" Mr. Lu, another man, chimed in with: "Everyone has to die but some die more gloriously than others. All the Chinese here are atheists, but I think that you yourself are religious, aren't you?" When I replied that I was a Christian, the interpreter told them all and they all smiled in a friendly way.

"There Is No God"

My friend, Lo Fu-shing, outlined his own convictions. He said, "No, there is nothing, there is no God. I believe in Mao Tse-tung's thought. I am a Marxist-Leninist. Now why do I think this? Well, there is no God in reality, for the landlords that I knew in the Old China only used to spread this illusion to act as an opiate for the masses of peasants whom they exploited. They tried to muddle the people." At this point he become more cheerful and continued, "Before Liberation the peasants were very unhappy; they used to go to the Buddhist temples hoping to get mercy. But since Liberation they find real happiness from studying and applying Chairman Mao's thoughts." He laughed heartily, partly at himself, when he finished up by remembering, "Back then, we used to burn incense, we used to kneel and bow to a portrait. But there was no God there."

Following this I asked what would happen when Chairman Mao died. Would his portrait, which is in every room in China, be taken down and less revered? Mr. Lee (an interpreter) replied, "Chairmen Mao's thought is the ever-shining sun in our hearts and his works will remain our guide for many generations. His photograph will forever be placed in the primary position. He, of everything, is the most dear to us all. Chairman Mao's thought on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is in the best interests of all the people of the world and so eventually everyone will follow him. The wheel of history cannot be diverted and this victory for the people is inevitable. Marx and Engels were resisted in 1850, but from their small beginnings there has now grown a movement of millions of socialists and this growth shows that the development of socialism is a law of history."

Study Mao's Thought

Since Mr. Lee was more educated than the peasants who were present, it seemed that his statements about history weren't fully understood by the more simple farmworkers. So I changed the subject by asking the peasants whether they were used to having parties and celebrations in their village here on the commune. One of them answered, "Yes, we have parties for May Day, New Year's Day, the People's Commune Anniversary and some other important days. At these parties the leaders of the commune give speeches; they say that we all must carry the revolution on to the end and study diligently Chairman Mao's thought. Some of the peasants perform dances and sing just like they have done for you today."

I thought to myself that this wasn't what our Australian farmers would have called "a party," but this sincere reply on his part was nevertheless in line with what we ourselves had seen.

It appeared that the peasants did enjoy this highly political group activity and that at a Chinese "party" all the songs that were sung would be about Mao Tse-tung and the development of China.

Continuing, I asked if they celebrated weddings in any special way. One of the peasants present from the other end of the village burst in here and said, "Two young people here in this village are getting married next week. Before the wedding there is a meeting to discuss preparations. Everything is very simple, for Chairman Mao says that we have to practice plain living. The people getting married salute Chairman Mao and perhaps there is a special dinner. There are no decorations — only Chairman Mao's portrait. The couple wear ordinary clothing. Before Liberation we used to wear special wedding garments but after Liberation and, especially in recent years, we have nothing special because all this used to be just a religious custom. After the wedding the couple are allowed to take several days' holiday if they wish, but usually they go to work right after they are married — what's the point of a holiday? One of the commune officers marries them and gives them a certificate on behalf of the state. Mr. Che, here, has done this."

I then asked Mr. Che whether he would be able to marry me to one of the Australian girls while I was on the commune. They all laughed merrily for it was clear that I had asked this in a lighthearted way and Mr. Che said that this was a "fantastic question." From his answer, it seemed that he had misunderstood, for he thought that I had asked whether I might be able to marry one of the Chinese peasant girls in the village. Accordingly he exclaimed, "The customs in different countries are very different and moreover interracial marriage has its problems!"

Religion—An Intellectual Problem

Everyone was very much awake after this last exchange, so I tried to return more directly to the subject of religion by saying, "I am a Christian. Now, supposing that I were to live here for the next five years or so, I wonder whether I would be persecuted and whether you all would try to change my belief." Lee replied, "No, you would not be persecuted, for in China there is freedom of religion. At the same time, people here also have the freedom not to have a religous belief. Essentially we think that this question is merely an intellectual problem."

I observed that Radio Peking during 1967 had stated that Red Guards were attacking Christians in China. Mr. Lee looked disturbed and very seriously he replied: "In Peking and Shanghai there were some foreigners who were Christians and these people were propagating counter-revolutionary ideas under the cloak of maintaining a religious belief. The Red Guards saw through this disguise and drove them out. So what the Red Guards did was necessary and lawful I think."

But I went on, "If the Christian was very sincere in his belief and if he was not at all trying to use it as a cloak for political ends would the authorities protect him from attack?" Mr. Lee promptly replied with the obvious answer: "If a person is *not* a counter-revolutionary, then clearly he would *not* have been attacked. There is no problem here then. You can read what our newspapers have written about this."

Bureau of Religious Affairs

Before going on to other topics I finally asked whether there were churches in Shanghai or Peking and whether I could go to one of them. On this point the peasants were, of course, unable to answer because they were quite ignorant about the cities. But Mr. Lee, who was from Peking, said he was not clear about all this "religious stuff" for he was not a religious believer. However, in the capital there was a Bureau of Religious Affairs and they were in charge of these matters. He said that he had once taken a foreigner to a temple and this man had appreciated the freedom of worship that he had seen there; but Mr. Lee didn't say how long ago this had been. Finally, Mr. Lee promised to see about my visiting a church—a promise that was never fulfilled.

The Chinese peasants in their conversation this night on the commune were clearly sincere men, enthusiastic about the New China to justify and defend all that happened among the people.

It would be wrong to say that they were dishonest, for it was evident that in quite their own way they were trying to describe what they themselves felt. Their responses seemed quite natural and understandable, given the nature of their convictions and their life experiences. None of them had any real knowledge of what it meant to be a Christian. They were loyal Chinese citizens seeking to be friendly to a foreign guest who had come to their village. These people were no doubt typical of the great majority of the 700 million people of China — ordinary people with only the faintest awareness, if any, of Jesus Christ and his church. ■

Chinese farm workers spread wheat in the sun to give it a drying. Scene is typical of the farm commune visited by Author Teague.

A Church Specialist on Asia Speaks Out

U.S. CHINA RELATIONS: TIME FOR A CHANGE

by Donald MacInnis

DURING the early decades of the twentieth century American Protestants formed their views of China largely on the basis of missionary letters sent from the field or reports delivered in person by missionaries on furlough, and from the constant flow of missionary news and stories contained in church magazines and church school literature issued for every age group. This was the period in U.S.-China relations called the "Age of Benevolence" by Harold Isaacs in his book *Scratches on Our Minds: Images of China and India*. It was that time when Americans, aroused by a new awareness of Chinese mass misery, gave generously to famine relief, to the expansion of the mission enterprise, to medical, leprosy, educational and other service projects, to the YMCA and YWCA, Yale-in-China, Oberlin-in-China and a host of other good works. In Isaac's metaphor, Americans, sensitive to disparities in the distribution of material and spiritual gifts, looked on the Chinese as our special wards. The Chinese, sensitive in turn to what they saw as a century of humiliation and exploitation by the Western powers and Japan, struggled with the gigantic domestic task of reordering a nation disintegrated by the collapse of the Manchu Dynasty and the subsequent near-anarchy of the warlord years. A ten-year period of recovery and reconstruction was brought to an abrupt and brutal halt by the Japanese attack in 1937.

From its recognition of Chiang Kai-shek's new government in 1928 down to the present the United States has consistently backed one side in the internal struggle for power — a policy consistent, we claimed, with our traditional policy of non-intervention and self-determination. But the present government under Mao Tse-tung, on the contrary, sees in our backing of the Nationalists a consistent policy of intervention. Our massive post-war aid to Chiang's stumbling armies and government could not provide the spiritual dynamic needed to restore Chinese popular morale and public confidence. The People's Republic of China was inaugurated in Peking exactly twenty years ago.

Korean War's Influence

The United States' present policy of containment and isolation, which contrasts so sharply with earlier American attitudes of benevolence and friendly support for the Chinese people, stems almost entirely from our experience in the Korean War and the early period of the Cold War. The Dulles policy of Communist containment in Europe, lifted and applied intact in Asia after the outbreak of the Korean War, was frozen into something like its present form from the time of the McCarthy period down to the last two years of the Johnson administration. Congressmen of both parties, remembering the popular response to the McCarthy demagoguery, have been reluctant to support any change in China policy. As one congressman put it, "There is no political mileage in making an issue of the China question. No congressman or senator was ever elected because of a stand he took on foreign policy — particularly on China policy."

But pressures for a new policy have been building up in Washington and elsewhere in the nation. The Conlon Report, prepared for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in 1959, called for a radical reappraisal of our China policy and recommended steps for testing Communist China's willingness to coexist with us peacefully. Senator Fulbright in his "Old Myths and New Realities" speech (March 1964) appealed for a reevaluation of our China policy, charging that the big obstacle to a rethinking of policy is "fear of many government officials, undoubtedly well founded, that even the suggestion of new policies toward China and Vietnam would provoke a vehement public outcry."

A scene in Peking — visitors inspect the monument to the People's Heroes in one of the main squares.

Donald MacInnis

Outdated Policy

Without doubt the major turning-point in American attitudes toward China policy was the televised testimony of fourteen China specialists from the universities before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in March 1966. Eleven of them agreed that our present policy was long out-dated and that bold new steps were needed to end the mutual isolation between China and the United States and to normalize China's relations with the nations of the world. Subsequently on several occasions President Johnson and members of his administration spoke of the need for reconciliation with Communist China. A citizen's presidential advisory panel on China was appointed; offers were made of medical drugs, exchange of medical specialists, scientists, newspapermen and others; and the United States has modified its policy of denying passport validation for travel in China to all Americans. Senator Edward Kennedy's important speech on China policy in March was one of several made in recent years by leading political figures.

An increasing tempo of study and action on the China question across the nation has produced important studies, such as the American Friends Service Committee's *A New China Policy: Some Quaker Proposals* and the recent consensus report of the League of Women Voters following their two-year China study. The National Council of Churches, in its February 1966 China Policy Statement, reflected the new China concerns of many church leaders. The statement, adopted by the General Board in a vote with 90 approving, 3 disapproving and 1 abstaining, called on the government to "develop a new policy of support to the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations", called for a "careful study" of means to regularize diplomatic relations, and for unilateral steps by the United States to normalize trade, travel and cultural relations. Many denominations have adopted similar policy statements.

Chinese View

Chinese see our containment policy, visible in our bases ringing China's perimeter, our Asian treaty alliances, our commitment to the Taiwan government, and our involvement in the Vietnam war as clear evidence of hostile intentions toward China. Their conditions, reiterated in recent months, for resumption of the Warsaw talks and normalization of relations are those first proposed in 1955: that U.S. forces be withdrawn from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits and that Washington and Peking conclude an agreement on the "five principles of peaceful coexistence" first proposed at the Afro-Asian (Bandung 1955) Conference. Those are: mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual nonaggression, mutual non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

A peace settlement in the Vietnam war and the withdrawal of U.S. forces will again open the way for diplomatic conversation with the Chinese and for new initiatives toward reconciliation. We must believe that Asian nations, including China, share our primary concern for stability in Asia. Despite fluctuations in domestic and foreign policy through these twenty years, the leaders in Peking have demonstrated their first concern for national reconstruction, development and stability, and restoration of China's proper status among the great powers. A second but related concern has been to secure her borders—a concern that triggered her entry into the Korean War, her border war with India in 1962 and recent clashes with Soviet troops in Manchuria as well as peaceful border settlements with several Asian nations. American withdrawal from Vietnam will make it possible for new initiatives leading to multinational efforts to bring stability to East and Southeast Asia.

Resolution of the present impasse will open the way to joint efforts toward solution of non-political problems now building to a crisis, the raw realities of a world situation in which population and food production are in precarious balance. As Barbara Ward, the British economist, said recently, we can't afford to keep China isolated, because mobilization of the technological resources and new techniques being learned everywhere today (including China) will surely be required to avert worldwide catastrophe in the 1970s. ■

The Rev. Donald E. MacInnis, former China missionary, is director of China program, Division of Overseas Ministries, National Council of Churches.

The Full Text Of . . .

THE BLACK MANIFESTO INTRODUCTION

In its special "Black Manifesto" issue of June 1, TEMPO covered as many facets of the story and its background as it was possible to do in its limited space, including the full text of the Black Manifesto itself. It did not at that time, however, have space to print more than excerpts of the speech presented by Mr. James Forman at the National Black Economic Development Conference, held at Detroit in late April, which introduced the Manifesto that was later adopted by delegates.

This speech has been designated as the Introduction to the Manifesto, and, at the request of many readers, who have written to us, TEMPO presents the full text that follows:

WE have come from all over the country, burning with anger and despair not only with the miserable economic plight of our people, but fully aware that the racism on which the Western World was built dominates our lives. There can be no separation of the problems of racism from the problems of our economic, political, and cultural degradation. To any black man, this is clear.

But there are still some of our people who are clinging to the rhetoric of the Negro and we must separate ourselves from those Negroes who go around the country promoting all types of schemes for Black Capitalism.

Ironically, some of the most militant Black Nationalists, as they call themselves, have been the first to jump on the bandwagon of black capitalism. They are pimps, Black Power Pimps and fraudulent leaders and the people must be educated to understand that any black man or Negro who is advocating a perpetuation of capitalism inside the United States is in fact seeking not only his ultimate destruction and death, but is contributing to the continuous exploitation of black people all around the world. For it is the power of the United States Government, this racist, imperialist government that is choking the life of all people around the world.

We are an African people. We sit back and watch the Jews in this country make Israel a powerful conservative state in the Middle East, but we are not concerned actively about the plight of our brothers in Africa. We are the most advanced technological group of black people in the world, and there are many skills that could be offered to Africa. At the same time, it must be publicly stated that many African leaders are in disarray themselves, having been duped into following the lines as laid out by the Western Imperialist governments.

Africans themselves succumbed to and are victims of the power of the United States. For instance, during the summer of 1967, as the representatives of SNCC, Howard Moore and I traveled extensively in Tanzania and Zambia. We talked to high, very high, governmental officials. We told them there were many black people in the United States who were willing to come and work in Africa. All these government officials, who were part of the leadership in their respective governments, said they wanted us to send as many skilled people that we could contact. But this program never came into fruition and we do not know the exact reasons, for I assure you that we talked and were committed to making this a successful program. It is our guess that the United States put the squeeze on these countries, for such a program directed by SNCC would have been too dangerous to the international prestige of the U.S. It is also possible that some of the wild statements by some black leader frightened the Africans.

In Africa today, there is a great suspicion of black people in this country. This is a correct suspicion since most of the Negroes who have left the States for work in Africa usually work for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or the State Department. But the respect for us as a people continues to mount and the day will come when we can return to our homeland as brothers and sisters. But we should not think of going back to Africa today, for we are located in a strategic position. We live inside the U.S. which is the most barbaric country in the world and we have a chance to help bring this government down.

Time is short and we do not have much time and it is time we stop mincing words. Caution is fine, but no oppressed people ever gained their Liberation until they were ready to fight, to use whatever means necessary, including the use of force and power of the gun to bring down the colonizer.

We have heard the rhetoric, but we have not heard the rhetoric which says that black people in this country must understand that we are the Vanguard Force. We shall liberate all the people in the U.S. and we will be instrumental in the liberation of colored people the world around. We must understand this point very clearly so that we are not trapped into diversionary and reactionary movements. Any class analysis of the U.S. shows very clearly that black people are the most oppressed group of people inside the United States. We have suffered the most from racism and exploitation, cultural degradation and lack of political power. It follows from the laws of revolution that the most oppressed will make the revolution, but we are not talking about just making the revolution. All the parties on the left who consider themselves revolutionary will say that blacks are the Vanguard, but we are saying that not only are we the Vanguard, but we must assume leadership, total control and we must exercise the humanity which is inherent in us. We are the most humane people within the U.S. We have suffered and we understand suffering. Our hearts go out to the Vietnamese for we know what it is to suffer under the domination of racist America. Our hearts, our soul and all the compassion we can mount goes out to our brothers in Africa, Santa Domingo, Latin America and Asia who are being tricked by the power structure of the U.S. which is dominating the world today. These ruthless, barbaric men have systematically tried to kill all people and organizations opposed to its imperialism. We no longer can just get by with the use of the word capitalism to describe the U.S., for it is an imperial power. Sending money, missionaries and the army throughout the world to protect this government and the few rich whites who control it. General Motors and all the major auto industries are operating in South Africa, yet the white dominated leadership of the United Auto Workers sees no relationship to the exploitation of black people in South Africa and the exploitation of black people in the U.S. If they understand it, they certainly do not put it into practice which is the actual test. We as black people must be concerned with the total conditions of all black people in the world.

But while we talk of revolution which will be an armed confrontation and long years of sustained guerrilla warfare inside this country, we must also talk of the type of world we want to live in. We must commit ourselves to a society where the total means of production are taken from the rich and placed into the hands of the state for the welfare of all the people. This is what we mean when we say total control. And we mean that black people who have suffered the most from exploitation and racism must move to protect their black interest by assuming leadership inside of the United States of everything that exists. The time has passed when we are second in command and the white boy stands on top. This is especially true of the Welfare Agencies in this country, but it is not enough to say

(Continued on page 12)

WHO'S WHO IN THE NBEDC

Popularly, simply and all too inaccurately, the National Black Economic Development Conference is considered to be Mr. James Forman and virtually nobody else. It is, in reality, a 26-man Steering Committee, a number of whose members need little or no introduction to anyone. The complete list follows:

MRS. ALTHEA ALEXANDER, Los Angeles, Cal. — staff member of the National Welfare Rights Organization, member of the Unitarian-Universalist Black Caucus.

THE REV. EARL ALLEN, Houston, Tex. — United Methodist clergyman, Director of HOPE Development Inc., an anti-poverty agency; President of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO).

THE HON. JULIAN BOND, Atlanta, Ga. — Member of the state House of Representatives, former Communications Officer for SNCC, board member of the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Fund and the Martin Luther King Memorial Center.

THE REV. JAMES BREEDEN: Boston, Mass. — Successively former director of race relations, National Council of Churches and the Massachusetts Council of Churches; now in graduate studies at Harvard.

MR. ROBERT BROWNE: Teaneck, N.J. — Asst. Professor of Economics at Fairleigh Dickinson University, member of U.S. Dept. of Labor Task Force on urban employment studies and civil emergency committee of National SANE.

MR. KEN COCKREL: Detroit, Mich. — Attorney.

MR. MARK COMFORT: Oakland, Cal. — Chairman of the Oakland Direct Action Committee.

MR. CAIN FELDER: Atlanta, Ga. — Executive director of Black Methodists for Church Renewal.

MR. JAMES FORMAN: New York City — International Affairs Dir. of SNCC (formerly the Committee's executive director), Director of the United Black Appeal, former minister of Foreign Affairs for the Black Panthers Party.

MR. HOWARD FULLER: Durham, N.C. — Director of training dept. of the Foundation for Community Development in Durham, former community coordinator for Operation Breakthrough (U.S. anti-poverty project), IFCO board member.

MRS. FANNIE LOU HAMER: Ruleville, Miss. — Vice-Chairman of Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, frequent resource witness before congressional committees, founder of the Freedom Farms Coop. recipient of two honorary doctorates in June 1969 for her "outstanding service to humanity."

MR. MIKE HAMLIN: Detroit, Mich. — Community organizer.

DR. VINCENT G. HARDING: Atlanta, Ga. — Prof. of History at Spelman College, Director of the Martin Luther King Library project, chairman of the advisory committee for the CBS Black Heritage series, frequent contributor to national periodicals, active in the 1963 Birmingham Civil Rights Struggle.

MR. HAYWARD HENRY: Boston, Mass. — National Chairman of the Unitarian-Universalist Black Caucus, and Chairman of the Metropolitan Boston Committee of Black Churchmen.

MR. LEN HOLT: Berkeley, Cal. — Asst. General Counsel for national CORE.

MR. MEL JACKSON: Dayton, O. — Director of the Dayton Organization, board member of National CORE.

MR. HULBERT JAMES: Washington, D.C. — Director of Field Operations, National Welfare Rights Organization; former director of a U.S. anti-poverty project in Kentucky.

MR. MUHAMMED KENYATTA: Chester, Pa. — Community organizer in Philadelphia, former staff member of the Human Relations Project of Jackson, Mississippi.

THE REV. LAWRENCE LUCAS: New York City — Asst. pastor of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, New York City; columnist for 25 weekly publications.

THE REV. CALVIN MARSHALL: New York City — Pastor of the Varick Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in Brooklyn, Chairman of the Clergy Vigil of New York.

MR. HOWARD MOORE: Atlanta, Ga. — Attorney.

THE REV. J. METZ ROLLINS: New York City — Executive director of the National Committee of Black Churchmen, formerly with the board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian Church where he has worked on civil rights projects for 11 years.

MRS. GERALDINE SMITH: Jackson, Miss. — Financial Secretary of National Welfare Rights Organization.

MR. JOHN WATSON: Detroit, Mich. — Community organizer.

THE REV. WOODIE W. WHITE: Washington, D.C. — Executive Secretary of the Commission on Religion and Race of the United Methodist Church; former coordinator of Inner City Ministries in Detroit.

MR. MICHAEL WRIGHT: Oakland, Cal. — Student at San Francisco State University. ■

it says here . . .

DR. FLEMMING AND NATIONAL LEADERS CALL ON NIXON TO END VIETNAM WAR

NEW YORK, N.Y. — A call for "an honest ending" of the Vietnam war, addressed to President Richard M. Nixon, was made in a letter of July 3 signed by Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, National Council of Churches president, and 28 other national leaders.

The group which Dr. Flemming called together to consider the current Vietnam situation included church leaders, Congressmen of both parties, former ambassadors and top educators, among others.

The main points of the letter to the President dealt with the creation of a government "giving full expression to the political will of the people" of South Vietnam; the deadlocked peace talks in Paris, and the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

A Saigon government representing all the South Vietnamese people, said the letter, would have "specific authority" to require the withdrawal of external military forces, and determine its future relationships with North Vietnam and other countries.

While commending the President's announced redeployment of 25,000 U.S. combat troops from Vietnam, the message asked the President to "make clear to the American people, as well as the Vietnamese, a specific date by which the United States will have completed the withdrawal of all its military forces."

The letter also urged the President to "repeat again in clear terms the moral commitment of this country to help meet humanitarian needs in Vietnam, both North and South."

Citing the "demands of the American public, the repression in Vietnam, and the meager progress in Paris," the letter emphasized the need for additional steps "to press vigorously toward an early negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war."

* * * * *

NEW UCC PRESIDENT FAVORS FUND FOR POOR BLACKS

BOSTON — The newly elected president of the United Church of Christ, the Rev. Dr. Robert V. Moss Jr., recommended in one of his first actions that the church raise a $10-million fund to aid "the poor and uneducated" and set up a United Church Black Appeal to advise on the disbursement of such funds.

Following his election June 30 at the church's General Synod, meeting here, Dr. Moss stressed his intention to work for increased involvement of blacks in the church. While calling some of the goals of the National Black Economic Development Conference "feasible," Dr. Moss rejected the "violent ideology" of the Black Manifesto as presented by its spokesman James Forman. Mr. Forman and his supporters had occupied offices of the church's Board of World Ministries at the Interchurch Center in New York City for a week prior to the Synod meeting.

When Dr. Moss became president of Lancaster Theological Seminary in Lancaster, Pa., at the age of 30, in 1957, he was one of the nation's youngest seminary presidents. Two other candidates were the Rev. Dr. Arthur D. Gray, a black minister from Chicago, and the Rev. Paul E. Gibbons, son of Dr. Ray Gibbons, long head of the church's Council for Christian Social Action, an ardent protester of the Vietnam War and campus minister at Cornell University.

The new moderator of the United Church is Richard C. Pfeiffer, president of Tiffin (Ohio) University, who succeeds Dr. Gibson I. Daniels of Westport, Conn.

In earlier sessions of General Synod, the out-going president, the Rev. Dr. Ben Mohr Herbster, announced that the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy had been invited to address the assembly and that efforts were being made to have him released from jail.

Telegrams urging this action were sent to President Nixon, South Carolina Governor Robert E. McNair and Charleston Mayor J. Palmer Gaillard, signed by Dr. Howard E. Spragg, executive vice-president of the church's Board for Homeland Ministries. Mr. Abernathy was arrested in Charleston while leading a group in prayer for the city's striking hospital workers, and held in $50,000 bail.

* * * * *

SANTA CLARA COUNCIL'S CLINIC SERVES MEXICAN-AMERICANS

ALVISO, CAL. — An abandoned "ugly duckling" motel, $10,000 from the Ford Foundation to move and remodel it, and the hard work of local volunteers created a modern health center a year ago which now serves hundreds of needy Mexican-Americans in the region.

The center had the initiative and backing of the Santa Clara County Council of Churches from the start. It secured the motel buildings, the Ford grant and a respected architectural firm, hired the electrician to do the wiring, and raised funds to pay a carpenter foreman to supervise the volunteers who did all the work on the center themselves.

From the start, the center, which was dedicated last July, has held to the principle that its operation be entirely managed by the grass-roots poor themselves. Staff now includes two dentists, six doctors, a project director and 27 others, most of them Spanish-speaking. The tutoring program uses the services of students from Santa Clara University and San José College, and on-the-job training is given in laboratory work and other center activities.

As a result of the efforts of its indigenous staff, who took their program to Washington, the Office of Economic Opportunity funded the center with $447,000 in 1968 and $500,000 for the current year.

SAN FRANCISCO — Sculptor Benjamino Bufano converted some of the guns turned in by San Franciscans after the assassination of Robert Kennedy to fashion this 12-foot statue of St. Francis. Emblazoned on the gentle figure is a colored mosaic depicting both Robert and John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Abraham Lincoln. At the based appears a choir of the poor children of the world. Called "St. Francis of The Guns," the status was dedicated on the first anniversary of Robert Kennedy's assassination.

The Rev. R. Kenneth Bell, executive director of the Santa Clara Council, reports that plans are now under way for a cooperative store, a cultural center and co-op service stations.

* * * * *

CHICAGO CHURCHES COOPERATE IN TRI-FAITH JOB CENTERS

CHICAGO — (RNS) — Since Jan. 1, job placements reported by the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race's Tri-Faith Employment Project have been made for 10,458 underprivileged people. John J. Robinson, director of the project, reported that the total since the inner-city project began in July 1966 is now 46,790.

"There are no handouts involved here," he said. "Employers are getting pre-screened, qualified adult workers and thousands of disadvantaged inner-city residents are getting a chance at a decent job."

During a recent record-breaking week, 61 percent of the total placements were men and 39 percent women. The average hourly wage was $2.40 for men and $1.87 for women.

Co-sponsors of the project are the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, the Chicago Board of Rabbis and other Jewish agencies.

* * * * *

NEW APPROACH TO "PUBLIC" HOUSING

ROCHESTER, N.Y. — The Rochester Area Council of Churches, through its Development Inc., has joined the Rochester Housing Authority in taking over the 344-unit Arborwood Apartments in the northwest section of the city. As vacancies occur, the Authority will select tenants for 90 of the units throughout the apartment complex. Rents for low-income families will be government subsidized. In this way, says the Council, the public housing label is avoided, people on various income levels learn to live together, and there is no loss of tax base for the city.

* * * * *

COURT REVERSES FCC ON MISSISSIPPI TV LICENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. — (RNS) — In what was hailed as a "landmark decision," the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has withdrawn the broadcasting license of station WLBT-TV in Jackson, Miss. The decision was written by Judge Warren E. Burger shortly before he became Chief Justice of the United States.

The action against the station was initiated seven years ago by the United Church of Christ which charged its directors with racial discrimination. When the Federal Communications Commission renewed the station's license, the UCC Office of Communications appealed the verdict.

The Court of Appeals has now ordered the WBLT license "vacated forthwith" and new applicants have been invited to file while a plan for interim operation of the station is being worked out.

TWO COMMUNICATIONS:

WHO'S AFRAID OF THE BLACK MANIFESTO INTRODUCTION?

Many of the sparks that flew from the impact of the Black Manifesto on the churches landed inevitably on the editorial desks of TEMPO.

Readers will recall that, in the face of relentless printer deadlines and swiftly moving events, TEMPO was rushed into print with what its editors felt under the circumstances to be the fullest possible update on the Manifesto and its immediate aftermath in its June 1 issue. To our best knowledge TEMPO was the first national publication religious or "secular" to do this.

Inevitably, some things had to be left out, including the full text of Mr. James Forman's statement of his socio-political philosophy which has been incorporated into the Black Manifesto as its Introduction. (TEMPO had space only for significant excerpts in its June 1 issue, and now on page 9 in this issue carries the complete statement.)

While most reader response was highly favorable, including a rash of orders for extra copies totalling more than 12,000 so far, a few letters and statements were sharply critical — going so far in some cases as to impugn our paper's editorial policies and judgment.

What follows are two of the most serious communications of criticism: (1) a statement by MUST *(Metropolitan Urban Service Training Facility), with headquarters in New York City, and (2) a letter from a nationally known Christian educator. Both call on* TEMPO *to publish the Manifesto Introduction in full — but from interestingly opposed points of view.*

A Statement from MUST

We question the claim made on the editorial page of the June 1, 1969 issue of TEMPO that it carries "as full a report of developments (concerning the Black Manifesto) as it was possible to compile at press time, May 22." (p. 2) In fact, this issue on "The Black Manifesto and Its Aftermath" represents a dangerous slanting of the news by a national religious body in that publication which reaches the widest and most popular audience. Such slanting would be expected from those outside the church who have not been party to the developments which led up to the proclamation of the Black Manifesto and have been only spectators as the demands were presented to the churches. Coming from those inside the church who have been intimately involved, this type of coverage can only be called self-serving propaganda to blunt the impact of the appeal.

Instead of using the Religious News Service's own release of May 12, 1969 which gave in full detail the differences within IFCO over the presentation of the Black Manifesto to the churches and supplementing this with the kind of details that were known to executives of the National Council of Churches and its member communions, a more general Religious News Service release was used that gives far less of the internal dynamics of the movement. (p. 3)

Although the headline proclaims that TEMPO is printing "The Full Text of . . . THE BLACK MANIFESTO," only a small amount of the Introduction, which members of the Black Economic Development Conference considered to be an integral part of their statement, was included. (p. 4) This is in sharp contrast to the May 17, 1969 issue of **Information Service**, published by the Department of Research of the National Council of Churches, which included the full text. It is also in sharp contrast to the reply of Dr. Ernest T. Campbell, Minister of the Riverside Church of New York City, which is printed in full — without the specific demands made upon the church which were also included by **Information Service**.

By far the most deceptive part of this issue is that part containing "reactions — official, unofficial and personal." (pp. 6-7) The only responses that could be called "positive" (with the exception of the United Presbyterian statement of response printed on p. 8) are those from black churchmen — the Board of Directors of the National Committee of Black Churchmen, Dr. Thomas Kilgore, Jr. and Rev. James Lawson. Those by the General Board of the National Council of Churches, Terence Cardinal Cook and Dr. J. Edward Carothers could be characterized as "non-committal," while those by all the others (Synagogue Councils of American and National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, the late Dr. Truman B. Douglass, Dr. John F. Anderson, Jr. Dr. Edwin H. Tuller and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum) are negative and hostile.

These seem, therefore, to be more than "some comments." Instead, they appear to be an attempt to manage news coverage to make it seem that reactions were more negative than positive. They ignore completely the official reaction of the Board of Directors of the Inter-religious Foundation for Community Organization adopted on May 6, 1969 and reported in IFCO's own newsletter, IFCO NEWS, which was going to press at the same time as this issue of TEMPO. And they ignore the many favorable reactions of white individuals and organizations which were also available.

This failure to secure a wider range of response is all the more glaring by contrast with the last two pages of TEMPO's coverage. The presses were held open to have a full story on the way in which the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. responded to the demands and to print the full text of the General Assembly's statement of response. (p. 8) Then, on the final page a highly slanted story by a man who is well known to be one of the most sensation-mongering and least understanding religious news reporters in the United States is sued to tell about "IFCO: WHAT IT IS, WHAT IT DOES, WHAT IT WANTS." (p. 9) His attempt to paint a picture of IFCO's work through a selection of quotes from an interview with its executive director, Rev. Lucius Walker, Jr., presents an inflammatory picture of the organization that contrasts greatly with the approach in either the aforementioned Religious News Service release of May 12, 1969 or the April 1969 issue of IFCO NEWS, both of which were available for TEMPO's use.

We fully understand that TEMPO must rely on material that is prepared by other people, lacking its own reporting staff. However, we question whether other material was not available by May 22, 1969 which would have given TEMPO readers a broader and more accurate picture of developments in regard to the Black Manifesto. Our quarrel, therefore, is with the editorial policy of TEMPO itself and, insofar as that policy reflects policies of the National Council of Churches and important church units which are members of the Council, with the leadership of the National Council of Churches.

TEMPO had a unique opportunity to make available) both in subscription copies and reprints) the full text of the Black Manifesto, which had previously only been available in issues of The South End, the official student newspaper of Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich., which had printed it on May 1, 1969.

TEMPO also had a unique opportunity to initiate serious discussion of the issue of racism, capitalism and imperialism, both as they affect the churches and American society as a whole. For this kind of discussion the Introduction to the Black Manifesto, developed by James Forman, would have been the most important resource.

TEMPO also had a unique opportunity — in spite of official coolness on the part of national officials of Protestant, Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Jewish bodies — to let the religious community feel the full impact of the Black Manifesto and the varied response made to it.

TEMPO also had a unique opportunity to clear up misunderstandings about IFCO, the National Conference on Black Economic Development, the Black Manifesto and the role of James Forman which had been developed by coverage in other news media.

None of these opportunities was realized because the May 22 issue chose rather to slant its coverage to the interests of those in national religious bodies who were opposed or non-committal to the Manifesto and its approach. TEMPO needs, therefore, either to be unshackled from such restraints on its editorial freedom or to be exposed as the "house organ" of a white-dominated church establishment which values its own survival above the demands of justice or of the Gospel.

Officers,
Board Members,
Staff Members
of MUST
New York, N.Y.

(The inference to be drawn from the statement above would appear to be that TEMPO *of June 1 was biased and slanted against the Black Manifesto, its philosophy and its objectives, because (1) it failed to publish the full text of the Manifesto Introduction, (2) it carried preponderantly anti-Manifesto comments in reaction and (3) it published a background piece on* IFCO *that allegedly was slanted against* IFCO. *In response to (1), the judgment was made not to print the full text of the Manifesto Introduction at that time, but to carry it later if reader interest warranted it, because there was not enough space available if* TEMPO *was to carry other pertinent material. In response to (2),* TEMPO *sought "instant" reactions for its rush-into-print special issue from churchmen, both white and black, known for their profound sympathy for the cause of justice to blacks. It cannot be held responsible for the opinions expressed. Generally, readers felt, the reactions were pretty well balanced on the whole, pro, con and middle-ground. The article by Judge Maness on pages 4 and 5 of this issue, scheduled for publication prior to receipt of* MUST's *protest, throws* TEMPO *out of balance on the pro side, if anything. In response to (3),* TEMPO *checked out the Hiley Ward piece on* IFCO *with* IFCO *officials, including the Rev. Lucius Walker, Executive Director, who endorsed it as being fair, accurate and responsible, and fully worthy of being published in* TEMPO. *If bias there was, it was not discernible to Mr. Walker and his colleagues who, properly, would be the most sensitive to it. Editor.)*

* * *

Two Questions for TEMPO

I have received my copy of TEMPO for June 1 and I write to say that I am greatly perplexed by two questions:

1. Why did you not print the full text of the "Black Manifesto?" The headline says, "The full text of the Black Manifesto," but the fine print under the headline says, "Missing for lack of space is the full text of the Introduction to the document in which Mr. Forman outlined his philosophical, political and historical bases for the manifesto proposals." The excerpts from the introduction do reveal to some extent the revolutionary nature of the proposal, but in my judgment the process of excerpting does in fact conceal from your readers the full import of the "Black Manifesto."

2. Why did your publication not deal with the basic philosophy of revolution or the overthrow of this government and the creation of a black socialistic state by whatever means are necessary, including violence? I am aware of the theory that, as Dr. Campbell says on page 9, "the insurrectionist tone" may be meant to get attention rather than to be taken literally. But I also notice that TEMPO did not print Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum's complete statement or the news story from Religious News Service on May 12 revealing the deep conflict of philosophy between the Rev. Lucius Walker, executive secretary of IFCO, and Rabbi Tanenbaum, president of IFCO.

Many persons are prepared to support far greater activity in the way of restitution, affirmative discriminatory hiring, and so forth, but the "Black Manifesto" as a whole cannot honestly be construed as designed to bring about a more just and Christian order in American society. Its demands must be viewed as the means of implementing the preamble of the manifesto.

I am disappointed that TEMPO has elected to deal with tangential matters like the demands for money rather than wrestle with the crucial issue of violent, racist, antidemocratic revolution which the money is to implement.

Henry M. Bullock, General Secretary
Division of Curriculum Resources
United Methodist Church
Nashville, Tenn.

(Dr. Bullock's basic disappointment, namely that TEMPO *cannot publish everything that is pertinent to the Black Manifesto (or any other given issue) is of concern to* TEMPO, *too. We cry for more space and more staff to help fill it — available only through the financial support of readers who are willing to become paying subscribers. The subsidy for* TEMPO, *limited as it is, is fast running out. It's very survival, much less a hoped-for expansion of its pages and contents, will depend on paid subscriptions. We hope all readers who have yet to send in their checks will fill out the form below and send it in with a check. Ed.)* ■

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

REVIEWING: "TEOREMA." Produced and directed by Pier Paolo Pasolini; with Terence Stamp and Silvana Mangano.

Harvey Cox

I USED to think that one has to be an atheist today to make a good religious film. I am not so sure anymore. It is true that directors who call themselves atheists seem to have an almost obsessive interest in religion. Pier Pasolini and Luis Bunuel are the most striking examples. But the most recent films of these two men, the first a young pioneer and the last an old veteran in movie-making, suggest another postulate: being an atheist doesn't *necessarily* qualify you to make a good religious movie. Bunuel proved it with *Simon of the Desert*, a film which in my view falls far below his normal standards. Pasolini demonstrates it in *Teorema*, a movie being exalted by some as the best foreign film of the year, but not really worth all the hoopla.

Pasolini certainly has a thing about God. A few years ago he released a film called *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*. Although some religious critics swooned in ecstacy over that film, I found most of it boring. Only in the final section, the passion week narrative, did it rise to real quality. There, I concede, it had moments of incandescence. So everyone waited for Pasolini's next God flick. And here it is: *Teorema*. The director himself says it is about religion and hints darkly that the Visitor, played by Terence Stamp, is some sort of god or devil. Here is what happens.

Symmetrical Plot

Into the repressed lives of an affluent Milanese family there comes a mysterious Visitor. The family is uptight, conventional, stiff. The Visitor has a sexual encounter with each member of the family, plus the maid. He then leaves, and each person has to deal with the Visitor's mysterious advent and ascension in his or her own way. Perhaps the reason Pasolini calls the film *Teorema*, which means "theorem," is that the plot has a certain mathematical symmetry and balance. Take one bourgeois family. Add one divine-demonic Visitor. Mix well. Result? Five jarred, wounded, ruined — or perhaps redeemed — people. Whether they are better off than before he came depends on your point of view. The maid has become a folk saint in her village, to which she returns when the Visitor departs. She meditates, eats nettles, works miracles, even levitates herself. The daughter becomes a catatonic, wheeled off to the asylum by men in white coats. The son becomes an eccentric action painter who selects his colors with his eyes closed and urinates on his canvases. The wife becomes a hustler picking up young men on the streets of the city and coupling with them in a ditch. And the father? The last scene of the film shows him wandering naked through a vast sandy wilderness, venting his anguish in a long, wordless scream.

Throughout the film Pasolini gets his spiritual kicks in a fairly heavy-handed way. First of all he lays on his symbols so obviously it is almost an insult to the viewer. At the beginning of the film we see the wilderness and are told in a caption from Exodus that God leads his people through it. Then, every time the Visitor does his thing with one of the characters, onto the screen comes the wilderness again. By the fifth time we see that sand and wind scene, we wonder if Pasolini really thinks anyone is that thick. Also the director uses the standard religious symbols. The maid has her little collection of saints' pictures; the wife goes into a dimly-lit church after one of her listless exploits. Worst of all, Terence Stamp constantly relapses into a pose drawn directly from popular Catholic depictions of Christ, head cocked slightly to the side, eyes brimming with sanctimonious compassion. Again, Pasolini does everything to make sure we get the point. We do, and then some.

Absorbing Moments

There are moments in this film which are utterly absorbing. Once we see the pattern that is working itself out, we watch with the same kind of fascination one watches a Greek tragedy. We know what's coming but we can't take our eyes away. Also Pasolini's juxtaposition of classical religious music, in this case even Mozart's Requiem Mass, with secular and even sex scenes is daring and original. He is an artist who knows that we live between the dying of the old symbols and the coming of the new ones. For many people today, sex is becoming a symbol of intimacy, authenticity, and meaning in the midst of an overly rationalized and impersonal world. It has religious significance, so Pasolini honors it with the music of the Christian mass. Whatever else he may be, Pasolini is not cautious or timid. He addresses the really big problems of the era — the dry rot in industrial civilization, the sexual crisis, the disappearance of conventional religious belief, the quest for personal authenticity.

The trouble with this film is that Pasolini may be trying to do too much all at once. So he has to oversimplify. His bourgeois family, for example, is really a straw man. Where can you find a family like that anymore? And even if you could, why one more attack on the uptight bourgeoisie? They have provided a convenient target for romantic critics for decades. Putting them down one more time seems hardly worthy of the talents of such a gifted filmmaker. Fortunately Pasolini does not fall into the romantic delusion of seeing sex as the only way out. Though the Visitor seems to use sex to break through to each member of the family, Pasolini shows us quite clearly that the surgery is dangerous. It can help but it can also mess things up, as it obviously does with some of the characters in this film.

My final criticism of Pasolini's *Teorema* is more temperamental. His view of religion and life is just too grim. His characters are intense and joyless, even while making love. His religion is one of anguish, suffering, and sadness, the filmic equivalent of those bleeding crucified Christs so dear to the piety of popular Italian Catholicism. I hear now that another Italian filmmaker Zefferelli, who may or may not be an atheist, is making a movie about St. Francis. I'm glad. Maybe in that film a song, or at least a smile, will break through the gloom. ■

The Black Manifesto Introduction

(Continued from page 9)

that a black man is on top. He must be committed to building the new society, to taking the wealth away from the rich people such as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, the DuPonts, the Rockefellers, the Mellons, and all the other rich white exploiters and racists who run this world.

Where do we begin? We have already started. We started the moment we were brought to this country. In fact, we started on the shores of Africa, for we have always resisted attempts to make us slaves and now we must resist the attempts to make us capitalists. It is the financial interest of the U.S. to make us capitalists, for this will be the same line as that of integration into the mainstream of American life. Therefore, brothers and sisters, there is no need to fall into the trap that we have to get an ideology. We HAVE an ideology. Our fight is against racism, capitalism and imperialism and we are dedicated to building a socialist society inside the United States where the total means of production and distribution are in the hands of the State and that must be led by black people, by revolutionary blacks who are concerned about the total humanity of this world. And, therefore, we obviously are different from some of those who seek a black nation in the United States, for there is no way for that nation to be viable if in fact the United States remains in the hands of white racists. Then too, let us deal with some arguments that we should share power with whites. We say that there must be a revolutionary black Vanguard and that white people in this country must be willing to accept black leadership, for that is the only protection that black people have to protect ourselves from racism rising again in this country.

Racism in the U.S. is so pervasive in the mentality of whites that only an armed, well-disciplined, black-controlled government can insure the stamping out of racism in this country. And that is why we plead with black people not to be talking about a few crumbs, a few thousand dollars for this cooperative, or a thousand dollars which splits black people into fighting over the dollar. That is the intention of the government. We say . . . think in terms of total control of the U.S. Prepare ourselves to seize state power. Do not hedge, for time is short and all around the world, the forces of liberation are directing their attacks against the U.S. It is a powerful country, but that power is not greater than that of black people. We work the chief industries in this country and we could cripple the economy while the brothers fought guerrilla warfare in the streets. This will take some long range planning, but whether it happens in a thousand years is of no consequence. It cannot happen unless we start. How then is all of this related to this conference?

First of all, this conference is called by a set of religious people, Christians, who have been involved in the exploitation and rape of black people since the country was founded. The missionary goes hand in hand with the power of the states. We must begin seizing power wherever we are and we must say to the planners of this conference that you are no longer in charge. We the people who have assembled here thank you for getting us here, but we are going to assume power over the conference and determine from this moment on the direction in which we want it to go. We are not saying that the conference was planned badly. The staff of the conference has worked hard and have done a magnificent job in bringing all of us together and we must include them in the new membership which must surface from this point on. The conference is now the property of the people who are assembled here. This we proclaim as fact and not rhetoric and there are demands that we are going to make and we insist that the planners of this conference help us implement them.

We maintain we have the revolutionary right to do this. We have the same rights, if you will, as the Christians had in going into Africa and raping our Motherland and bringing us away from our continent of peace and into this hostile and alien environment where we have been living in perpetual warfare since 1619.

Our seizure of power at this conference is based on a program and our program is contained in the MANIFESTO. ■

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In Pace With The Changing Church August 1, 1969

TEMPOsitions . . .

The Progress of Peoples: V

WILL THE RICH TAX THEMSELVES TO HELP THE POOR?

by Barbara Ward

IF, as the Sixties come to an end, the war in Vietnam is negotiated to a solution and, at the same time, America and Russia begin to reduce the cost of their frantic technological competition in nuclear arms, it is at least conceivable that America's arms budget, running now at a level of some $60 billion a year, may decline by some $30 billion over the next few years.

Admittedly, this is speculation. The overt struggle in Vietnam and the pressures on Czechoslovakia reflect an unstable world balance of power with Great Powers on both sides resisting what they conceive to be dangerous extensions of rival influence. Yet the recent tentative steps toward Great Power agreement on a measure of de-escalation suggest that arms spending could stabilize and even fall.

First Impulse: Reduce Taxes

Any such potential release of resources from the purposes of destruction must in any case be considered seriously. If citizens have no views, if they have made no judgments in advance, the first and obvious consequence of a fall in arms spending will be a reduction of taxes. The pain and grief with which the members of Congress have increased taxation in 1968 are the measure of the speed and pleasure with which they would remit them in the wake of reduced spending on arms.

But is this obvious outcome good enough for Christian citizens? If we take the average American family income — some $7,500 — this year's 10% surcharge is about $75 for a two-child family. The moral problem which the remission of this sum (or larger tax rebate) presents to each Christian family is basically a very simple one. Given that every family can think of a dozen desirable ways to spend or save the money for family purposes, is it absolutely certain that these desires should have priority over a number of public programs which can only be supported out of tax money?

What Priorities?

If, for instance, a family lives in a decent house in a reasonably pleasant neighborhood, what priority should it give to the task of rebuilding the hideously battered villages of Vietnam or replacing rat-ridden tenements in the American ghettoes?

If the family enjoys a good, high-protein diet, stuffed with meat and eggs and fresh fruit, what should it wish to spend on the diets of thousands in America who live below the level of proper nutrition or the millions in Asia who, without large investments in agriculture, may fall to the famine line in another decade?

If the children are attending good schools with competent teachers and excellent library services, what ought parents to feel about remedial spending for wretched dropouts from run-down ghetto schools or about worldwide literacy campaigns needed to help millions of ignorant people to help themselves — in farming, in factories, in fact, in everything?

In Good Conscience . . . What To Do?

We are not taught, on the whole, to do this kind of moral calculus. Certainly we are not taught to do it on a planetary scale. All our folklore teaches us to speak of the "tax-bite" — as though it alone were a painful form of spending and there were no "bite" in other expenditures. But as Christians we have to look beyond the folklore and ask ourselves the questions which confront the conscience of all whose material resources have gone way beyond the fundamental provision of their own necessities. It is the question that God in the Bible puts to the rich, to Dives, to the man who filled up his barns — even, in an extreme form, to the rich young man. What are we ready to do for those less fortunate than ourselves?

A saving on arms spending is not the only possibility that raises this issue of public versus private expenditure. There is a strong likelihood that over the next decade the American economy will continue to grow by at least $40 to $50 billion each year. Taxes levied at present levels could bring in, by the simple growth of the economy, some $15 billion extra each year. Should they stay at that level? What is our judgment about this possibility?

If we believe that rebuilding the ghettoes should come before, say, new paint and new drapes in our homes, if the restoring of battered Vietnam should have priority over development in unravaged America, then we have to let our representatives in Congress know this judgment loud and clear. Their own guess is that all citizens, Christian and otherwise, want a remission of taxes for their own needs. They assume that we are all, more or less, in the camp of Dives. So far, we have hardly proved them wrong. Once again, then, we confront the fundamental question: Will the rich tax themselves to help the poor? ■

This is the fifth in a series of six guest editorial commentaries by Miss Ward (Lady Jackson), the noted economist, author and Christian lay leader. Her next, and last, will deal with Christian imperatives in support of world development.

THE COVER — TEMPO'S Art Director, Heff Heisler, conceived and created the cover for this issue, which accents the theme of women in church and society. We like the way he gives an expression of wistfulness rather than shock to the sketch of the lady of suffragette days, as she gazes down on the militant young misses of our time demanding rights she never dared to dream of. Several features, listed below, deal with the theme.

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause

ART AND LAYOUT: Heff Heisler

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbot, David M. Ackerman, John Fisler, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, David Poindexter, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell, Mann Tilghman, Albert Tippit, Glen Trimble, John W. Turnbull.

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26 National Leaders Speak Out . . .

LET'S END, AND NOT SIMPLY DE-AMERICANIZE, THE VIETNAM WAR

NEW YORK, N.Y. — New initiatives to "end, and not simply de-Americanize" the war in Vietnam have been urged on President Nixon by a group of 28 national leaders headed by Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, president of the National Council of Churches.

In a letter to the President, these leaders proposed steps to negotiate in Paris a "standstill cease fire" simultaneously with an agreement "on an interim body" broadly representative of all political, religious, social and ethnic groups in South Vietnam "and not merely the Government of the Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam."

Citing "demands of the American public, the repression in South Vietnam, and the meager progress in Paris," the letter emphasizes the need for additional steps "to press vigorously toward an early negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war."

The letter is the result of a meeting convened in New York City by Dr. Flemming June 20-21 to consider the current Vietnam situation. Twenty-two of the signers participated in the meeting. They include church leaders, Republican and Democratic congressmen, and prominent figures from the nation's academic community.

The proposed interim body would be "designed to lead to the creation of a government that gives full expression to the political will of the people in South Vietnam," the letter states. The presently deadlocked question of mutual troop withdrawal would—by prior agreement in Paris—be remitted to this government with "specific authority to require the withdrawal of external military forces from South Vietnam, and determine its future relationship with North Vietnam and with other countries."

Members of the group stated in the letter that they joined President Nixon's hope for an early and permanent peace in Vietnam and supported his decision to withdraw US forces from Vietnam "beginning by the redeployment of 25,000 combat soldiers from the area this summer." They commended the direction of the Administration's Vietnam policy as outlined in President Nixon's address to the nation on May 14 and his press conference on June 19. They stressed particularly the President's "public commitment to accept any government in South Vietnam that results from the free choice of the South Vietnamese," and his statement "not to perpetuate military bases in Vietnam or seek military ties with the future South Vietnamese government."

They urged the President "to make clear that the United States will not continue to support any regime in South Vietnam that is not broadly representative and does not extend normal political liberties to its people."

At the same time, the President was asked to "make clear to the American people as well as the Vietnamese, a specific date by which the United States will have completed the withdrawal from South Vietnam of all its military forces."

The NCC-sponsored meeting took place within the framework of 12 policy statements and resolutions on Vietnam adopted by the council's governing bodies from 1965 to 1968. Main thrusts of these declarations urged a negotiated settlement of the war, unconditional halt of US bombing of North Vietnam, de-escalation of the military policy, inclusion of all belligerent parties (including the NLF) in negotiations, a phased withdrawal of US forces from Vietnam, US readiness to recognize and support the constitution of a government of broad national union in South Vietnam, and US readiness to participate substantially in any multilateral economic aid program for post-war Vietnam.

The texts of letters to the White House and names of persons signing follow:

Letter of Transmittal

June 30, 1969

President Richard Nixon
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

In pursuance of its long-standing, deep concern with the Vietnam war, the National Council of Churches convened on June 20-21 a meeting of highly qualified people to consider the present stage of the conflict. The results are embodied in the main text herewith transmitted, which the signatories, six of whom were prevented from participating personally in the meeting, hope will be helpful in your efforts to secure peace.

Since the composition of this letter, press reports have conveyed statements by representatives of the Hanoi Government which pose severe difficulties that the group, I am certain, would recognize. Congressmen Morse and McCloskey wish me to report their view that the announcement of a date for troop withdrawal (point 3 of the letter) and the pursuit of the negotiations suggested (point 1 of the letter) present particularly difficult objectives in the light of these recent Hanoi statements. In regard to these statements, however, we all continue to be convinced of the necessity of a broadly representative interim body and subsequent government in South Vietnam, as suggested in the group letter.

Sincerely,
Arthur S. Flemming

Text of a Letter To

PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON

by Participants in a National Council of Churches Conference on Vietnam Policy Options

President Richard M. Nixon
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As Americans who join you in the hope for an early and permanent peace in Vietnam, we support your decision to withdraw United States forces from Vietnam, beginning by the redeployment of 25,000 combat soldiers from the area this summer. We welcome the direction of the Vietnam policy of your Administration as indicated in your Address to the Nation on May 14 and your press conference on June 19, particularly your public commitment to accept any government in South Vietnam that results from the free choice of the South Vietnamese people, and not to perpetuate military bases in Vietnam or seek military ties with the future South Vietnamese government.

We believe, however, that additional steps are now required. The demands of the American public, the repression in South Vietnam and the meager progress in Paris necessitate new initiatives to end, and not simply de-Americanize, the war. We therefore proposed the following:

1. To press vigorously toward an early negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war by simultaneously
   a) Replacing the strategy of maximum military pressure on the other side in South Vietnam by a policy of reducing the scale of fighting in every possible way, looking toward the prompt achievement of a standstill ceasefire, and
   b) Seeking agreement through the Paris negotiations on an interim body which will be broadly representative of all political, religious, social and ethnic groups in South Vietnam (and not merely the Government of the Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam), designed to lead to the creation of a government that gives full expression to the political will of the people of South Vietnam, this government to have, by prior agreement in Paris, the specific authority to 1) require the withdrawal of external military forces from South Vietnam, and 2) determine its future relationship with North Vietnam, and with other countries.
2. To make clear that the United States will not continue to support any regime in South Vietnam that is not broadly representative and does not extend normal political liberties to its people;
3. To make clear to the American people, as well as the Vietnamese, a specific date by which the United States will have completed the withdrawal from South Vietnam of all its military forces; and
4. To repeat again in clear terms the moral commitment of this country to help meet humanitarian needs in Vietnam, both North and South.

In our judgment, Mr. President, the interconnected actions we have outlined are now politically possible here at home, and essential in Vietnam to any "peace we can live with and be proud of." Believing that the United States now has a unique opportunity, we pledge our whole-hearted support for such an honest ending of this war.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur S. Flemming	President, National Council of Churches, N.Y., N.Y.
R. H. Edwin Espy	General Secretary, National Council of Churches
Ernest A. Gross	Chairman, Department of International Affairs, National Council of Churches
Morris B. Abram	President, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.
William B. Arthur	Editor, LOOK Magazine, New York
Harold J. Berman	Professor, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.
Robert S. Bilheimer	National Council of Churches
Robert S. Browne	Professor, Fairleigh Dickinson University, Teaneck, N.J.
John H. Burt	Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Ohio, Cleveland, O.
Jeffrey Cohelan	United States House of Representatives (California)
John Conyers, Jr.	United States House of Representatives (Michigan)
Andrew Cordier	President, Columbia University
Gerhard Elston	National Council of Churches
Paul C. Empie	Lutheran Church in America
George F. Harkins	Lutheran Church in America
Tracey K. Jones, Jr.	Chairman, Advisory Committee for Peace, National Council of Churches
Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.	
Paul M. McCloskey, Jr.	United States House of Representatives (California)
Kenneth W. Morgan	Professor, Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y.
Hans J. Morgenthau	Professor, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
F. Bradford Morse	United States House of Representatives (Mass.)
Allan M. Parrent	National Council of Churches
Edwin O. Reischauer	Professor, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Howard Schomer	National Council of Churches
John Coventry Smith	Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
John Sommer	Author, *"Vietnam — The Unheard Voices,"* New York
David M. Stowe	United Church of Christ
Joseph D. Tydings	United States Senate (Maryland)

(All the signatories acted as individuals, and organizational connections are given for purposes of identification.)

A NEW DAY FOR WOMEN IN THE CHURCHES

by Religious News Service

DID the freedom and equality of the American woman become fact with ratification of the 19th Constitutional Amendment in 1920? "Not so," a chorus of modern voices are saying, and vibrations of a 1969-style women's liberation movement are being felt in the Churches.

Some church-related women's issues are long-established: voting rights in confessions, such as the Angliean, which have not yet extended woman's suffrage to all levels; naming more women to top positions of leadership and not defining the female nature in a way suggesting inferiority to men.

Yet something more fundamental than professional or philosophical progress for women is involved in the new fervor. Having roots in the civil rights movement and in the struggles of relatively powerless groups to gain power, the new women's drive is a challenge to male dominance. It also asks for a redefinition of the male and female roles, including cessation of seeing women only in terms of marriage and motherhood. The latter is particularly true among "progressive" Roman Catholic women.

"The new struggle for woman-power makes the forthright women of the past, even such free thinkers as Eve, Joan of Arc and Susan B. Anthony look like so much fluffy ruffle," New York magazine said.

More militant groups — such as WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell) and the Female Liberation Movement (FLM —are the most spectacular. While these are loosely related to revolutionary organizations, they still protest what is seen as male control of left-wing associations. Most members are young, and sometimes tend toward female separatism. A number of new women's groups have been compared with a kind of "nun-ism," emphasizing discipline and rigor.

Roman Catholic Discrimination

In the wide spectrum of the movement, the usury of women symbolized by the Playboy magazine outlook is a prime target of opposition, but so are bans against women addressing assemblies of Catholic bishops. Dr. Elizabeth Farians of the National Organization of Women has claimed that Roman Catholic discrimination against women is "probably worse than in most other institutions of our society."

Not all women are sympathetic to or know about the new movement, but the impact of the development will undoubtedly affect the female future. Moreover, while the female religious orders and organizations have not sought to imitate WITCH or FLM, church women are faced with dealing with implications of radical feminism. And church policy makers are finding it difficult to ignore charges from women members that token representation is no longer adequate in places of authority.

The separate sisterhoods and women's groups in churches might seem suitable recruiting grounds for militant liberationists. Some women in Protestant seminaries and in campus religious organizations have joined up, yet most church women are not champions of separatism, not even for strategy reasons. They seem more inclined to question the legitimacy of all-women units in favor of more male-female theological, cultural and political interaction.

Greater assertiveness is, however, springing up in this more moderate camp, often with male blessing. Dr. Culbert Rutenber, former president of the American Baptist Convention, told the women of his denomination they might have to "push" harder to win their goals.

Women As Social Conscience

Coupled with the freedom motif is a rather widespread belief that women are more humane than men and perhaps can better deal with the world's social problems. United Methodist Bishop James K. Mathews of Boston noted recently that women have generally formed the conscience of that Church.

Not directly excluding men from the challenge, Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., told the 1969 graduates of Manhattan Marymount College, a Catholic school for women, that they — women — must form the American conscience.

A variety of approaches for fulfilling the implications of the liberation movement is appearing in the Churches. These can be summarized as confrontation, education and experimentation.

Such developments, of course, are not pleasing to all churchmen, nor all women. Women delegates to an Anglican diocesan session in Canada, voted against female church wardens. A spokesman said it would be "a great disservice" to males to strip them of that office. The June 6 issue of Christianity Today, the evangelical fortnightly, ran an article advocating serious application of the "love, honor and obey" clause for women in marriage ceremonies. And Francis Cardinal McIntyre's dispute with the innovating Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in Los Angeles is well known.

Defensiveness has been registered in Playboy, but many churchmen have welcomed the confrontations, education and experimentation. In public spheres, confrontation usually is written or spoken ideological disagreement with the way the "church fathers" think and operate.

Dr. Mary Daly, whose release from Boston College (since rescinded) was partly seen as related to her book The Church and the Second Sex, is one outspoken critic of "oppressive, misogynistic ideas" in Catholicism. She calls for equal opportunity for women on all levels of Church activity, from lay Rectorships to the hierarchy.

Denial of this equality, according to Dr. Daly, "is a radical affirmation of (women's) inferior position among the people of God. By this exclusion the Church is in a very real and effective way teaching that women are not fully human and conditioning people to accept this as irremediable fact."

There are few Dr. Dalys in Roman Catholicism, but indications are that she may have increasing company. In a special women's issue of *Our Sunday Visitor*, Hilda Graef, a German author living in England, wrote that Catholic women are "slowly waking up" to their lack of a Church role.

"And the more thoughtful and vocal among them," she said, "including many nuns, are asking both themselves and others why they should be treated like the little girls of the Victorian Age who were allowed only to be seen, but not heard."

Women's Status In Protestantism

Officially, women have been equally recognized participants in most Protestant Churches, only a few major denominations still not allowing women clergy. Confrontations, therefore, do not appear as bold as in Catholicism, and new efforts tend to stress the educating of women about rights and the need to exercise them.

A special March-April issue on women's liberation in *"motive,"* the often-controversial United Methodist magazine, was one such educational device, edited by a panel of women. Particularly intended to help young males and females to "demythologize" traditional concepts of women, the magazine won substantial approval for its topic. Some churchmen did object rather strongly to part of the language. (In fact, publication of *"motive"* was suspended until September, when it will resume with a new editor.)

Movements to spur female interest in greater church and social participation, and to prepare women for this when necessary, emphasize theological study but also attention to the man-woman relationship. An editorial in *"motive"* said: "'the woman thing' . . . demands a radical rethinking of our present concepts of human interaction and responsibility. To deal with the problems it raises demands basic changes in our assumptions about the organization of society — from the family to the school to the church to the economy of the state."

Education of women for a "new day" is also growing in Catholicism. Rosemary Goldie, associate secretary of the Vatican's Council on the Laity and one of few women attached to the Curia, told a congress of the National Laywomen's Retreat Movement that too often "women have taken the easier way of doing what they were told to do instead of taking the initiative."

Women have always worked in the Church, added Miss Goldie, but without positions of responsibility. "Now that the opportunities have been created, it is up to women to take advan-

(Continued on page 11)

THE CHURCH AS EMPLOYER OF WOMEN

by Earl D. C. Brewer

A recent study shows that the churches and their national agencies are found seriously wanting when it comes to fair employment practices for women on the professional and executive levels.

The study was carried out by Dr. Earl D. C. Brewer, Director of the National Council of Churches Department of Research. A condensed version of his report follows:

This study reviews descriptive data tabulated from responses to a questionnaire mailed to 156 national denominational boards and agencies. Responses were received from 65 boards and agencies related to 17 denominations, and the National Council of Churches.

Tabulations of responses indicated that three-fourths of the agencies claimed that women received the same salaries as men for the same position. None reported that women received more salary and eight agencies reported less salary for the same position. A study of the responses as shown in the table below would indicate either that women were not holding the same types of positions as men, or that the respondents were unaware or uncommunicative about the salary differences between men and women professionals.

Women were not excluded by definition from executive positions by four out of five of the agencies. Only ten respondents to the questionnaire indicated such exclusion. Exclusion seemed to be based on the fact that a position called for an ordained person, and women were excluded from ordination. Many positions required theological education which, it was stated, few women have. Some responses seemed to suggest that women employees have their own responsibilities in national boards and agencies such as women's boards.

For the total number of positions reported, 3.2 percent were in the $20,000 and over category as compared with 22.8 percent in the $10,000 and under range. For men, 3.5 percent received $20,000 or more; for women only 2.0 percent. At the other extreme, 16.1 percent of the men received under $10,000 as compared with 43.2 percent of the women. The proportion of men to women is much higher for all salary grades above $12,500. The reverse is the case for all grades below $12,500. The modal grade for men (34.5 percent) is from $12,500 to $15,000; while for women the modal grade (39.1 percent) is two steps down ($7,500 to $10,000).

In summary, these data reflect adherence to the rhetoric of equality of opportunity for women and men, on the one hand, and the factual conditions of considerable discrimination, on the other.

Number and Percentage Distribution of Executive Positions Held by Men and Women and by Salary Grades in 65 National Religious Agencies, 1969

Salary Grades	Number of Positions Reported					
	Total		Women		Men	
	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number
All Grades	100.0	1,558	100.0	389	100.0	1,169
$22,500—over	.08	12	—	—	1.0	12
$20,000-22,500	2.4	37	2.0	8	2.5	29
$17,500-20,000	3.5	54	1.3	5	4.2	49
$15,000-17,500	13.8	215	5.9	23	16.4	192
$12,500-15,000	29.2	455	13.4	52	34.5	403
$10,000-12,500	27.5	429	34.2	133	25.3	296
$ 7,500-10,000	21.0	327	39.1	152	15.0	175
Under $7,500	1.8	29	4.1	16	1.1	13

The Women's Liberation Movement – Who, What Why

When Is It Going To Be Ladies' Day?

by Paula Stern

WHEN WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell) donned black Halloween outfits to hex Mrs. Nixon in Portland, Oregon last month, it deserved other than a fashion note on the women's pages. For WITCH wants to change the sexual status quo. The Portland protest was related to a series of antics like the bra-burning that WITCH staged last September in Atlantic City at the Miss America contest. The object there was to dramatize its resentment of "the ideal woman."

WITCH is an arm of an amorphous group called Women's Liberation Movement. Since the WLM shuns organizational structures, it has made no definite tally of its sympathizers. No doubt there are fewer than shop at Gimbels on Thursdays, but one indication of its appeal to white, radical student-types and a sprinkling of suburbanites is that *No More Fun and Games: The Journal of Female Liberation* in less than a year has a mailing list of 1,500 women in every state and in Canada. In May, 600 New England females attend an unpublicized conference in Boston; another is planned for the fall. About a hundred girls have been meeting in small groups in Washington, D.C., for a year and a half. At hen sessions ("consciousness-raising" circles) of ten to twenty, a girl can discover that her complaints about degrading jobs or demeaning stereotypes are common grievances.

Armed with Marxist ideology and karate ("Self-defense is an important thing; it teaches you so much about power"), they attack the capitalistic system, the family structure in America, and men. Men are the agents of oppression who force females "into a lower caste in all existing social structures, and a powerless economic class in capitalistic America." Women's freedom will come about only through social revolution — destruction of the family, private property, and the nation-state. How the revolution will occur and what the society is supposed to look like afterwards are hazy. Meanwhile, the girls read, study, discuss, learn karate—and look skeptically at another major association, National Organization for Women (NOW). According to one spokeswoman in Women's Liberation, this is because "all women are oppressed but not all women are potentially revolutionary."

NOW is a bevy of white, well-educated, professionals in their twenties and thirties led by Betty Frieden, author of the *Feminine Mystique*. It has 50 chapters in 24 states. From its New York central office, it launches legislative action programs across the nation, concentrating on improving the economic standing of women. They pressured the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission to rule, on the basis of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, that newspaper want-ads should not make irrelevant sex distinctions (although most continue to do it). They are trying to get repeal of state abortion laws; also "protective" legislation limiting the length of a woman's workday or work week and the maximum weight she is allowed to lift on the job, restrictions which, in effect, hamper her work career.

Some Who Have Arrived

At the other end of the political spectrum from NOW and WLM are the more deferential feminists. Choice examples are among Nixon's 13 female appointments (out of approximately 300 top administrative posts). The 13 include Nixon's personal and Mrs. Nixon's press and social secretaries. Mrs. Dorothy (Dolly) Elston, Treasurer of the United States, is a representative spokeswoman: "It's a man's world, we all recognize that. . . . Men have better contacts to and are more interested (than women) in economics and politics. . . . There aren't all that many jobs technically to be filled. . . . There are so many women with responsible jobs in government and treated with great respect that I'm not so quick to say that women have been discriminated against save at the cabinet level."

Patricia Hitt, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, concurs with the spirit of Dolly's statement: "Frankly, I couldn't give you a single, solitary woman who has the training, background, and ability to fill one of those cabinet posts." The apologetics of these Aunt Tabbies are of course resented by WITCH, their comrades in Women's Liberation, and NOW. For despite difference of opinion, the demands of the new activists are radical. Prostitution laws for example, which punish the female for selling her body but not the male who patronizes her, are just one symptom of unfair sex-based inequities which the law and society foist on women. Forty per cent of all women (twenty-seven million) work full-time, year-round, and at least half of those work because they have to. Since most are married and almost half have children under eighteen, they carry the additional burden of motherhood. Despite their needs and extra duties, their pay is less than men's for the same work. The most recent statistics (1966) show that the median income for women was $3,973, compared to $6,945 for men; their rate of unemployment is higher than men's; they have practically no services required by working mothers, such as child care clinics or maternity leaves without loss of seniority. Startlingly, fully one-fifth of the women who have four years' college education can only get unskilled or semiskilled jobs as clerks, salesgirls, factory hands, and service workers (including household work), the same for eight per cent of those with five or more years of college. Women's share in professional or technical employment has actually declined since World War II, while the proportion of working women increased. Since 1930, women have been receiving a decreasing proportion of master's degrees, doctorates, and faculty appointments.

School Segregation By Sex

Many public high schools and vocational schools are sexually segregated. So, early in their training, girls are shunted into girls' jobs which require less skill, pay less, and offer fewer opportunities for advancement. Some state universities, University of Virginia for example, are restricted to men. Many colleges have quotas for women (60-40 ratio of women to men is supposed to be best for social mixing), and they demand higher qualifications for women than men. Although Yale and Princeton are finally desegregated, some coeds still say it's only tokenism. Even SDS has been attacked by coeds for shutting off girls from leadership positions in local chapters, leaving them to do the mimeographing—like American business, which also tends to reserve management and professional slots for "men only."

So that innocent gal who skirts the seductions of *Modern Bride* magazine and seeks a career (instead of or as well as a man) is still in for a surprise. When she calls an employment agency for a job-with-a-future and says she's willing to participate in an executive training program, she is likely to be asked: "How fast do you type?" If she does land that "man's size" job, she won't get a "man's size" salary.

When she tries to buy something with her own money, credit regulations hem her in. A single girl is considered a bad risk by credit bureaus that assume she is bound to get married soon. If she is married or separated, she can't get credit on her own, since her records are filed under her husband's name. Though her record may be "clean," she is forced to assume responsibility for her husband's credit "for better or worse." Additional inequities in Federal Housing Authority policy for insuring mortgages preclude her buying a house alone, though there are plenty of women—single, separated, divorced, widows—who are in the market for a house. These arbitrary credit regulations are not written in law, but they might as well be.

Women In Retirement

When she retires (often compelled to do so earlier than men, but not compensated with equal pension benefits), she becomes the victim of unfair social security regulations. A married woman who has worked all her life often draws lower social security benefits than a wife, widow, or even a divorcee who has never worked a day in her life but who is compensated as a dependent of her retired husband. This is so even if she and her husband have paid social security taxes which together equalled that of the couple with only the husband working.

Two-thirds of the adult poor are women. Welfare regulations hurt them most since they head 80 per cent of America's urban welfare families. Hardest hit of all is the nonwhite working woman. More than half of all households headed by them were below poverty level in 1967. Thirty per cent of them were maids ("household workers" in Labor Department lingo).

If the myth that American women have equal rights still persists, mere mention of the abortion laws should dispel it. Women are compelled to sneak, cheat, and lie rather than consult a doctor discretely, legally, and freely. Until the laws are repealed — not reformed — women, wanting an abortion, will have to face the humiliation of convincing several male doctors. And until repeal, the poor will continue to be penalized most, since the majority of legal and safe abortions granted in states with reformed laws are performed in private hospitals where costs are prohibitive.

Women And The Media

All women — poor or rich, young or old, housewife or worker, professional or nonprofessional — are courted by the media, if nothing else. A female is flattered to think she's fit to sell men's cologne or dog food, or wooed by admen to bleach-blonde her hair or smoke Virginia Slims (the pitch for Virginia Slims: "You've come a long way, Baby"). So I ask, when are we going to get around to treating women as human beings, not members of the weaker, dumber sex?

Child-care clinics would be a good place to begin. None of the organizations are talking specifically about day-care centers — Women's Liberation Movement because they believe only in revolution; NOW because they concentrate on one issue at a time and now is the time for expanding economic opportunities, and the Aunt Tabbies because they are too busy looking for room at the top. Authorization and funds have been passed for child-care centers, but where are they? Labor unions and churches haven't been much help. Eventually public authorities will see that a good way to begin getting people off welfare roles is to make possible proper care and training for youngsters whose mothers must work. Day-care clinics, like public schools and hospitals, would benefit more than poor families; there are working mothers in all classes. And if the authorities can't see that, they might rouse themselves when they see that the style-conscious female is getting politically conscious, discovering it's not unfashionable to do her own revolutionary thing — with or without a witch's costume. ■

Miss Stern's article appeared originally in The New Republic *of July 5. It is reprinted here by permission.*

On Their Way Together: Update On Church Women United

by Dorothy Rensenbrink

THE Nixon administration is beginning to cast flirtatious glances at America's volunteer organizations. One of the phone numbers in its little black book is that of Church Women United, whose national president, Mrs. James Dolbey, was invited to preside over a consultation of leaders from some 60 women's organizations this May in Washington. Topic: creative partnership of volunteers with federal government. Aim: the establishment of a Cabinet Committee for Voluntary Action and a non-governmental National Foundation for Voluntary Action. Reason for all the second glances: the belief that human and social problems can be alleviated better when government works with and through volunteers.

The chic Dorothy N. Dolbey, ex-mayor of Cincinnati, has been moving in and out of government and church volunteer work for years, along with raising her family. She is a prototype of the possibilities of woman-power, once a lady sets her mind to finding ways of using it. That very potential in all women is the "secret weapon" of Church Women United: the assumption that the everyday-everywhere woman knows more than she thinks she does and is a bigger factor than most calculate. Drawing out those possibilities through national programs is the job of CWU's 150-member Board of Managers, with an able assist from Margaret Shannon, executive director, and her staff. In their busy offices at the Interchurch Center, one can expect to find such varied groups of women as professional leaders from the Puerto Rican community, or the presidents of Jewish religious organizations, or experts on Latin America, or a task force on volunteers in an urban society.

World Day of Prayer annually forges a spiritual bond among Christian women of the world. Here women of West Pakistan join in the observance.

Why UCW Became CWU

Three years ago Church Women United began a centrifugal movement which called for setting goals where the action was — in local communities. Nearly 30,000 women in Explore Units began to ask each other: "What should church women be doing in our time?" From these discussions came the goals and program, together with a flexible structure to implement them, which were approved by an ecumenical assembly in 1967.

In order to take into account the rising number of Roman Catholic women who wish to participate, the great number of employed women who are not in organizations, and a better representation of black women, the new movement was not based on organizations but was opened to all women "who are members of churches and communions that confess Jesus Christ as divine Lord and Savior." In order to better express these purposes, the name was changed from the old United Church Women to an unfinished phrase—Church Women United (for Peace, where they're working for this end; for Literacy, where those programs are in effect), the general idea being that they are united most firmly when they have common goals or causes.

The "Whole" Woman

The church woman movement is built on a concept of "wholeness." A well-integrated woman in terms of faith, reason, emotion, action—in a well-integrated group of varied cultural and economic backgrounds—undertaking her responsibilities in the context of the world, is the CWU goal.

There are more than 2,350 units of CWU in every state of the nation and in Washington, D.C. Throughout the past year, increasing numbers of them are realizing themselves along the lines suggested by their new national handbook, *On Our Way Together*, forming such associations as task forces, listening teams, forums, and planning groups. These gatherings are designed to provide a maximum of flexibility with a minimum of structure.

The whole assumption that underlies their open-ended kind of association of those interested in doing certain tasks together is that when very different kinds of women meet over a common concern, a natural unity takes place.

To help women reach toward this goal, a wide variety of programs are projected at the national level. Two years before hunger in America became a recognized issue in Congress for example, CWU joined the National Council of Catholic Women, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Negro Women and the YWCA in a study of the nation's school lunch program. Fanning out in representative districts throughout the U.S., the volunteers interviewed teachers, school principals, lunch program administrators, mothers and students, and discovered that those most in need of a federally financed noontime lunch wer eleast likely to get it under the present setup.

They published their findings, complete with statistical data, in a 135-page report called *Our Daily Bread* and presented it to the then Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman. Recognized by government officials working in this field, the report contributes to the present move to look again at the nation's way of dealing with its hungry citizens.

The Dropout

This method of forming coalitions with other national women's groups for certain large tasks has been successful in other areas for CWU. In 1965 it joined with the same four organizations to form WICS (Women In Community Service). The WICS ladies, since the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 provided funds for Job Corps, have been recruiting and screening young women for enrollment. Some 20,000 volunteers, under the direction of a small professional staff based in Washington, D.C., have processed applications for more than 32,000 girls qualified for Job Corps and have helped an equal number with whom they came into contact who were not qualified because of age, family situation, physical condition, or other reasons.

WICS volunteers kept in touch with about 24,000 enrollees during their stay at the 17 Job Corps training centers. To a woman, their comments on the friendships they made with these girls has been that they received more than they gave.

Still another coalition in which CWU participates is the National Committee on Household Employment. This committee sets up cooperatives in a number of communities to supply household services. They provide workers with adequate wages, normal fringe benefits and a sense of dignity about their work. They encourage the formation of local committees around the nation to support household workers and to develop a climate of understanding among employers. The National NCHE strongly supports legislation providing minimum wage coverage for these workers.

The Voter

Legislation before national and state governing bodies gets careful scrutiny by church women. A whole network of CWU legislative chairmen across the country keeps local women informed about proposals which might affect their concerns. In some cases they are less than popular with legislators. In other cases, like the Arkansas unit of CWU, they provide a service which the legislators themselves use. The state unit there, along with the Arkansas Council of Churches, was cited by the legislature for the thorough job they do of informing the constituency.

In the field of social action, one of CWU's most successful ventures this past year has been an adult literacy tutorial program, designed to help the functionally illiterate. A pilot project was developed in Ridgewood, N.J., operating on the theory that volunteers are most successful when participating with existing schools and corporations. The volunteers were trained at the Adult Basic Education Center of Montclair State College. Upon completing their training, they were placed as teacher-aides for programs such as Opportunities Industrialization Centers, welfare education programs conducted by inner-cities, multilingual centers, and public school adult classes. CWU maintains a follow-up process to strengthen the effectiveness of the volunteers (both men and women). This is the kind of cooperation between volunteer and government that gives the volunteer professional training and channels to those they wish to help, while at the same time cutting the tax-fed cost of the program for the government. It may well be a forerunner of the style of voluntarism in the future. Their year-old program has already netted CWU a citation from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Office of Education for "their vital role in encouraging and expanding basic educational programs for adults" in the region II area (New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania). In addition, the New Jersey Association for Adult Educators (a professional organization) awarded CWU a plaque "in recognition of its leadership in establishing a tutorial service for adults." As for the volunteer tutors, it gives those who want to deal directly with ghetto problems an opportunity to do so on a personal, active basis.

CWU President Dorothy N. Dolbey welcomes the nation's first black Congresswomen, the Hon. Mrs. Shirley Chisholm (Dem.-N.Y.) to a CWU function where Mrs. Chisholm was guest speaker.

The Viewer

In recent months many church women have been involved in a program of monitoring mass media, developed by CWU, with particular attention being paid to violence. Aiming to make a contribution toward improving the quality and responsibleness of reporting and programming, the women have found themselves becoming more discerning in their response to the media, staff members report.

From the American ghetto to an intercontinental mission (which includes the American ghetto), the church women see themselves as United for Others, wherever the need may be. The need, of course, is overwhelming and impossible to fill, but large attempts are made to do something. Some of their efforts include supporting a nurse for the Mississippi Delta Ministry, and providing special funds for rehabilitating Indonesian war widows and Middle Eastern war victims. Under a "Neighbors Now" program, they become a channel for quick transfer of gifts to those in immediate need.

One of the staunchest supporters of Church World Service (the international relief and rehabilitation arm of the National Council of Churches), CWU raised some $259,000 last year through their own gift certificates for blankets, sewing machines, yard goods and school supplies which were shipped by that agency to disaster areas around the world. In addition they provide an uncountable amount of volunteer work per month in Church World Service depots around the country.

But international concern goes beyond stopgap relief. Two years ago, the CWU Board of

(Continued on page 11)

AT ASSEMBLY TIME — Officers and Staff of Church Women United are introduced to the delegates.

CWU AND THE WOMEN LIBERATORS

by Margaret Shannon

NOTHING could prove the unpredictable nature of the winds of change more than the "feminist" challenge coming from the various women's liberation movements to the leadership of church women's organizations who steadfastly set about in the 1950's to "integrate their work into the life of the church."

It was not that we have been all that satisfied with what is happening! We have figured out that just counting the number of women on a committee or board is not exactly the chief goal of all women . . . nor was accepting conclusively the studies defining the "complementary role" of men and women, leaving both male and female only half there when operating alone . . . nor the channelling of money to, or materials from, male-dominated church bureaucracies. "We have been integrated **out** of the church" said one of the denominational leaders who went through the process. Actually, what happened in the churches was pretty much the experience of women in their community life also; in political parties and health and welfare organizations our responsibilities are limited by "para-organizations" of a supporting nature.

Today's young "women liberators" are not modern suffragettes working for more rights for women. They call for a recognition of woman as a human being — and the implications for the whole organization of society. Although the more radical seem out to destroy all traditional social patterns, there are others with whom we might make common cause. The women's caucus of the now-dissolved University Christian Movement are seeking a solid basis and speak of a freedom in the "new being in Christ" in a way that would behoove us all to explore.

The tactics and goals may be a bit hard to take, but it would be well for all of us to keep open dialogue as the cataclysmic times bring into question the traditional role for women in the family, the parish church, and the community at large.

It is obvious that this liberation movement challenges at vital points the institution of volunteer women's organizations. We depend on the support and leadership from a middle class woman who could afford the time and money required to be a volunteer. Yet we are awake to some of the things happening in our time and act in the hope that there is enough flexibility, imagination, and courage among us to renew our institutions and learn the skills which shape a new society. Since our orientation is in a "church for **others,**" most of us cannot be preoccupied unduly with claims only for ourselves.

Church Women United has a long way to go, but it has a lot of things going for it. It has no institutions to preserve and no buildings to occupy. It is a grass roots movement which by its very nature can call together women from every segment of society. We need to develop a style of life which enables **all** to participate, for to accomplish our goals today we need the experience of every woman. We have a process by which all in each place can decide for ourselves what we want to be and do.

In these times we could retreat into timid living, limited by some of yesterday's yardsticks. Or we could act boldly in the assurance that today and tomorrow are in God's hands. Being middle class, middle aged, middle of the road, does not need to mean we are caught in the middle: Let us accept the challenge of the young and **be ourselves,** and in ways appropriate to our vocation answer these questions:

Can we be **women** without embarrassment or apology, living life to the full?

Can we be **united** . . . an organized point of conscience penetrating the wilderness of this century?

Can we be **un-tied** . . . from our old institutional patterns, free to find the responsible way to be God's instruments of reconciliation in this torn-apart world?

Miss Shannon is Executive Director of Church Women United

WASHINGTON COMMENT

Administration Straws in The Civil Rights Wind

by James A. Hamilton

PERHAPS it was an unreasonable hope from the outset. After all, President Nixon's "Southern Strategy" had paid off in Miami and in November Southerners were convinced that Mr. Nixon's campaign speeches contained implied promises about changes in the nation's civil rights policies. It is a fact of life that political debts are incurred and paid. Even Dr. John Knowles, turned down by the President after five months of "on again, off again" as nominee for Assistant Secretary of HEW was magnanimous enough to allow that "If he has had to meet certain promises or debts made during his campaign, I think that he should."

But on the other hand, many things which never come to pass are promised or implied in the heat of a political campaign. Once elected, a candidate becomes President of all the people with the opportunity as well as the responsibility to serve all the people, and while it was evident from the beginning that President Nixon would have to choose between the Senator Thurmonds of his party and the nation's Negroes, there was reason to hope that once elected he would move to unite the country. Even though votes are the currency of politics, there is a difference between a deal with an economic pressure group and one involving the basic rights of millions of Americans. Indeed, almost as soon as he took office, President Nixon said he regretted the distrust evidently felt toward him by black Americans generally and that he intended to demonstrate it was undeserved. His candor gave rise to the hope that he would act decisively to promote racial equality.

There was a bobble in February. The new Deputy Secretary of Defense awarded $100 million in contracts to three textile firms which had consistently failed to meet the government's equal employment opportunity standards. But after public outcry by civil rights leaders and a reprimand from Labor Secretary Schulz the Pentagon belatedly negotiated written affirmative action plans with the three firms.

Tests on Civil Rights

The big tests of the Administration's stance on civil rights enforcement were to come later. One would involve the President's position on extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The other would be the Administration's stand on school desegregation guidelines.

Both shoes were dropped early last month. First, Attorney General John N. Mitchell told a House Judiciary Subcommittee that the Administration opposes extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. That act, which expires in August 1970, has been responsible for doubling the number of Negro registrations in the seven states covered by it. There is no doubt that with Administration support, the act could be extended for an additional five years as has been proposed by leading congressional Republicans and Democrats. With Administration opposition, a simple extension bill may well be defeated.

Rather than support extension of the existing act, the Administration has tossed a monkey wrench into the picture by proposing major revisions in the law. The key change proposed by Mr. Mitchell would radically revise the machinery by which the Federal Government oversees election law changes in southern states to insure that they do not make it harder rather than easier for Negroes to vote. Under the 1965 Act, all such proposed election laws must be cleared by either the Attorney General or a Federal Court in Washington before they can go into effect. Under the Administration proposal, it would be up to the Justice Department to keep track of all such new laws. If the Attorney General found one he decided was discriminatory in restricting voting, he could apply for an injunction in the Federal Court for the district where it was passed. Thus, if the case originated in the South, it would be tried in a southern court.

No More Literacy Tests

Other major recommendations by the Administration call for a nation-wide ban on literacy

tests and residency requirements for presidential elections.

As it knew it would, the Administration ran into a buzzsaw of opposition in the subcommittee. Leading the attack on the Nixon proposal was the ranking Republican on the Judiciary Committee, Rep. William M. McCulloch of Ohio, a member of the party's conservative wing on most issues. McCulloch charged that the Administration proposal "creates a remedy for which there is no wrong and leaves grievous wrongs without adequate remedy." He and other subcommittee members accused Mitchell of introducing new election law proposals—many of them praiseworthy in themselves—that could only spread confusion and threaten the continued use of the 1965 law's simple and highly effective tools in enfranchising more Negroes. They said fundamental reforms should be entertained only after the extension of existing law is secured. In fact, opposition to the Administration proposal was so uniform that it could not find a high-ranking Judiciary Committee sponsor for its bill and had to resort to the unusual procedure of calling on House Republican leader Gerald P. Ford to introduce it.

School Desegregation Guidelines

The Nixon Administration's move to relax the deadline for compliance with school desegregation guidelines came on the eve of Independence Day, and just 10 days after the retirement of Chief Justice Warren, author of the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision.

The irony of the announcement and its timing is inescapable: one wonders whether those responsible for pushing through the Administration's new policy statement paused to ponder the solemn affirmation of the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

The Nixon Administration's school desegregation statement has created widespread public confusion. It has been charged that it is "deliberately vague" and "raises more questions than it answers." But the message to those Southern politicians and school administrators who have steadfastly resisted desegregation is unmistakably clear. For the one lesson about desegregation enforcement which has been painfully distilled over the five years since passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is simple: However they may feel themselves, southern schoolmen cannot or will not come around to desegregation until their fellow white townsmen are convinced they have no other choice. In the words of one non-government civil rights expert, "What the new policy does is to reward the 'bad guys' who have been holding out and penalize the 'good guys' who had promised to move forward."

Brakes on Progress

The fact is that after 15 years of unnumbered court battles, legislative victory in 1964 and success in fighting off repeated ambushes by Congressional conservatives, the Federal desegregation effort was near success in the South. If President Nixon had clearly supported HEW Secretary Robert Finch and Leon Panetta, Director of the Department's Office for Civil Rights, the task could have been largely completed during the coming school year. Now, however, it is a new ball game. The President has changed the rules and progress is likely to stop in the deep South while the whole question is reopened in hundreds of communities which earlier agreed to comply.

HEW announced in October, 1967, that Southern school systems with few exceptions would have to complete desegregation by this fall. This clear deadline gave HEW enforcement officials their principal bargaining tool. Faced with the realization that needed Federal funds would be lost, local leaders were forced to plan for the transition. Now that pressure is off, many local schoolmen will be unable or unwilling to take the risks involved in preparing desegregation plans. The hard fact is that President Nixon's concessions to the South have stalled one of the most successful movements toward racial justice in American history.

No sooner had the new policy statement been released than liberals in the Administration insisted that the rules had not been changed and their enforcement efforts would, if anything, be more vigorous. Is that a promise, a hope, just more words? As Attorney General Mitchell told a group of black protesters in his office a few days before the guidelines statement was issued, "You'd be better informed if, instead of listening to what we say, you watch what we do." Having watched, we should not be surprised to find that the nation's blacks have a less charitable attitude towards the payment of political debts than did Dr. Knowles. ■

Mr. Hamilton is Director, Washington Office, National Council of Churches

A TELEGRAM TO THE WHITE HOUSE

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

I have today transmitted to the Honorable Robert H. Finch the following telegram:
Deeply disturbed by reports Administration is considering revision of school desegregation guidelines, including indefinite postponement of 1969-70 school year deadlines. 1954 Supreme Court decision, 1964 Civil Rights Act, subsequent court decisions, and existing guidelines underscore nation's commitment to goal of equal education in a single school system. If respect for law and orderly democratic process is to be expected from those who are too often victims of unfair and unjust denial of basic rights, this commitment must not be compromised by watering down the guidelines previously promulgated. The nation must keep its promise. Any weakening of the guidelines will constitute a failure to do so and will be vigorously opposed by the many churchmen who have dedicated time, energy and resources to the cause of opening up educational opportunities for young people of all races.

Respectfully urge you to support the action called for in the above telegram.

Arthur S. Flemming,
President National Council of Churches

it says here . . .

METHODISTS ALLOCATE $2 MILLION FOR MINORITIES

ATLANTA — (RNS) — Grants totaling $2,094,000 for 20 projects, most of them covering minority group work, were approved by the United Methodist Church's Quadrennial Emphasis Committee here.

The list had earlier been approved by a group of bishops appointed to serve on the committee and empowered by the Council of Bishops to act on its behalf. The grants came from a $20 million Fund for Reconciliation being raised by the 11-million-member denomination.

One of the largest grants, $180,000, went to Black Methodists for Church Renewal, headquartered in Atlanta, to underwrite the organization's administration and program. The black caucus group had asked $2.5 million.

The largest grant — $1 million — went to the Black Community Developers Nationwide Program, to be paid in four yearly installments. The project calls for the recruitment of 75 black leaders to work in as many black communities. Each will be associated with a pastor and the work will be done in cooperation with existing United Methodist boards and agencies.

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VILLAGE METHODISTS GIVE $15,000 TO FORMAN

NEW YORK — (RNS) — Washington Square United Methodist Church here became the first predominantly white religious institution to contribute directly to the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC), seeking $3 billion in "reparations" from white churches and synagogues.

A check for $15,000 was presented to James Forman, NBEDC spokesman, at morning worship services on July 6. The sum was from church savings accrued from endowment.

The contribution has been questioned by some members of the church as illegal, but no legal action had been filed as of July 7.

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THE COST OF WAR

SALT LAKE CITY — The Vietnam war eventually will have cost the American people $350 billion dollars, according to an economist and student of the cost of previous wars. By comparison, says Prof. James L. Clayton of the University of Utah, World War I cost $11 million to Americans, and World War II and the Korean War cost some $225 billion. The Vietnam war, says Mr. Clayton, has cost 10 times more than Medicare and medical assistance, 14 times more than support for all levels of education, and 50 times more than Federal outlays for housing and community development. The professor's figures on war costs include direct spending, interest on the debt, and veterans' and medical benefits through the ensuing years.

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ANNUAL RIGHT-WING RALLY PROVES DULL

BOSTON, Mass. — The seventh annual "God, Family and Country" Fourth-of-July rally in Boston brought together right-wing enthusiasts in smaller numbers than usual this year. According to a student of extremist groups who attended the affair, the rally of religious and political extremists grows more dull as the John Birch society's control of the event grows tighter. Gordon D. Hall, writing in the Boston *Globe*, suggests that big "names" on the far right — such as Robert Welch, General Walker, and Billy James Hargis — are suffering from "an accute case of over-exposure with their followers and under-exposure with everybody else." The "God, Family and Country" rally heard attacks on campus dissidents and permissive college administrations, on sex education in the schools, and on the U.S. Supreme Court. But, according to Gordon Hall, "the future thrust of the far right in America is with the (George) Wallace 'independent party' forces." During the rally, the Rev. Dr. Charles S. Poling of Phoenix, Arizona, drew repeated cheers with an attack on liberal clergy, the Supreme Court and the nation's school system. He blamed all three for what he called "the moral decay of this generation."

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CARDINAL SUENENS SUGGESTS CELIBACY CHANGES FOR CATHOLICS

CHUR, Switzerland (RNS) — Further research and procedural changes are needed in the Roman Catholic Church's treatment of clerical celibacy, Leo-Josef Cardinal Suenens, Primate of Belgium, said here. He indicated that celibacy should be freely chosen and noted that it is not essential to the priesthood. He also suggested ordaining married men.

Cardinal Suenens, the center of much recent discussion in the Roman Catholic Church because of his suggestions for reform of the Roman Curia, spoke at a Symposium of European Bishops here.

The Church faces a "necessity of deepening its understanding of the evangelical value of freely chosen celibacy," Cardinal Suenens said.

Finally, he said, "there is a need to examine the possibility of admitting to the priesthood men who are already married and thus to meet pastoral needs where vocations are rare."

WASHINGTON — The Nixon Administration has abolished the September school desegregation deadline as being too rigid, but it announced that plans for full compliance still must be submitted, with a few exceptions for the next school year. (See Washington Comment, Page 8.) Shown are Administration officers briefing the press on the matter. From left: Leon E. Panetta, director of HEW's Offices of Civil Rights; John Veneman, undersecretary of HEW, and Jerris Leonard, asst. attorney general for civil rights. Statue in background represents the "Spirit of Justice."

COLUMBIA U. RESHAPES STUDENT RELIGIOUS LIFE

In a major re-casting of its campus religious life, Columbia University has abolished its 112-year-old post of University Chaplain in favor of more student participation in religious concerns. The move appears unrelated to student disruption of the school for six weeks in the spring of 1968. Plans for the new religious approach at Columbia have been under study since 1966. The study committee was headed by the Rev. John D. Cannon, who last month resigned as chaplain in connection with the proposed reorganization. Under the new arrangement, a Center for Religion and Life will be open to all student religious groups. According to its administrative director, Monsignor James E. Rea, the Center will provide an open forum and an easy atmosphere for dialogue, seminars, *ad hoc* projects, and religious and counselling services. Student groups wishing paid spiritual advisors will hire and pay them themselves, under the new plan. It appears that this could lead the way for reinstatement of two former religious counsellors who were denied reappointment by sponsoring religious groups following student disturbances last year. They had supported student radicals in the struggle with the University administration.

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GRAPE GROWERS FILE $75 MILLION SUIT

FRESNO, Calif. — (RNS) — The nationwide boycott of California table grapes has cost the growers $25 million in damages, according to a suit filed in the U.S. District Court here.

Filed under provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the suit seeks treble damages totaling $75 million and an injunction on the boycott launched by the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

Complainants in the court suit are the Central California Farmers Committee and 81 individual plaintiffs who are seeking to end the boycott, which is part of the three-year organizing drive of the union.

The UFWOC, headed by Cesar Chavez, has received support from many religious groups. Mr. Chavez' attorney dismissed the suit as the growers' "annual attempt to scare the chain stores."

He said the union might file a countersuit charging restraint of trade against the growers for threatening the few growers who have begun negotiating with the union.

it says here . . .

WALLINGFORD, CONN. — Teacher aide Linda Richardson reviews the classroom work of students participating in Project Concern for educationally deprived children. The experimental program, now two years old, enables inner-city children to attend suburban schools and receive special instruction to help in their educational development and experience. Federal and state funds back the project.

INTERCHURCH CENTER DROPS PLEA FOR INJUNCTION AGAINST FORMAN

NEW YORK — (RNS) — The trustees and church agency tenants of the Interchurch Center here have withdrawn their motion for a preliminary injunction against James Forman and the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC).

A temporary restraining order obtained June 16, after Mr. Forman and his supporters had "occupied" several denominational offices, has been vacated.

The move was announced at a press conference at the Center July 11 by Edmund F. Wagner, president of the Center's trustees, and William P. Thompson, stated clerk of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., who appeared on behalf of the major tenants.

The agreement came, Mr. Wagner and Mr. Thompson said, in response to a statement by Mr. Forman that "during the pendency of consultations with the National Council of Churches" he would not "engage in occupations, disruptive acts or threats against the occupants of 475 Riverside Drive" (the Center's address).

"Since this has exactly the same effect as the restraining order, there is no further need for the assistance of the court at this time," Mr. Thompson said.

At its recent meeting in Boston the United Church of Christ requested that its Board of World Ministries withdraw from the court proceedings. Earlier, a motion requesting withdrawal by the NCC had been passed at a meeting of NCC staff members. Black churchmen within the denominations have also exerted pressure to have injunction proceedings cancelled.

Mr. Thompson, who is a lawyer, said that he considered court action in this case "justified and appropriate." He added that he had not detected any different point of view on the part of other building tenants, though some people within the different organizations had objected to the injunction proceedings.

Both Mr. Thompson and Mr. Wagner emphasized that the present withdrawal did not preclude seeking assistance of the court in the future if the trustees and tenants decide it is necessary.

The Rev. J. Metz Rollins, executive secretary of the National Committee of Black Churchmen (an interdenominational group which is calling for recognition of the NBEDC), said he was glad to see "at least" the injunction matter resolved "as part of steps toward meaningful conversations."

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NCC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO CONTINUE "MANIFESTO" CONSULTATIONS

NEW YORK, N. Y. — Meeting July 14 to consider recommendations from its sub-committee (the "Committee of 16") on how the NCC should respond to the Black Manifesto, the church federation's executive committee returned the proposals to its authors for further clarification. It authorized "the committee of 16 to continue consultations in which they have been involved for the purpose of clarification of questions and issues raised today" and instructed the NCC's general secretary, Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, to reconvene the executive committee. By press time, Dr. Espy announced the executive committee would meet either August 28 or 29, while the first of several meetings of the committee of 16 convened July 21.

The NCC's top leadership group also instructed staff to gather information on U.S. Grand Jury investigations currently in progress (in Detroit) probing activities in the civil rights field and the Black Manifesto demands of the National Black Economic Development Conference. Should data collected show harassment of witnesses sympathetic to civil rights causes, NCC president Dr. Arthur S. Flemming was authorized to protest to the US Attorney General and to make an appropriate public statement.

* * * * *

AME DISTRICT SEES MANIFESTO AS CHALLENGE TO CHURCHES

PHILADELPHIA — (RNS) — The Black Manifesto and the National Black Economic Development Conference which issued it "challenge the churches . . . to break with the past," according to a statement adopted by the First Episcopal District of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

A favorable opinion of the demands for "reparations" from the white religious community, issued at the district's recent meeting in Atlantic City, was released here by Bishop John D. Bright.

The AME Church with over 2 million members, is one of the largest all-black denominations in the nation. It is a member of the National Council of Churches and the Consultation on Church Union.

Several hundred lay and clerical members attended the district session, Bishop Bright said. The Manifesto was said to challenge the Churches to "recognize their economic strength and to use that strength to help black people achieve their full freedom."

* * * * *

OLD RULES FOR YOUNG MORMAN WOMEN

SALT LAKE CITY — (RNS) — Resist temptations of the world, Mormon Church girls were urged as Mormons gathered here to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the women's youth movement, the Mutual Improvement Association.

President David O. McKay, 95-year-old president of the Mormon church, issued the following memo to the thousands of delegates:

"The beauty that all men love, a virtue that wins men's souls is called 'chastity,'" he said. "You can wear long skirts, short skirts, diamonds or bows, but without inner spirit, adornments soon fade. There are thousands of men who look for nothing else but to have their senses pleased or their passions gratified."

In the early days, President McKay pointed out, Brigham Young set up rules of conduct. His ideas grew into a modern book on standards for young women which has these suggestions:

"Girls should avoid tight-fitting sweaters, figure-hugging clothes, too-short skirts and strapless or revealing necklines.

"Bikinis are not to be worn. Nor should girls go the opposite route and try to mock boys' dress.

"Hair curlers are unflattering and not for the public. Nor is affection for one's escort in public.

"Intimacies such as necking or petting are improper under any conditions."

* * * * *

CRITICS URGE "DELIBERATING" BRITISH ABORTION LAWS

LONDON — (RNS) — A re-tightening of Britain's liberalized abortion laws is being sought by churchmen and others as the number of operations rises and reports tell of pregnant women flocking here from abroad to this "abortion capital of the world," as observers are branding London. They point to such statistics as:

—In 1966, the last year before the law went into effect, 6,830 abortions were carried out in state hospitals. No one knows how many were carried out in illegal "back street operations."

—In the 13 months since its passage — that is, from April, 1968, to May of this year — 41,496 legal operations were officially reported to the authorities.

—In the last quarter of 1968 alone, according to an official report, abortions were carried out on 251 girls under the age of 16.

—In the case of foreign women, a report to the House of Commons revealed that 1,103 women whose place of usual residence is outside Britain had abortions in the period April to December last year. That represented 5 per cent of abortions carried out in that period.

—But on July 3 the Ministry for Social Services said the number of foreign women travelling to Britain for abortions had increased and was now running at the rate of 7% of all reported cases.

* * * * *

NEW YORK CHURCHES EXPAND SUMMER YOUTH PROGRAMS

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Now in its third year of serving young people between 6 and 16 through comprehensive youth programs, the Manhattan Division of the Council of Churches of the City of New York has expanded its Satellite Centers beyond the Vacation Church School and Day Camp level.

Cooperating with the Upper Manhattan Church Community Associations, the Division has set up 44 centers in its "pavement-level ministry" to serve some 5,000 young people. New features include a job training workshop working with computers and electronic calculators, social action and neighborhood improvement projects, and several coffee houses.

ON THEIR WAY TOGETHER

(Continued from page 7)

Managers urged the U.S. government to put one per cent of its gross national product into international development. It gives that much of its national budget towards efforts at international economic development and encourages state and local units to contribute this much also. These funds contribute to projects in Guyana, Brazil, Botswana, India and Mississippi, where surveys are being made of early school leavers. A major emphasis for CWU this year is the whole subject of the need for international development and a series of seminars are planned on this topic.

Making Friends

Through its office at the Church Center at the United Nations, international relations are pursued most interestingly,. perhaps, on a personal level. In the age of the international jet, the national staff has a neat way of taking advantage of the presence of women leaders from many nations in this country for various reasons, and involving them in seminars. Last spring, for example, they had women from Sierra Leone, Zambia, Liberia, Nigeria, Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Tanzania, Ghana and South Africa at the CCUN with Americans to discuss economic and social development, providing a unique opportunity for African women to talk to each other.

This spring, four Asian women were discussing the "Responsible Use of Power" in different areas of the U.S. at the invitation of CWU and the United Presbyterian Women. They came from Korea, Japan, Vietnam, The Philippines and Indonesia.

The most ambitious of CWU's programs on the personal, international basis is called Christian Causeway, beginning three years ago with women going to Africa. For the last two years Latin America has been emphasized. A total of twenty-five church women from the U.S. traveled to eight different countries in Latin America last year. In teams of two, they found common cause with women in churches and community organizations, studying literacy, social work among children, evangelism, and social welfare. By Fall, fourteen Latin American women will have traveled through the United States under the same program, making an effort to help American church women understand their Spanish-speaking American neighbors.

The revolution they hope for is one of attitude among themselves, thus making non-violent change possible. CWU staff see their organization as a "beehive of relationships" and the types of bees in that hive vary from the wives of corporation executives and military men to wives whose husbands have disappeared because welfare laws make it easier for them to live that way. These plus a generous sprinkling of women from other lands make for the mix that enriches the whole.

German churches are sending twenty women here this summer as guests. Overseas students here are CWU guests on Christmas week-end and the national staff is offering its services to women's groups associated with Union churches abroad—half of which are in Latin America.

At the request of the Armed Forces Chaplains Board, CWU writes a program resource guide for Protestant Women of the Chapel groups stationed in military installations around the world, and so their effort to include and involve women everywhere continues.

They Celebrate Together

Church Women United becomes most visible at its three annual "celebrations": World Day of Prayer, May Fellowship Day and World Community Day. The May celebration, held on the first Friday of that month, concentrates on intergroup relations in the community, while World Community Day, on the first Friday of November, highlights corporate justice and peace. But World Day of Prayer, on the first Friday of March, is probably the largest and oldest ecumenical gathering in the Christian world with a history which dates back to 1887 in the USA. It is now celebrated in 127 countries by members of many Christian denominations. Only last year in Sweden a permanent international committee was established to direct future plans for the day. The offerings collected go toward mission projects decided upon by national committees. In the U.S., this offering underwrites many projects. Some $200,000 in 1968 went into migrant, Indian and Spanish-American ministries in the U.S., and another $215,000 was channeled into overseas projects such as: Christian literacy for women and children; International Student Service; grants to fourteen women's colleges; Christian home and family life programs; nutrition; the Christian Medical Council; Indian family planning, and scholarships for Christian broadcasters.

Since any concept of "wholeness" is not complete without a new understanding of woman herself, a pilot group of seminars on human sexuality has been planned. These seminars use leadership from universities, churches and social work agencies and deal with the changing sex patterns of our day, the meaning of sexuality for all persons, sex education in the schools and the church's role in relation to them.

Theological understanding in today's world is another theme that occupies the seminars. Being carried out in cooperation with the Grail, a Roman Catholic lay women's movement, they are held in two Catholic centers: (the first was at Grailville, Loveland, Ohio and August 24 through 31 at Case de Maria, Montecito, California). Called "Crisis and Hope" they are to be led by people from the academic world, urban and youth work.

Pretty Sister Maria McDermott, C.S.J., serving as a leader at a CWU-sponsored seminar on Christian Faith in a Secular Society, held in Grailville, Ohio.

The work done at the national office and its program is supported through gifts from local and state units and from several thousand individual donors. This supports the staff, maintains the necessary lists, the Board of Managers and its special committees, pays for a presence and program for women at the Church Center for the United Nations and subsidizes CWU's snappy little periodical, *The Church Woman*, which speaks for and to the women of the churches.

The Revolution Around Us

The success of this style of movement among women is attested to by countless members of those who have only known it through their personal activity. Not the kind to bemoan their empty lot in life over endless suburban coffee klatzes, they are characterized more by an eager and open attitude toward the "revolution" taking hold of their lives. Charlotte Browne-Mayers, for example, an executive of the Standard Oil Company and head of the World Council of Churches' relief services, writes to Margaret Shannon: "The whole world seems in revolution . . . there is revolution in our environment, our neighborhoods, and our family life. The quality —pervasive, charismatic, and catalytic—of the revolutionary ranks is perhaps the special task of the Church Women United movement.

"The cultural revolution of the Red Guards is one kind, as it defoliates the grass roots of a society. Rather a revolution is needed that carefully cultivates new life and better growth, not just in patches of society, but for all. One of the things that has stimulated me most . . . is the vision, which I think you have, of CWU as movement influencing this quality of life in our society." ■

A New Day for Women in the Churches

(Continued from page 4)

tage of them," she said in reference to developments since the Second Vatican Council.

Experimentation frequently centers around revamping inherited women's orders and organizations. Much attention in the 1960s has focused on updating duties and externals (such as dress) of sisterhoods. Changes are at least partly aimed at making the orders attractive for new members and, thus, continuing the distinctive contributions which nuns offer the Church and world.

Organized Church Women

The continuing role of groups like the ecumenical Church Women United (see Pages 6 and 7) does not appear in doubt, but women in some Protestant denominations are raising questions about the viability of separate units. One example of experimentation with the form of women's church participation is the Episcopal organization.

For several years, the Episcopal Church has been relaxing prohibitions against women in local vestries or diocesan conventions. The issue of female delegates to the triennial General Convention will be explored at a special convention in August.

The Executive Council of the denomination has received a report from a special committee making proposals for lay involvement on every decision-making level without regard to sex. A series of committee-drafted guidelines are intended to help men and women reexamine their attitudes and "perhaps change them" for the sake of getting away from sex group stereotypes.

With the changing circumstances, Episcopal Church Women, an important agency in the Church's mission and social work, is studying itself to determine how its future should relate to its past. One experiment in several dioceses has been to suspend women's boards and launch increased cooperation or complete meshing with other structures.

The West Texas Episcopal Women eliminated their board, declaring: "To preserve our present organization would be to deny (our) unity and continue the hindrances to mission and service which we believe are perpetrated by our divisions."

Miss Frances M. Young, executive officer of the Episcopal Committee on Women, and other church women's leaders admit they do not know where such experimentation is leading. They know changes are being demanded and are willing to consider a number of alternatives.

Meanwhile, the militant women are determined that the phrase "you've come a long way, baby" will be extended further. And church women are not apt to let the painting of "Whistler's Mother" in her rocking chair be their banner. ■

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

REVIEWING: "MIDNIGHT COWBOY" Directed by John Schlesinger With Dustin Hoffman and Jon Voight

RECIPE for a masterpiece: tour sleek, sleazy roadside America on a Greyhound bus, caressing the neon hamburger and "Jesus Saves" signs with a sensuous camera. Fondle New York City in all its tacky beauty and cruel loveliness. Stir in the leering fantasies and retreaded memories of a mentally deficient stud and a tubercular gutter snipe. Add some hilarious sex romps, some jewelled dialogue, and an original, poignant story. End it on Miami Beach, the overweight Valhalla of America's deracinated Valkyries.

Oh, yes. And be sure to secure the services of two actors who are ready to turn in Academy Award performances, or something close to it.

Director John Schlesinger has followed this difficult recipe to a tee in **Midnight Cowboy**. The film has everything. It is hilariously funny, masterfully photographed, edited ingeniously and acted with almost no flaws at all. It is the best movie I've seen since I've started writing reviews for TEMPO. Furthermore, it puts on the screen a timely story by a brilliant, if little known writer, James Leo Herlihy. It is a story that shows enough courage, in this epoch of sex, to depict a loving relationship between two men, one that is genuine and moving but with no homosexual overtones at all. Most writers today are either obsessed with the David-Bathsheba scene or else they see all relationships between men in terms of faggotry. Not Herlihy. Like Hemingway, and only one or two other gifted writers, he explores the dynamics of a fascinating friendship between two men: Enrico Rizzo (Dustin Hoffman), a 42nd Street tramp and pickpocket, and Joe Buck (Jon Voight), a vacuously handsome Texas boy who in his own narcissistic words, can't do many kinds of work, but is "one hell of a stud." What happens to these two innocents in the wilds of New York provides the storyline of this superb film.

But the movie is really about America, I think. It's about our brilliant glass-and-steel cities and the vomit and ugliness that spoils them. It throws together the extremes of America, a Texas Baptist who was immersed in a river, and an ignorant second-generation Italian who keeps a picture of the Sacred Heart of Jesus over his bed and steals flowers to decorate his father's grave. But rich, heartless America is too much for these children. They both try to hustle New York City, the rich, sexy bitch — and she spurns them both. They have only each other to rely on.

Midnight Cowboy is a memorable movie on many counts. What it will probably be remembered for most however is Dustin Hoffman's incredible portrayal of Rizzo, or "Ratso" as his New York acquaintances call him. Ratso, a stupid, treacherous pickpocket, a cripple and con man, is without a doubt one of the most unlovable figures ever presented in a film. He is the dirty, unkempt, coughing panhandler we hasten by on any city sidewalk, trying hard to look the other way. His hair is ratty; his stolen overcoat is patched; he needs a shave; his breath stinks; his eyes have a glassy furtive look. Dustin Hoffman, in his first appearance since **The Graduate,** walks into Ratso and makes him a person we'll never forget. Hoffman performs the theatrical equivalent of the miracle of transubstantiation. He takes the bread of Herlihy's character and transforms it into a unique living person. He gives Ratso a soul. We'll never be able to hurry by him quite so quickly again.

Some people thought Dustin Hoffman's performance in **The Graduate** was a fluke, or a bit of lucky type-casting. Not so. In **Midnight Cowboy** Hoffman clearly emerges as a tragic comedian in the tradition of (can we say it, yes), of Chaplin. He makes us laugh at Ratso, but pulls us further and further along until, through Ratso, we see something universal. Hoffman's performance is helped by an excelling acting job on the part of Jon Voight, and by all the other strengths of this unusual movie. Still, it is Hoffman's show in the end. Ratso is now part of American mythology, and as for Dustin Hoffman, it is hard to conceive of any role he could not master. Here's to you, Mrs. Robinson! Your awkward loverboy is on his way to a career that could entertain and enrich us, more than you can know! Oh-oh-oh! ■

THOUGHTS ON BEING A BLACK MAYOR IN MISSISSIPPI

(In its June 14 issue, The New Yorker *magazine in a copyrighted* "Talk of the Town" *piece, carried some memorable words spoken off the cuff by Charles Evers, recently elected first black mayor of Fayette, Miss. TEMPO here reprints the piece in its entirety, by permission.)*

ALL of us have won a victory in Mississippi. All the poor blacks, and all the concerned, scared whites. I'm not going to belittle the whites, because they need help, just as we need help. Whatever we have done was made possible by men like Medgar, John, Dr. King, and Bobby. Their lives made it possible not for Charles Evers to get elected but for all Americans in the state of Mississippi to have the right to go to the polls. They wanted to end hate and destruction in our country.

This past Tuesday, part of their hope became a reality. Others came and helped us too. John Lewis came, and he'd just got married. Paul O'Dwyer came all the way from New York just to be there. And many others helped us with their work and their prayers. This is not a celebration for Charles Evers but for all of us — the lesser-known and the better-known. I did nothing special. I don't deserve a pat on the back. It's my duty to do it. Everyone did it — doctors, mothers, fathers, pool sharks, and cabdrivers. I pray every day that I never become anything special.

We know that whatever happens in Mississippi affects the people in New York, and that whatever happens in New York affects the people in Mississippi. We're all God's children. He brought us all here. And those of us who are more affluent have something special to do. I don't mean being braggadocios. But He equipped us to go out and help our brothers. We're going to show the whites down there — the whites who have done so much to hurt us — that it's so easy to do good. We're going to say to all the blacks: Don't get mad, get smart. Don't shoot your brother, and don't bomb him. Just vote him out of office. Because the right will prevail. All the mean folks in this country will someday be gone. And then the country will belong to the good folks.

Mayor Charles Evers (Right), brother of the martyred Medgar Evers, being sworn in as Mayor of Fayette, Miss., by Justice of the Peace Willie Thompson. Mrs. Evers holds the Bible.

System Blamed

You can't blame the kids for what is happening in this country, and you can't blame the blacks. It is the system which has kept us in the corner. But the black mayor and the black aldermen of Fayette are going to behave the same to everyone—young, in-between, old; black, white; rich, poor.

We're going to prove this to white America. When you whites come to Fayette, you'll be able to drive there. And if you speed, we'll charge you the same amount we charge anyone. White and black, in our time, will pay the same cost of speeding—a dollar a mile per hour. Now, the Mayor gets his salary from traffic fines. And when you win, I lose. I hope they put me out of business. When you get arrested in Fayette, you're not going to be abused. No policeman is going to strike anyone. If I ever hear of any policeman hitting any man, he will be fired in a moment. We are not going to tolerate any brutality.

We need industry in Fayette. We got no jobs down there. We're seventy-five per cent of the population of that town, and sixty-five per cent of us blacks are on welfare. Twenty per cent of us are unemployed. The average level of education is less than the fifth grade. The average income is under a thousand dollars. There is not a single playground or swimming pool in town. It's not just the black folks who don't have these things. Nobody does. There are shack houses and no sewers. This is what white America has done to us. But we twelve blacks are going to make it better for blacks and whites. My dad always said, "Don't ever destroy anything or anybody." So we're all going to live and struggle together to make it a decent town.

No Guns

There are thirty-nine million poor folks in this country, and we blacks are only twenty-two million. That means there are a lot of poor Mexicans, poor Indians, poor Puerto Ricans, and poor whites — millions of all of us. That's why we're going to be mayor and aldermen for all our citizens. On July the seventh, we take office. On July the eighth, we are going to enact a law that will read something like this: "Anyone found carrying a gun in this town will be sent to jail for six months." There ain't nobody going to practice violence in our town. Then we'll issue an order saying that there will be no more discrimination in this town. And any contractor or shopkeeper — anyone — who doesn't comply is going to be prosecuted. Our schools will be open to everybody. There will be one school system, and that's all. Maybe what we do in Mississippi will help our black brothers and our white brothers all over the country. I'm only here to say: Let's help ourselves, Let's not cast anybody off, and let's not hate anybody. I'm not even going to hate that old chief of police, whom I'm going to fire on July the eighth.

It can be done. It's got to be done. We got no choice. Please, any of you here who are sitting on the fence, get down off it on the right side. Thank you so much. Come visit us in Fayette. Have no fear. ■

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In Pace With The Changing Church

August 15, 1969

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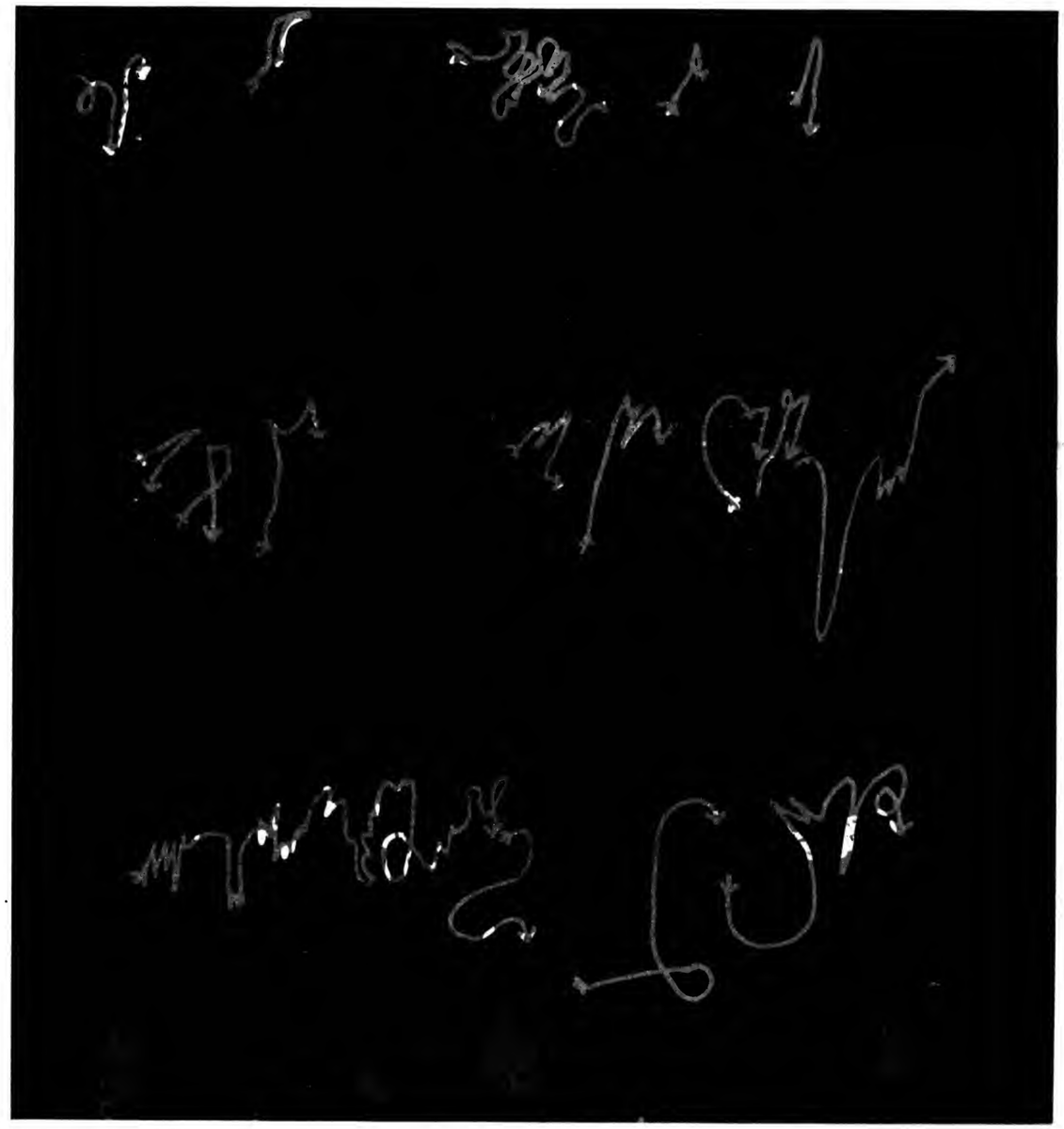

TEMPOsitions . . .

THE PROMISED HEAVENS

by Howard Schomer

FOR everything there is a season, and a time for every purpose under heaven. Most of humanity has spontaneously recognized midsummer 1969 as a season for the soaring of the spirit. In a crescendo of empathy, a large part of the world's people have reached out to Apollo 11, participating personally in the radiant venture of its crew. With shining eyes they have looked up to the men on the moon, beholding in their unique feat the dawn of a new destiny for mankind.

The personalities of the Apollo 11 crew have made it easy for millions to indentify with them in their daring enterprise. Armstrong, Aldrin and Collins in outer space, each so distinctively himself, come through to us earthlings as winsome contemporaries, possessing with great naturalness many of the qualities we would like to find in ourselves. We saw their cool matter-of-factness in the face of the unknown. We admired their ability to live supreme drama without melodramatics. We were struck by their grateful awareness that their achievements depended on the labors of a host of fellow-workers, present and past. We found in them the modesty of men intensely focussed on the looming realities beyond themselves. We quickened to their unique blend of awe and glee. Who will forget Neil and Buzz bounding and leaping lightly on the dry bed of the Sea of Tranquillity?

Many Christians have been inhibited by conscience from allowing themselves to soar with the astronauts in this summer of deepening frustration for our highest social objectives right here on earth. How can any American let himself rejoice in the success of the Apollo moon mission when the Vietnam War continues to drag on, the absolute need of nuclear disarmament is buried in plans for nuclear escalation, the drive toward racial justice is menaced by hardening polarization, domestic inflation erodes everybody's living standard and brings harsher suffering to the poor, the richer nations offer still fewer crumbs for the development needs of the whole Third World, and the gap widens between many of the student generation and the whole culture and society from which they spring?

"My own thought is different. The United States' investment in space did not cause any of these horrible conditions and its abandonment would not resolve them. Those who are most actively involved in Christian social action, who know the hard arithmetic of poverty and war, have a duty to make clear that it is not the 42 billion dollars spent on the space program since 1958 but the 714 billion dollars spent on our war budget during this period which is the true misappropriation of our federal tax resources. A still graver fact is that our Gross National Product has doubled (450 to 900 billion dollars) in the same period, so that our nation could readily have done what the combined civil rights leadership long ago called for—the 160 billion dollars in ten years "Freedom Budget"—even as it spent this much larger amount on war—if it had the will to do so. Clearly, the exploration of space has in itself not taken medicine, food, housing or education from any segment of our people, but it has quite pertinently demonstrated that this nation can find the resources to meet any material problem it is determined to resolve. We are morally free to probe the heavens, rejoicing in each achievement, but only on condition that we generate at the same time the same public commitment in support of massive measures to overcome the war and social oppression.

NASA and Noah

Space exploration seems to be essentially a matter of physics and technology, but it also penetrates to the heart of philosophy and theology. It raises in acute form the question of man's place and meaning in the universe. On December 23, 1959, in a public letter, I asked Wernher von Braun, director of the Huntsville Space Flight Center, "Could it be that you and your colleagues are but the half-conscious agents of man's flight from a habitat irrevocably condemned, a planet appointed to destruction? Is your true name Noah? Are your hapless rockets the forerunners of a new ark?"

Even then, when our rocket successes were yet few, Dr. von Braun responded with absolute faith: The question posed "will receive as much if not more contemplation than any other in this century. . . . Expanded physical frontiers will permit a greater number of *homo sapiens* to inhabit the universe—will permit the survival even of this species when our own solar system is a collection of cold dead rocks floating in the dark airless void—as it surely someday must be. . . . Man may even be the master ecological link for all life. Upon his survival may perhaps depend the sole survival and expansion of life in the universe. If this is so, . . . then it is profoundly important for religious reasons that he travel to other worlds, other galaxies; for it may be man's destiny to assure immortality not only of his race, but even of the life spark itself."

Our first men to visit the moon have not, of course, returned like Noah's dove with an olive leaf, and we did not expect to find life on the moon. But suppose that when science and technology have been pushed to their limits by further brilliant exploits like Apollo 11, they return to mankind with this measured judgment:

> "You are alone. You are unique in the whole accessible universe. Whatever may exist among the farthest stars, it will remain beyond our penetration. In the solar system, your home in the cosmos, you only are living consciousness incarnate."

Man has long found excitement and a certain reassurance in speculating on the likelihood that other, probably better, beings existed on other planets. I wonder if this landing on the moon, and the surveyor vehicles which the Soviets and the United States are already sending to spy out the nearest planets, may be reshaping our expectations. Would you be the more surprised to learn in the end that earthman is an only child, or that somewhere else in space he has indeed a brother?

Apollo, of course, was not only the Greek god of manly beauty. He was also the god of the prophetic vision, who delighted in the founding of cities and was the spiritual patron of colonists settling the islands and coastlands of the Mediterranean Sea. NASA has not officially identified itself as the collective Noah of our time, but it has christened its best space vehicles Apollo. Our generation may before long hear a call to go on pilgrimage to some Promised Heavens.

No kill-joy the Church, at such an exhilarating hour, it must nevertheless fulfill its own vocation. It has a question to ask and a witness to give as the new epoch rises before us:

> *Is contemporary man clean enough to colonize the heavens,*
> *or will he all unshriven project his guilty conflicts as far as*
> *he can reach, spoiling all the space he takes?*
>
> *Jesus Christ, "in whom all things were created, in heaven and on earth, and in whom all things hold together," is the Man for others, whatever planet be their home. Without his spirit, man's new immense journey is dangerous and doomed, but in his spirit, there could indeed open before us a new heaven and a new earth.* ■

Dr. Schomer is executive director, Department of Specialized Ministries, National Council of Churches' Division of Overseas Ministries. His writings have appeared in numerous journals.

THE COVER — The striking design on this issue's cover is actually a piece of music from "Accidents" by Larry Austin, reprinted with permission from SOURCE, Music of the Avant Garde, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2101 22nd St., Sacramento, California. Mr. Austin, Editor of SOURCE, explains the nature of the piece in these words: "Shown is a portion of the iridescent score of Larry Austin's "Accidents", for electronically prepared piano, mirrors, ring modulator, and actions. Accidental, rather than deliberate, actions cause the piano to sound. These sounds then are modified electronically and become the material for the composition." By way of further explanation, Ed Summerlin, author of the article on Pages 6 & 7, has this to say: "The piece is staged with the performer's back to the audience. Large mirrors reflect the action to the audience. The piano sounds are amplified and modified by the ring modulator, a device that combines and causes interaction between electronic signals." The editor has the last word: he doesn't understand it either. . . . For more about the new music heard in churches, turn to Mr. Summerlin's place, and the interview with Donald Swann, by L. I. Stell, on Page 3.

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause, Dorothy Ransenbrink, L. I. Stell
ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler
PROMOTION: David Poindexter
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull
Subscription Correspondence: TEMPO, P.O. Box 81, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010
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ONE of the qualities of the ecumenical movement that has made believers out of the dourest skeptics is the way it has survived all the conferences, consultations and assemblies called together in its name. Surely, only an effort truly touched by the Divine could survive the oratorical overkill that has been rained on the ecumenical quest in recent years.

Yet, in spite of the megatonnage of speeches and articles and books about the search for Christian unity, there always remains something new to be said on the matter. This was demonstrated most recently by the Sixth National Workshop for Christian Unity, held in Philadelphia in late June.

Although the five-day session was sponsored by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Philadelphia, at least a fourth of the more than 500 persons attending were Protestant. Planning for the meeting was done by an interreligious committee.

Two themes emerged from the series of addresses by a wide range of churchmen and scholars: (a) the future of Christian unity depends more on the men and women in the pews working and talking together than on theologians talking together, and, (b) ecumenism will have little if any future without sharp changes in the practices and even the structures of the churches —without, in fact, real church renewal.

JAN Cardinal Willebrands set the tone for the meeting. In his keynote address, the president of the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity asserted that the mission of the church in the world "comprises, first of all, the proclamation of the Gospel. The Gospel would, however, not be Good News if it was not a service to men. But have not Christians tended rather to regard the world as the place where they exercised their power rather than their field of service, so much so that little evidence was given of Christ's way and of his cross, so that, in the event, they lost their own unity?

"If this is so," the cardinal continued, "then the way back to Christian unity must lead through a true and real service to the world which can only be effected by the spirit of the Church which is destined not to rule but to serve—just as the Master came not to be served but to serve. . . . The church lays claim to being a sign of man's future unity, yet often appears to be irrelevant, because of its excessive preoccupation with its own concern."

The Rev. Dr. William H. Lazareth, dean of Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, nailed down even harder the need for a united Christian assault on contemporary problems — particularly racism. "Now, as never before, the Church of Jesus Christ must consciously dedicate all of its resources to a life and death struggle with the demonic evils of racism," he declared.

After graphically cataloging the condition that makes the city ghettoes' long hot summers —explosions that "can be properly understood only against the cancerous background of the even longer cold winters of rats, roaches, rapes and reefers," Dr. Lazareth challenged the assembled ecumenists: "If you can't speak to these human conditions this week, then for God's sake have the integrity to pack your bags and go home quickly."

Christians today, he went on, are called "to demonstrate their confident hope that the Saviour of the world is also the Lord of history. As we are called to worship with fellow-saints in integrated churches, so we are called to work with fellow citizens for an open and inclusive society."

Questioned in the discussion period, the Lutheran theologian discounted any theory of instant unity. "We've had too little time to speak to each other," he said. "But I see a growing together in love. It may be that unity comes as we bleed together for the world. We may learn to talk together only after we have walked and bled together."

If the clergy, nuns and lay men and women assembled for the workshop didn't do much bleeding in the posh quarters of the Philadelphia Sheraton, they did plenty of talking and even some walking together. One of the highlights of the workshop was a unity walk from city center to the Enon Baptist Church at the edge of the black community. The visit to the black Baptist church was part of the workshop's plan to help participants experience a different "liturgical observance" each day. A Greek Orthodox Service and a Quaker meeting rounded out this part of the program.

AT Enon, one cardinal, three bishops and an assortment of Protestant and Catholic clergy were shown seats of honor in the chancel under a lighted cross and sign proclaiming JESUS SAVES. The guests nodded and tapped their feet in time to the soul music of the two magnificently trained choirs. But they left it to the members of the Enon Church to call out the traditional "amens" as the Rev. William J. Shaw, president of the Baptist Conference of Philadelphia, told the racially and religiously integrated congregation: "By our divisions, we stand in the way of God instead of in the way *with* God. If our religion separates us, then what in the world is going to get us together?"

The conference's small discussion groups, which met twice daily, were remarkable for their openness and willingness to tolerate trampling of dogmatic toes. Birth control, Mariology, papal infallibility, even intercommunion were freely discussed—there appeared to be no taboos.

A white-haired Quaker lady set the tone for her group when she said: "The Bible tells us to 'worship in spirit and in truth.' We've worshipped together in the Spirit, but we can't worship in truth unless we are willing to discuss our differences."

Any vestigial images Protestants may have had of Going My Way-type Catholic laity, cheerfully acquiescent to the clergy, were quietly atomized by the vigor of the exchanges in the small discussion groups. In one group a priest who adamantly countered all arguments by both fellow-clergy and laity for intercommunion was finally challenged by an exasperated young lay woman. "Father," she said sweetly, "are you sure you understand Communion?"

THE most revolutionary view on ecumenicity was offered by a German theologian, Father Johannes B. Metz, from the University of Muenster. "There can be no effective progress in the ecumenical movement today without a corresponding change in the structures and practices of the Churches themselves," he declared.

According to Father Metz, a prerequisite for being an ecumenical theologian is to be "a critical reformer of his own Church . . . there is only one way for us to advance toward ecumenical unity; we must change the existing public practices of the Churches and the structures which incarnate this practice."

But in the Catholic Church, he went on, there is today "a crisis of renewal" which, he suggested, amounts to "the counter-reformation of 1969. . . . It is public knowledge that there are groups within the Church arming themselves against renewal, casting suspicion on the (Vatican) Council and doing everything they can to cast the spirit of the Council out of us. Once more there is an Inquisition, certainly more subtle and veiled than in previous centuries, but all the more hazardous and serious because it is so veiled."

Because of these counter-reformationist pressures, said Father Metz, "The Church's plight is like that of a child who does not learn to walk because he is afraid of falling."

He accused the Church—as institution—of reacting "according to the pattern of all institutions which seek above all to preserve their structures and guarantee their survival."

The German theologian stressed the rôle of "public opinion" in the development and verification of Church doctrine. The Vatican Council, he noted, paved the way for this emphasis in its designation of the church as "the pilgrim people of God," rather than holding to the earlier definition of the church as a "mystical body." If this new concept of the Church prevails, he reasoned, some "changes in the concrete way of life of the church" will be required. Among these changes is the "building up of a critical public opinion within the Church and the dismantling of that merely representational publicness" of the present.

Father Metz sees this new people-oriented concept of the Church affecting even the doctrine of papal infallibility. He noted that "the earlier history of the Church shows that a papal decision on doctrine never simply descended in isolation 'from above.' Rather than being a point of departure, it was much more the result of an inclusive process of the whole Church's learning experience.

"If I am not mistaken then," he continued, "the later practice of the Church is really a departure from taking public opinion into serious account in the ecclesial discovery of truth and in the process of decision-making. This public opinion cannot simply be reproduced as it was—that would even be a hindrance to the general change in the structure of this public opinion—but it can give the Church of today the courage to develop or admit unreservedly a critical public opinion." ■

A Report on Christian Unity from Philadelphia

by Marjorie Hyer

A CHRISTIAN UNITY WALK IN PHILADELPHIA — Participants in the Christian Unity Workshop, some several hundred strong, conduct a "Unity Walk" from center of city to Enon Baptist Church at the edge of the local black community, where an ecumenical service was conducted.

HOPE FOR ECUMENISM: THE LAITY AND A RENEWED CHURCH

A Report on Faith And Order from Saint Louis

SALVATION AND LIFE

by Willis E. Elliott

"WILL what you do there make any difference at the local level?" This participant's wife wanted to know as he set out for the Fourth National Faith and Order Colloquium at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. She was quizzical, not cynical; and her question recurred to me time and again as we some hundred theologians and ecclesiarchs deliberated "Salvation and Life" June 8 through 12. In my inner questioning throughout the sessions, she was the representative of all local Christians, laity and clergy, who wonder, increasingly, about the down-to-earth daily value of "theology" and "theological consultations" in a world full of guttier issues and more tangible threats and promises.

Can a theological colloquium be, like TEMPO, of the temper of the times? Can it escape *the temptation to play yesterday*, or is theology doomed to be the ho-hum activity most laity and increasing numbers of clergy assume it to be? Shortly before the Colloquium, a man in a Stanley Steamer, who tools around the block emitting great billows of white cloud, explained to me that as a hurried and harried business executive he thus enjoys pretending it's a half-century ago. Face to face with the world's aggressive secularism and its own death-of-God aftermath, is theology, when theologians get together, archaizing, or even turning theology into an antique hobby?

The presence of student representatives from many seminaries where groups had studied the basic papers of the Colloquium—Bethany, Catholic University of America, Concordia, Union, and the University of San Francisco—assured that this question would not be suppressed. In their "Student Statement to the Faith and Order Colloquium near the end of the five days, they described themselves as of "a developing theological tradition" with two "primary concerns": (1) "identity with the world in which we, as individuals and as theologians, are involved," and (2) "a keen sense of awareness that theology must be done always in the context in which we live and witness." They emphasized the action-orientation of the Colloquium's Statement of Purpose: *To prepare a statement of findings on the Christian meaning of salvation and its relationship to man's life AS A BASIS FOR DERIVING ECUMENICAL STRATEGIES IN MISSION AND EVANGELISM."*

The Generation Gap Faced

In contrast to the previous national Faith and Order colloquia, this year's gave voice to the youngest theologians, those who are around the time of seminary graduation. Jack Lowe, Daniel Onley, Richard Kraemer, John Mounton and James Perkins, and Mark Jesenko (representing, in order, the schools mentioned above) were more than full participants: each had major responsibilities in the plenums. That their presence was no patronizing gesture but an authentic openness on the part of the planning committee and its competent and wise staff leader, William A. Norgren, all participants would agree—unless to give them so much attention was patronizing! (I incline to this view. Though I was solidly with the feelings and perspectives of the students, I would have preferred that their reports from their school-groups be as condensed as was their wholly admirable final "Statement.")

The School Trap

But while the seminary students were world-oriented, their influence was not weighty enough to offset the long ecumenical Faith and Order tradition of *playing school* and leaving the world to "Life and Work" ecumenical agencies and instrumentalities. Whatever justification this structural split between thought and action may have had

AN ECUMENICAL EXCHANGE — John Cardinal Carberry, of St. Louis (Left) chats with the Rev. William A. Norgren, Director for Faith and Order in the National Council of Churches during sessions of the annual Faith and Order Colloquium. Cardinal Carberry told the 100 theologians in attendance: "In the Roman Catholic Church we have been late in coming to the ecumenical field . . . but we are trying to make up for lost time."

from 1910 to the recent present, we are now experiencing it as intolerably crippling both thought and action in the Church and its mission.

In his masterful "The Task of the National Faith and Order Colloquium: 1970-72," with which he opened the Colloquium, Mr. Norgren was fully conscious of the school trap, the tendency to let academic types dominate Faith and Order meetings, all other types (chiefly church administrators at all levels, including pastors) being recessive (atavizing to the old-style classroom!). Yet the design of the Colloquium did not escape the trap: The bulk of the time was given to plenums (as always in the past) rather than to small task-groups, a decision that minimized participation by "participants" and maximized the professorial syndrome. Accordingly, the focus was not on worldly concerns and problems or even on churchly issues, but on two professors, or rather on a paper each from two professors — John B. Cobb, Jr.'s "The Meaning of Salvation" and Donald E. Miller's "Salvation and Man's Life." Both gentlemen professed embarrassment that so much attention was given their papers — more than a dozen formal mimeoscript critiques; and well they might, despite the high competence of their studies, for this focus created an imbalance toward the academic and away from the action end of the scale. As the participants are a mix of theologians and church administrators, this reduced the latter to the status of junior and not always fascinated partners. More seriously, it gave dominance to the school image over the think-tank image, with the result that action—"deriving ecumenical strategies in mission and evangelism," our stated action—goal—could be evaded or at least neglected with little loss of respectability except from the students' perpetual prodding.

Intention: Interdisciplinary Dialogue

In addition to the students, a second welcome innovation this year was the presence of experts in disciplines outside of Faith and Order. Each presented a critique of one or the other major paper, and most of these critiques were in the hands of the participants long before the Colloquium convened (as were, of course, the two position papers). The breadth of fields and quality of these specialists signals both how serious the staff of the National Council of Churches' Division of Christian Unity's Department of Faith and Order was about having them, and how serious are now many of high competence in nontheological disciples about entering into conversation with theologians and church administrators:. . . the director of The Menninger Foundation's Department of Education (Paul W. Pruyser) . . . the senior staff economist of the U.S. Council of Economic Advisors (James W. Kuhn) . . . sociologists (Earl D. C. Brewer, executive director of the National Council of Churches' Department of Research) and Norman Birnbaum of Amherst College) . . . a planner (Neiland J. Douglas, Jr., associate general secretary, National Council of Churches' Office of Planning and Program . . . a psychologist (Steven Matthysse) . . . and a philosopher (Kenneth L. Schmitz). All these in addition to a historian of religions (Wilfred Cantwell Smith) and a religion-and-humanities professor (William A. Clebsch, the only one whose critique had to be presented by mimeoscript only).

Time dictated that such riches of input, even though most of the mimeo material was not read in plenum, afforded little opportunity either for the "outside experts" to become engaged, to their own enlightenment and ours, or for the participants to work through to clear foci and recommendations. Yet though the Colloquium, in design and style, had somewhat less than a robust relation to gutty current human realities, the "Completed Findings Committee Report" is surprisingly supple in "shared convictions" and sharp in "the state of the question" ("misleading antitheses," "distinctions that clarify," and "questions remaining"). Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant theologians and church administrators are closer together on "salvation" than but a few years ago one would have thought possible.

"Salvation" To Be Continued

The Fifth Colloquium—June 7-11, 1970—will extend the theme of salvation into the corporate dimensions of lostness and savedness: "Salvation and Community" is to be its theme. The planning committee intends that the cumulative force of the previous colloquia be applied to issues agonizing church and society and to the human and Christian potential for salvation from "the principalities and powers" now threatening man's joy, fulfillment, and even existence. The committee was uninfluenced by but rejoiced in the fact that moving in this same direction are the current World Council of Churches' study on "Man in Nature and History" (emphasizing the relation of the unity of the Church to the unity of mankind) and the projected Second North American Conference on Faith and Order (also of the World Council of Churches).

Finally, a word to the yawning skeptic. As a good marriage is more than words but entails continual, sensitive, listening and speaking, so Christians in all their confessional, interconfessional, and geographical relationships need to converse with the perpetual *intention to act together* in God's mission of truth, justice, love, peace. Faith and Order gatherings—in studying our Christian roots, reexamining past decisions that divided us, puzzling over present divisive issues, facing new realities in this new age, finding new soul-mates, and forming new coalitions for reflection and action—are indispensable. Sometimes even exciting! ■

Dr. Elliott is secretary, Division of Evangelism, Board of Homeland Ministries, United Church of Christ. In September, he will join the staff of New York Theological Seminary as professor and in administration.

An Interview with Donald Swann, by L. I. Stell

NOTES FOR THE SPACE BETWEEN THE BARS

DONALD Swann, showman-musician-composer, is best known in this country for his collaboration with his London colleague, Michael Flanders, in the two Broadway reviews, "At the Drop of a Hat" and "At the Drop of Another Hat." The second successful Broadway run was followed by a CBS-TV special in the fall of 1967.

After dropping the hat around the world on an extended tour, Swann decided to devote his considerable talents to more serious composition. He has scored poems of John Dryden, Lord Byron, Oscar Wilde, John Betjeman and C. Day Lewis. Much of his new music has been written for and performed in churches. Among them: a setting for the morning service of the Anglican liturgy, a new book (and recording) of carols titled, "Sing Round the Year," and finally a new program anthologizing his church music called "Soundings by Swann," which has played in concert before enthusiastic crowds in churches throughout England.

To document and clarify where his composing is taking him, Swann wrote his book-length philosophy of music and life, *The Space Between the Bars*, which was just published here by Simon and Schuster. Soon he is expecting to tour U.S. campuses with "Set by Swann," a revue with the foremost feature being a musical setting for Tolkien's "The Lord Of The Rings." Also hoped for in the near future is another Broadway appearance in the musical drama which Swann made of the late C. S. Lewis' work of science fiction, "Perelandra."

Are church people in general demanding something new and contemporary in church music these days?

I have the feeling that ordinary people are asking to have a voice of their own over against the traditional music to which they are accustomed.

They identify church music with something statuesque, petrified, and often sentimental, and have a feeling that something quite new needs to—is going to—happen. And I hope it does. Because you know music has to be very good. We need an awful lot written before enough really good things are around—some of which will stick.

Donald Swann

Where can new music be found?

Now you've come across immediately one of the great difficulties, publication and recording. The problem comes because in the end music is a specific thing, however much it brings new ideas. In fact, it's a series of notes and a series of songs that have to become available—and sometimes appear in strange places. Sidney Carter, one of the most important composers of new "church" music, has been active in folk music for a long time and believes very strongly that the world outside the church is rather more important than the world within it. And so it was in coffee houses that some of his first "Christian" songs appeared. For example, "Friday Morning," "The Thief on the Cross," complaining about God who made the world of pain, and "Lord of the Dance," that lively song to a Shaker tune which seems to be going around everywhere now, I keep hearing it.

In your new book, "The Space Between the Bars" you mentioned you heard it at New York's first "be-in."

Yes, to my great delight in 1966 at Easter, a group sang "Lord of the Dance" outside on the Sheep's Meadow in Central Park. I thought it amazing, because it was just a few years back that I was writing it out for him in my own room. You know, he just whistled it to me. It's caught on also in England as a sort of hymn. Of course, it's still very much livelier than the average hymn because of its very fast tempo. People look 'round and think, "what's going on here?" Soon they see it's about a dance. Actually there is another good dancing carol by Gustav Holst, "Tomorrow is my Dancing Day." He rewrote an old medieval carol. One publisher called Galliard has undertaken printing as many of these new things as possible.

Are there any particular forms of music which you think are better for the church, or can be better adapted by the church?

Folk music and the folk idiom is by far the nearest of the idioms that the modern church can use. There are two reasons: The first is that the words predominate in folk music. They have never got snarled up in musical snobbery. There is a tune. It might be sung well, it might not be sung well, but the words are telling something. Secondly, the religious content of their songs was always present. Folk musicians have passion, beliefs—deeply involved in the suffering of mankind. They are singing about this and that other person who's in trouble—whether it be drugs or war or anything. You name it. It's in the poetry. A performance by Pete Seeger is almost a religious service.

In your new book you implied that the new "church" music is a part of a greater religious movement?

The new African and Argentine Masses—the Missa Luba and the Missa Criolla—both exotic but well crafted and scored—are a part of a great

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Guitars, Folk Hymns and Liturgy

THE NEW CHURCH MUSIC: REVOLUTION OR SMALL PROTEST?

by Ed Summerlin

Ed Summerlin came into public prominence in 1957 as the composer of a Requiem of Mary Jo, the first jazz liturgy performed in this country. Since then, he has been commissioned to write many works for the church—as well as network television in the U.S. and Canada. His current projects are a program for BBC-TV, a mixed media event for this summer's liturgical conference of the Catholic church and a Hymnal of new church music for congregation use to be published by the Wesley Foundation of the Methodist Church.

The latest performance of one of his major works was on June 16 at the Interchurch Center Chapel. The work, Christ Lag in Tebesbanden *(Christ Lay in Death's Dark Prison) or* Where Do We Go From Here *contains a diverse array of musical elements. Strings, trumpets, trombones, alto saxophone, bass, drums, tape recorder, transistor radios, overhead projectors will assist the singing and speaking of chorus and soloists.*

Its next performance will be at an International Christian Artist's Conference in Salsburg this September. His latest commission is from the American Guild of Organists for their next assembly.

FOR better or for worse we are living in a time of revolution and protest. More and more ministers and priests are fighting the establishment, experimenting with new liturgies or (as a last resort), leaving the organized church completely. It has been rather disappointing to me, as a contemporary composer, to find that many of these same people are completely comfortable with our outmoded hymnody and church music. For instance, a nonconformist like Malcolm Boyd recites his contemporary prayers with the bland guitar of Charlie Byrd in the background, which makes about as much sense as Leroi Jones reading with Lawrence Welk. The same clergyman who preaches on the sexual revolution or the artistry of movie directors Fellini and Godard follows with something like, "Now let us turn to hymn number—, which was written at least 100 years ago."

It seems to me that the real seeds of revolution and ferment that are apparent in the church are its growing ability to accept secularization and involvement in social and political issues. The new guitar liturgies and hymns that abound today are direct descendants of social protest songs. The guitar became the instrument of the freedom rides and marches and found its way into the impromptu religious services of various groups. (Before that, it was the accepted instrument for church camps. But then, these were crude surroundings and crude music could be used. This music was never used back home in the *Sunday* service—Heaven Forbid!)

Now, of course, guitars have become an accepted member of the sacred family of instruments, many times replacing, or becoming an adjunct to, the noble organ. Many people feel that this constitutes a real revolution, but I doubt it. It smacks too much of expediency. The guitar lends itself well to amateur performers and it is not harsh or demanding. I am not intimating that these qualities are undesirable, but rather that they add up to about the same result as much of our church music that they are supposedly updating. No, this is not a revolution. It is more like the slow inevitable historical progress that is common in the church. We seem to have a knack for "discovering" musical innovations after they have been around for quite a number of years. Bob Dylan became a popular topic of church conversation as he began to lapse into semi-retirement. Simon and Garfunkel albums sold like hotcakes at a recent Protestant worship conference, due probably to the great success of their music for *The Graduate*—and only after their records had been played to the point of worn-out scratches by anyone who had bought them several years ago when they had something new and exciting to say. The revolution will come, to my way of thinking, when new and exciting forms are accepted and used *before* they become safe, and when ministers (particularly) will show the *same courage* when selecting ministers of music as they do when insisting that some person from a disenfranchised minority be seated on a school or town board.

NOW, having said this, let's investigate the small protest movement that is taking place in church music. As I have indicated, by far the strongest movement has been in the direction of folk music. Almost every city of any size has at least one or more churches that have a guitar Mass on Sunday morning. According to several priests with whom I have talked, these masses are usually the best attended. The Catholic church seems to have readily accepted and entered into these services as part of the numerous changes that came about with Pope John and the Vatican Council. There are at least two excellent companies which produce religious folk records, Avante-Garde and F.E.L. Records. One of the earliest and still one of the best folk Masses entitled "Rejoice" was written by students at General Theological Seminary in New York. Ian Mitchell and Father Clarence Rivers also wrote early folk Masses, but the music was not as good as "Rejoice." All three of these have been used extensively and can still be heard quite often.

Sydney Carter, an English poet-singer, is one of the best writers of texts in this idiom. He is famous for *"Lord of the Dance"* but has written many others such as the anti-war *"Crow on the Cradle"* and *"Judas and Mary."* John Ylvisaker, son of a Lutheran pastor in Minneapolis, has gained a national following through his *Mass for the Secular City* and numerous folk and folk-rock hymns. There are two very excellent men who are not so well-known. One is the Rev. Joseph Hardegree, a chaplain at Stanford University and the other is the Rev. Phil West, a Methodist minister in a Brooklyn, New York church. I used several of their songs in a hymnal I am currently editing for the Wesley Foundation at the University of Wisconsin. Their texts are relevant and the tunes, especially in Phil West's material, are good.

The Medical Mission Sisters of Philadelphia have scored great commercial successes with their albums, *Joy Is Like the Rain, I Know the Secret,* and *Knock Knock.* Much of their poetry is too insipid and saccharine for me, but each album seems to get better musically. They are by far the hippest group of singing nuns around.

There are numerous other people around. Some are well-known, like Ray Repp, Sister Germaine and Bill Flanders and, although they do not strike me as having much originality or musical interest, their music and recordings are reaching many ears.

I think it's important to point out that the strong argument for folk music is that many of the folk writers are good poets and—although some of the new cliches are as bad as the old ones—at least they are introducing more contemporary language and concerns into the established church services.

Local churches can easily stimulate interest in hymnody by having workshops for young people and/or adults—it is an easily accessible form and guitar players are readily found, even in small cities.

Some of the most creative musicians around today are the pop and rock players. Everyone should be aware of the impact that the Beatles have had not only pop music but on our whole youth-oriented culture. Their absolute involvement with the music and its accompanying life-style make pop musicians some of the most valid artists of our day. Unfortunately, the church seems unable to accept this kind of uncompromising validity. But, accept it or not, this *is* the folk music of our day. Electronic amplification is as natural as traveling by jet, and it seems a bit ridiculous to expect young musicians to strum acoustic guitars and sing in dulcet tones while the world is screaming about them. Oddly enough, the latest trend in pop music is toward contemporary versions of old gospel tunes. A new group called Delaney, Bonnie and Friends has recorded a wonderful arrangement of *When the Battle's Over* and do others like *May the Circle Be Unbroken.* It is the spirit and joy that they bring to these old tunes that make them work.

There are numerous pop groups that have made recordings that would be useful as church music. The Beatles, Rolling Stones, Jefferson Airplane, The Who and a host of others. The Beatles have written many tunes that would make good hymns including *All You Need Is Love* and *Nowhere Man.* Young Janis Ian noted for her hit *Society's Child* is getting better all the time.

There is a group called the Mind Garage that travels around to local churches doing a rock Mass. They have played for The Liturgical Conference and several New York churches including St. Marks in the Bowery and St. Clements. They are a good group musically, but their melodies

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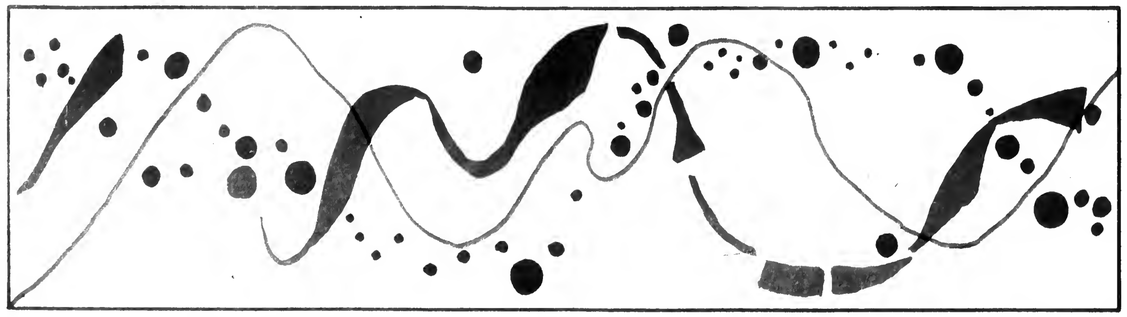
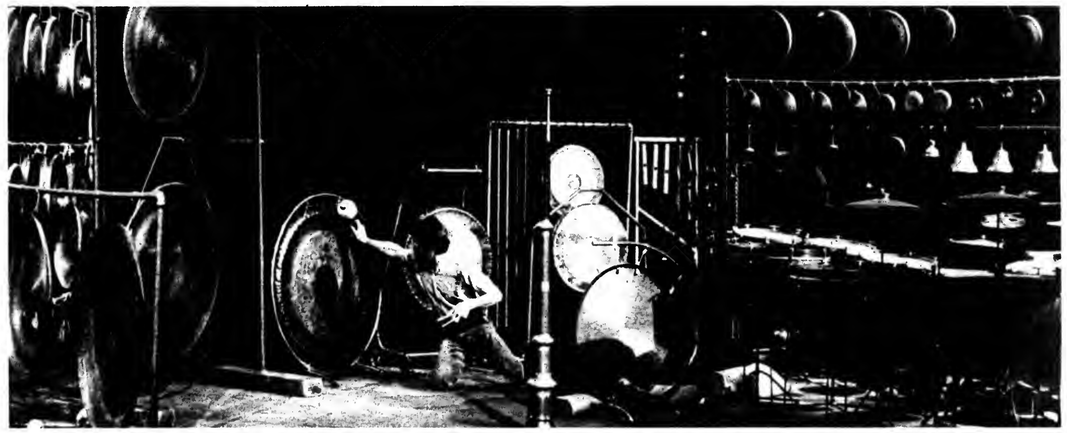
DESIGN FOR MUSIC WITH BODY MOVEMENT — Performance notes for this work (only a short segment is shown) follows: The piece should be copied on a large poster board, 3 by 10 feet. As the yardstick is passed across it, the symbols that emerge behind it are executed. The tempo can vary.

Broken Irregular Lines: Voice Sounds. The thicker the line, the greater the volume of sound. The larger the dot, the louder the short notes. High and low are self-explanatory.

Continuous Line: Body Movements. The piece starts in a crouching or prone position. The body follows the line, ending stretching for the sky. Black Dots: Percussion. The higher pitched instruments (bells, triangles etc.) should play higher parts. Drums, bongos, etc. should play the lower parts. The larger the dot, the louder the sound.



THREE WHO COMPOSE AND PERFORM THE NEW CHURCH MUSIC



CHRISTOPHER TREE comes barefoot to Wall Street's Trinity Church, bringing a reverence for sound's own language. With gongs, chimes, timpani, flutes and other instruments — almost 200 of them — he responds in exotic tones to his religious mood wherever he performs, in half-lit church sanctuaries or the grassy outdoors. His Spontaneous Sound, which has brought tears to many an adult's eyes, and dancing to the feet of near-deaf children, is also perfomed in prisons, mental institutions, discoteques and coffee houses. As Tree puts it, "I'm sharing the instruments I've begun to know over the past 16 years."

EDDIE BONNEMERE'S music, combined with the informality and warmth of Fr. Kevin Kelly's homilies, invariably pack the church with worshippers during the experimental 11 o'clock mass of St. Thomas The Apostle, in New York City's Harlem. Most of the words which Bonnemere has carefully selected to be heard with the music of his seven-piece band come directly from the Bible. His music is also available to Protestants through a recent recording for Lutherans.

ED SUMMERLIN, shown during a performance of one of his works. He describes his ideas and projects in detail in the accompanying article, starting on opposite page.

"ABM Will Make A Less Dangerous World"

ABM IS A SHIELD, NOT A SWORD

by Ernest W. Lefever

(On a number of occasions, TEMPO *has stated the case against the proposed anti-ballistic missile system, now up for decision in Congress. In the following article, Dr. Ernest W. Lefever, senior fellow on the Foreign Policy Studies staff of the Brookings Institution, states the case for ABM. Dr Lefever, an ordained minister, once spent three years (1952-1954) as associate director of the National Council of Churches' Department of International Affairs. He is also currently professor of international politics at American University. Among his books are,* Ethics and U.S. Foreign Policy *and* Arms and Arms Control.)

IN our dangerous world where nuclear war is possible, though not probable, any humane citizen wants his government to pursue policies designed to prevent a nuclear holocaust. Concerned and informed persons differ in their assessment of the external threat faced by the United States and of the means to counter the threat as they see it.

Will President Nixon's proposed Safeguard ABM system make nuclear war more or less likely than alternative ways of dealing with the strategic threat of the mid-1970s?

To deal with this fundamental political and moral question, one must define the dangers we face. The President and most strategic experts believe we will confront a new and serious nuclear threat within five years if present trends in the United States and the Soviet Union continue. In the past decade Soviet spending for strategic nuclear weapons has increased about 70 percent, while ours has declined about 50 percent. For several years Russia has been spending substantially more on its strategic forces than we have on ours.

By the mid-1970s Russia's massive SS-9 intercontinental missiles will be sufficiently accurate to virtually wipe out our land-based Minuteman missiles in their reinforced concrete silos in on devastating blow—unless we develop an active defense for them before that time. This widely accepted judgment is a statement of Russian military capability, not a statement of Russian political intentions. We have no way of knowing what Soviet leaders intend to do with their mighty military capability. But we do know from history that political leaders sometimes are prepared to use the maximum military power they have to achieve their objectives.

To put it another way, the strategic stability that now prevails between U.S. and Soviet forces, and which thus far has prevented nuclear war, is now being seriously challenged by the dramatic upsurge of Soviet missile might. The situation is further complicated by the capacity of both sides to develop multiple warheads on one missile—MIRVs, multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles, though neither we nor they have completed a testing program.

Doctrine of Mutual Deterrence

The major strategic problem is to prevent a first nuclear attack from either side. If we succeed in this prime objective there will never be a deliberate nuclear exchange. This is where the doctrine of mutual deterrence comes in. Each side must have the capacity to deter a first strike by the other. The essence of this capacity is a second-strike force sufficient to deliver an unacceptable blow to the homeland of the other—thus deterring any rational and responsible government from launching an attack in the first place.

There are two principal ways of maintaining a creditable deterrent force. One is to deploy more offensive missiles than the adversary can destroy. The other is to deploy a smaller number of offensive weapons, but better protected.

It is this second alternative that Safeguard is designed to make possible. Since hardening will not provide adequate protection for Minuteman in the mid-seventies, an active defense is required. As such an active system, Safeguard will maintain an effective deterrent without a significant increase in U.S. offensive weapons.

Safeguard is an anti-ballistic missile system designed to destroy attacking missiles before they reach their targets and without detonating the nuclear warhead of the attack missile. Its long-range Spartan missile intercepts the attack missile 200 to 400 miles above the earth. The smaller Sprint destroys warheads missed by Spartan within 40 miles of the target. No one claims perfection for this complex system which involves radar and computers, but the majority of the best

informed scientists believe it would be about 80 percent efficient.

In my professional contacts with scientists and engineers in and out of Government, I have had many opportunities to discuss the feasibility of Safeguard. I am convinced it will work, a conviction based primarily on my respect for the views of experts who have a good record of being right in the past.

Five Reasons

I reject as immoral and dangerous the position of those Safeguard opponents, and there are many, that a substantial increase of U.S. missile capacity is the best way to counter the new Soviet threat of the 1970s. There are five reasons why President Nixon's Safeguard system is preferable to the alternative of deploying additional offensive weapons, all of which have significant moral and political implications.

First: Safeguard will more effectively protect our deterrent than the multiplication of new offensive weapons. It is better to protect the weapons we have than to build and deploy additional offensive weapons which, if matched by the other side, will also need protection.

Second: Safeguard is not as provocative to the Soviet Union as the multiplication of offensive weapons. A shield is less menacing than a sword. Recognizing this, the Russians have deployed ABM weapons at some 60 sites and have repeatedly asserted the desirability of defensive weapons. We have deployed no ABM weapons. The fact that Moscow has made no official protests against our ABM plans suggests that the Soviet leaders accept the mutual need for a limited ABM system, at least against the common threat from Red China.

There is no evidence that Congressional support for Safeguard will delay strategic arms limitation talks with Moscow nor adversely affect their outcome. On the contrary, if we entered the talks just as the President's request was rejected by the Congress, we would start off from a position of weakness that the Soviets would be tempted to exploit.

Third: Safeguard would have a stabilizing effect on strategic arms expenditures on both sides, while a new round of offensive weapons could launch a strategic arms race. The mutually provocative character of offensive missiles has been demonstrated in the past. After declining 50 percent in the past ten years, U.S. strategic expenditures have leveled off substantially below current Soviet strategic spending. It is important to note that U.S. strategic expenditures (including research, development, hardware, maintenance, and manpower) constitute about 15 percent of the defense budget, the remaining 85 percent going for general purpose forces.

Fourth: Safeguard is less expensive than a significant increase in offensive weapons. The requested ABM appropriation for 1970 is $893 million, which is less than 1/90 of the defense budget and less than 1/1000 of the GNP The total cost of the projected ABM program from 1968 (the year Congress authorized it) through its completion in 1976 is estimated at $10.2 billion, or about eight percent U.S. strategic expenditures, less than two percent of each defense budget, and about one-fifth of one percent of the GNP. By any measure this is a tiny fraction of our total resources, and in any event, defense "savings" are not transferrable to any other slot in the Federal budget.

Fifth: Perhaps most significant of all, Safeguard increases the military, diplomatic, and moral options of the President in and serious confrontation with a nuclear adversary or in the event of a nuclear accident. If a nuclear event should occur now, the President has two choices—he can choose to do nothing militarily or he can unleash nuclear retaliation against Russian cities. This is a terrible choice. While we all hope that no President will ever be faced with a deliberate nuclear attack or even a nuclear accident, what humane and rational man would deny him a third option in that fateful moment—if a third option were available?

A New Button for Nixon

Safeguard provides that third option between capitulation and retaliation. If a nuclear event occurs after we have a deployed ABM system, the President will not be limited to doing nothing and pushing a button that may kill millions of Russians. He will have an ABM button, a damage-limiting option, which may save millions of American lives without killing a single Russian. Who would deny the President this chance to save millions of lives, to reflect, to plan? Furthermore, Safeguard strengthens mutual deterrence and thus reduces the probability of a nuclear attack in the first place.

Our world is becoming more dangerous and uncertain because of China's growing nuclear might. By 1975 Peking will be able to launch a nuclear attack against the United States. Both Communist giants have serious internal stresses, and a leadership crisis at the top could erupt at any time. In the ensuing power struggle there could be a breakdown of restraint and a nuclear event, by design, miscalculation, or accident, could take place. If the United States were the target, we want to be in a position to limit damage to ourselves and to avoid a full-scale nuclear exchange. Only an ABM system can make this possible. Offensive missiles can retaliate and cause damage. but they cannot prevent and limit damage. Safeguard can prevent and limit damage, but it cannot cause it. Safeguard is a shield, not a sword. ■

The Sponsors and The Public: New Elements in an Old Debate

by Hazel Henderson

WHICH WAY OUR MASS MEDIA?

THE latest A. C. Nielsen figures show that the average American TV home in 1968 watched five hous and forty-six minutes of television *per day.* This is more time than most children spend daily in the classroom, and helps explain why more scholars than ever are beginning to scrutinize all forms of mass-media, both electronic and print. Dr. Carl Kaysen of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, says that our mass-media are "the great teachers of our society . . . for more pervasive in their reach and far more persistent in their influence than school or church. Back in 1947, when radio was in its prime and there were still relatively few television sets in our homes, the report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, chaired by Dr. Robert Hutchins, then president of the University of Chicago, warned us that the new media of mass-communications" . . . can facilitate thought and discussion or they can stifle it. They can advance the progress of civilization or they can thwart it. They can debase and vulgarize mankind. They can endanger the peace of the world . . . accidentally, in a fit of absence of mind. They can play up or down the news and its significance, foster and feed the emotions, create complacent fictions and blind spots, misuse the great words and uphold empty slogans. Their scope and power are increasing everyday. . . ."

Indeed, Federal Communications Commissioner Nicholas Johnson recently urged the formulation of standard and qualifying examinations for mass-media news reporters, who in effect have become "unlicensed teachers" of millions of Americans.

Today, at last, more people are becoming aware of the awesome power of all forms of mass-communications over our conscious and sub-conscious minds—and how they shape our perceptions of reality, our attitudes and our actions. What's more, the previously apathetic viewers and consumers are finally becoming aroused to the need for positive action—much to the chagrin of the communications industry. Today these channels of communication in America are technically advanced beyond those available to any other body-politic, and they inform and mis-inform our citizens on an unprecedented scale. This national nervous-system of mass-communications has been an accidentally revoluntionary force. It has shown the poor how the rich live, and shown the rich what it is like to live in a rat-infested city slum. Mass-media have taught the black man that white is beautiful and thereby damaged his own self-image. Incessant advertising has whetted the appetitie of the poor for countless consumer goodies they can never afford, which contributes to the incidence of looting during civil disturbances. Mass-media have brought the violence of war into the family living room and made it possible for the first time for parents to see their sons killed in Vietnam—in color, on television. The traditional editorial judgments that "rape, riot and ruin" are what sells newspapers are destructive enough in print; but when hitched to the amplification system of radio and television they can keep a society in a near-constant state of hysteria.

Mass-media can fascinate and enlighten us too. They can stretch the minds of our children with documentaries on wild-life, science and history, and make reading, learning and exploring appeal to a child. They entertain and relax us and bring us vast quantities of new information and vicarious experiences of great events like the Apollo 11 moon landing. Mass-media are indeed the greatest educational tools man has ever devised—engulfing the relatively puny contributions of the classroom, church and even the home. Let us, therefore, try to examine this all-pervasive, informal educational system and try to evaluate how much of it informs and enlightens, and how much of it propagandizes, confuses and degrades our mental competence.

As Marshall McLuhan has astutely pointed out, the advertising in our mass-media is of paramount importance, because most media, especially the commercial electronic, exist not so much to serve the viewer or reader, as to serve the advertiser by delivering him to an audience of potential customers. This basic fact helps us understand that the balance of the content—entertainment, news, public affairs and editorial material are all not only of secondary importance, but also dependent on the revenues from advertising, and therefore geared in large measure to attracting the audience the advertiser wants.

Another measure of the overriding importance of advertising is the amount of money lavished on its production: a single one-minute TV commercial, for instance, often costs more than a whole week of programming on an education television station. Batteries of experts in social psychology and motivation are hired at great cost to devise commercials which will slip past the guard of our conscious intelligence and zap our emotions, our fears and frustrations on a deeply-subconscious level. This technique of keeping the viewer or reader on an endless emotional roller-coaster—wondering whether he is really keeping up with the Joneses; whether his breath is offensive; or (for the female) whether she is losing her looks, her man and her security—is matchless for keeping people dutifully in the consumer-buying ratrace.

Consider too, the barrage of advertising and public-relations (not to mention lobbying) on the part of giant corporations endeavoring to quiet public pressure to control pollution, or halt the profitable arms race, to cite two major examples. Some comfort can be taken however from the recent Supreme Court decision to uphold the Federal Communications Commission's "Fairness Doctrine" whose provisions have been used by John F. Banzhaf III, to force stations who broadcast paid cigarette commercials, also to air free of charge a proportion of anti-cigarette spots.

As for the vehicles for the advertising—the entertainment portions—they must never be controversial enough to annoy too many customers, and they must seek to sock the audience hypnotically on an emotional, rather than intellectual, level. In children's entertainment, this usually means satiating them with ever larger dollops of violence; and for the adults the mixture is leavened with sex. The overall "educational" result is to confirm the mass-conformist views of life held by the widest possible audience, and is embodied in the soap-opera, the horse opera, crime stories and the "Beverly Hillbillies."

The third main category—news, public affairs and editorial matter—is in a much more precarious position in our commercial media structure. Sometimes it surrenders, and news becomes a form of quasi-entertainment, or it is squeezed into meaningless 5-minute slots on radio and TV, or into screaming over-simplified headlines in print. Failing this, an adult, in-depth news or public affairs program may suffer the fate of not finding a sponsor. The history of American commercial broadcasting is littered with the corpses of such programs, dropped because the advertisers preferred shows geared to the lowest common denominator audience.

On the plus side, some things are changing for the better. First, the rumblings of discontent among thoughtful Americans led in 1953 to the birth of educational television. This was the public's first blow in the battle to retrieve the nation's airwaves, long ceded to the soap, toothpaste and cigarette makers. The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 created a still-toothless baby, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, and 1968 saw the first network hook-up of some 150 public television stations. But educational broadcasting is still only financed at under 5 percent of the level of commercial television, and can never really compete under such a handicap. Only enormous grass-roots efforts will force the Congress to allocate enough funds for educational stations, which could be raised by increasing the ridiculously low cost of commercial licenses ($150 flat fee for a TV station and $75 for radio, with $30 annual renewal charges) to cover the cost of public broadcasting. As it now stands broadcasters buy and sell stations amongst each other for millions of dollars almost as if the licenses to use their frequency were unencumbered private property rather than a three-year public trust.

Many commercial stations are beginning to exercise greater *noblesse oblige* regarding the awesome power they hold. Under public pressure in many cases, 1968 saw many changes in old policies. Black people began to be portrayed more realistically, both in programs and commercials, and many companies such as AT&T and Xerox, and groups like the Institute of Life Insurance began to sponsor thoughtful public affairs programs on our urban and racial difficulties. NBC decided to junk some of its more violent children's cartoons in favor of wild-life documentaries.

Other exciting redefinitions of the purposes of mass-media (electronic) are the "ombudsman" type programs and features, modeled after the pioneering work of New York WMCA Radio's "Call for Action." Here the station responds to calls from listeners needing information or action from a sluggish government agency or corporation. WMCA's carefully researched operation monitors the speed and quality of the assistance. Cases that are ignored are exposed on the air, bringing dramatic action.

A countervailing force to commercial and corporate propaganda is emerging via the new "social protest ads" which counteract cigarette commercials with cancer warnings; the campaigns against pollution which help balance the millions spent by corporations on advertising and lobbying to prevent control legislation; the healthy irreverence of young anti-war campaigns against

(Continued on page 11)

it says here . . .

NEW HEAD OF 'MANIFESTO' AGENCY SAYS VIOLENCE IS NOT HIS 'STICK'

NEW YORK — (RNS) — The national chairman of the Black Economic Development Conference (BEDC) said here that violent means of pushing for social change are not his "stick," but warned that if there is not a "moral regeneration" the "decadence" of Americans will destroy the United States.

"That's not a threat," said the Rev. Calvin B. Marshall III. "That's a prophecy." During the weekend of July 12-14 he was elected chairman of the black group which demands $3 billion in "reparations" from the country's churches and synagogues.

The pastor of Varick Memorial AME Zion church in Brooklyn, N.Y., also termed "unfair" charges that BEDC (formerly NBEDC) is just a "paper organization," and told Religious News Service of its ongoing work and organization.

"The Conference," he said, "is an organization in its beginning stages that is now taking a definite structure. Any organization begins with a thought and a few persons, and it's very unfair to criticize the BEDC, considering the time it has existed."

The National Black Economic Development Conference came into being at a conference of some 600 black professors, economists, and community organizers in Detroit at the end of April. It was at that meeting that James Forman, one of the scheduled speakers, presented the Black Manifesto and won a floor vote to declare the NBEDC a reality.

A 25-member steering committee was named in the Manifesto, but that steering committee membership has been revised to make it more representative — particularly of black churchmen. **(For Steering Committee membership list, see TEMPO, July 15.)**

Mr. Marshall, a former deacon in the Episcopal Church, was asked how he saw the political ideology of James Forman's introduction to the manifesto. That ideology has been attacked by churchmen and others for its advocacy of a violent, armed revolution by blacks and "Marxist" overtones.

No Ideological Hangup

"I see the manifesto as a black man and a Christian prophet," the 37-year-old pastor said. "A man must be committed to justice and equality for all.

"I don't personally subscribe to all of Forman's political philosophy, but I don't get hung up on political ideologies because the political ideology of this so-called democratic, capitalistic country hasn't done anything to change the plight of the black and poor."

"I think it's a cop-out to emphasize the political ideology," he said. "I have to see the manifesto and its introduction in the context of a society which has lynched black Americans, thrown Japanese-Americans into prison camps, and raped the American Indian."

Mr. Marshall said he felt there were diverse reactions among other members of the steering committee on the matter, with some backing parts or all of the political ideology, but with all of them united around the concept of reparations and the manifesto's program demands.

Reporting on BEDC work and organization, he said the steering committee had decided to choose a new chairman and slate of officers so that it would not appear to be "a charismatic movement built around a personality."

He said members of the steering committee are not only representative of the country's geographic area, but also of various occupations and stations, and disclosed that the Conference was filing non-profit corporation papers in New York State.

Mr. Marshall reported the Conference has received, to date, about $20,000 for its work. Of the total, $15,000 has come from a New York Methodist church, $3,000 from the students and faculty of Union Seminary, and $1,000 from the Council of Black Churchmen in Philadelphia.

Some of the money already collected, he continued, has gone to the United Black Appeal — the manifesto's fund-raising program headed by James Forman. He said the United Black Appeal would have its own board, but would maintain a cooperative relationship with the BEDC.

* * *

MORE REACTION REPORTED ON BEDC AND 'MANIFESTO'

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. — The top executive of the 1.8 million-member Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) has urged his communion's leaders to oppose any action by the National Council of Churches recognizing the James Forman group which is demanding "reparations" for blacks.

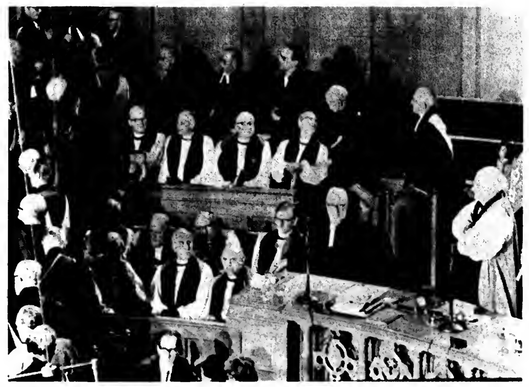
Dr. A. Dale Fiers, general minister and president of the Christian Church, in a letter to members of the church's General Board and others, called for opposition to "recognition and support, direct or indirect," of the Black Economic Development Conference.

The National Council of Churches' executive committee, of which Dr. Fiers is a member, currently is studying the demand of Forman and the BEDC of $500 million for past injustices by churches to Negroes. (Its next meeting is scheduled for August 28.)

Dr. Fiers asserted that opponents of recognition of the group feel that support of the BEDC would "assure the institutionalization of a movement which is admittedly Marxist and subversive in character."

He urged Disciples serving on National Council committees and other church leaders to write the council "stating your convictions and recommendations."

The General Board of the Christian Church, meeting in St. Louis last May, condemned the "ideology and methodology" of the Forman Black Manifesto (and its introduction) while admitting that grievances are real and calling for a redoubled effort by the church to right past wrongs.



LONDON—The Archbishop of Canterbury (Right) seems almost prophetically grim as he watches Anglican clergymen file out to vote on Anglican-Methodist union in Great Britain. Over-all vote percentage for approval was 69 percent — 75 per cent was needed. Earlier the Methodists had endorsed union plan by 77 percent. Said Dr. Michael Ramsey, Primate of England: "There will be unhappiness. . . . But I think the vote is good enough for the same proposals to be put forward in the not distant future."

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — (UMI) — United Methodist bishops have issued a statement, which "repudiates the ideology of the Black Manifesto and rejects its accompanying demands."

A July 15 communication to church leaders from Bishop Roy H. Short of Louisville, secretary of the Council of Bishops, included a statement adopted at a meeting of the Council's Executive Committee in Madison, Wisconsin July 10.

The statement directs major attention to the United Methodist Church's Quadrennial Program and its special $20 million Fund for Reconciliation being raised during the 1968-72 quadrennium. The fund, authorized at the denomination's General Conference in April, 1968, at Dallas, Tex., is to help meet racial group needs and to further special projects for the poor and underprivileged.

PHILADELPHIA — (RNS) — Episcopal Bishop Robert L. De Witt and the eight local delegates to the Special National Convention of the Episcopal Church have pledged support for the Black Economic Development Conference.

Support of BEDC was pledged in the draft of a resolution to be submitted by local delegates at the national convention, set Aug. 31 - Sept. 5 at the University of Notre Dame.

The proposed resolution says, in part, "We require the Episcopal Church, through creative stewardship, to support the Black Economic Development Conference and the scope and thrust of its program through whatever financial mechanism is acceptable to them."

In the statement the convention delegates "disavow" the rhetoric of the "introduction" to the Black Manifesto.

"But we note also," they said, "that our own Christian rhetoric is often at wide variance with our specific programs and intent."

* * *

NCC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ASKS HANOI FOR HUMANITARIAN ACTION ON PRISONERS

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The National Council of Churches has issued an appeal for humanitarian action by the Hanoi Government concerning U.S. military personnel held in North Vietnam.

In a statement released July 15, the 25-member executive committee of the Council asked the Hanoi Government that humanitarian action going beyond the release of a small number of men would serve the "interests of peace and secure positive response in the United States and elsewhere."

The church leaders also appealed for a list of those held to relieve the anxiety of families and relatives. At the same time they urged Hanoi to permit visitation of the men by a church representative or officials from other private agencies to assure the men of "our concern, and their families and relatives, and people generally, of their well-being."

"Such humanitarian action should not be hampered by political factors," the statement said.

THE NEW CHURCH MUSIC

(Continued from page 7)

are not strong yet. There is (or was?) a Chicago group called the Exceptions who recorded a rock and roll Mass for F.E.L. records. I highly recommend it.

In Washington D.C. there is a composer named Floyd Werle who has been writing pop music for the church since 1966. He is an excellent arranger (presently chief arranger for the Air Force band), and writes original material as well as new arrangements of old hymns. He presently holds a *"Church-o-Theque,"* as he calls it, on every other Sunday evening in Faith United Methodist Church in Rockville, Maryland, and on alternate Sundays at Mount Vernon Methodist church in Washington, D.C. The service I attended was packed. Werle is an excellent song leader and the people sang well.

Dick Avery and Don Marsh (minister and Director of the Arts, respectively), at the Presbyterian Church in Port Jervis, New York, have consistently worked at writing new pop-jazz-rock music for their congregation. They are excellent musicians and do many workshops and services around the country and have recently published a hymnal and recorded an album of their music. It is well-written and very singable.

Pop and rock music hold many possibilities for the local church. Every small town has young people who have bands. I recently did a service for a church in Longmeadow, Massachusetts, for rock band, adult chorus, youth chorus and instruments. The rock band musicians could not read a note, but once they caught on they did an excellent job. Many of these young people are good natural musicians—it only takes a little patience to help them along. In my travels around the country I run into all kinds of combinations of instrumentalists who are very anxious to be heard. We ought to make use of their talents. In Shawnee Mission, Kansas, there is a young Lutheran composer named Arthur Griesel who writes pop liturgical music very well—he tells me that he only gets limited opportunities to perform in churches. But the movement is growing, and I'm sure young men like him will be asked more and more to do their music in churches.

JAZZ has had, and is still having, a pretty good hearing in churches across the country. It would be impossible to list all of the churches that have jazz services fairly often, but there are at least two in New York City—St. Peter's Lutheran Church and St. Thomas the Apostle. The Rev. John Gensel heads jazz vespers at St. Peter's every Sunday afternoon. The musicians vary from week to week as does the quality, but Pastor Gensel plays a valuable role as minister to the jazz community, and the Lutheran Church has shown real concern in giving him this challenge. Eddie Bonnemere is music director at St. Thomas and has composed several Masses. His music is lively, but rather old-fashioned. However the sense of community that his directing and enthusiasm creates is a step ahead for invigorating congregational participation. He appeared last year at the Liturgical Conference and was very well received. They have jazz at Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco quite often and John Handy, an inventive West Coast musician has played there. Paul Knopf, of New York, has been doing liturgies with singer Sheila Jordan for several years, and Kent Schneider of The Center for Contemporary Celebration at Chicago Theological Seminary continues to play around Chicago and the Mid-west. His music is still developing, but it is definitely composed *for* the Church and seems to be going in the right direction.

Two of the big names in jazz, Dave Brubeck and Duke Ellington, have recently made news by becoming involved with the church. Duke does what he calls "A Concert of Sacred Music," a rather pious sounding title. The music is good, but Duke's music has always seemed religious. Works like the *Black Brown and Beige Suite* and *My People* are masterpieces. I do not think of Duke as a writer of *church* music, as a concert is still not involving enough to make it *liturgy*. (He is scheduled to perform at the National Council of Churches' General Assembly, to be held in Detroit next December.) Brubeck's oratorio, *The Light in the Wilderness*, would probably never have been performed in Washington Cathedral or Philharmonic Hall if it weren't for the Brubeck *name*. The music to my mind is certainly second-rate 19th century composition and is a far cry from the inventive things that he has done with his quartet.

I have continued doing all kinds of services with jazz groups since 1959. I still work most often with Roger Ortmayer, who directs the National Council of Churches' Department of Church and Culture, and we have tried to evolve our approach until we now use everything from rock to contemporary indeterminate compositions. I have been commissioned to do a new piece for orchestra, chorus and jazz soloists for a concert in London in the fall. Sydney Carter and Donald Swann (see interview on page 5) will also have works on the concert. I spend a great deal of time at conferences and college campuses, and most of my recent works are longer compositions or complete services that involve projections and dancers.

I still feel that jazz has the one great advantage of on-the-spot improvisation. This provides an opportunity for real dialogue between musicians and congregation.

But I feel that all the above are transitory forms. What we must do in the real revolution is new sounds, new movement and new texts. Indeterminate notation provides a new direction. A young composer named John Mizelle has written a marvelous Mass for voices and electronics. Morgan Powell, a young faculty member at Illinois University has written several magnificent choral works. David Ahlstrom of Eastern Illinois University has written some wild, wonderful new music. He, dancer Toni Beck and Roger Ortmayer gave what they termed *Sorties and Soireés* at First Methodist Church in Dallas while they were all on the faculty at Southern Methodist University.

There also is a magnificent St. Luke's Passion by Polish composer Penderecki. It is available on two recordings and belongs beside Bach, Brahms et al.

One of the most unusual musical events being done in churches is Christopher Tree's *Spontaneous Sound*. He plays a huge array of gongs, drums, tympani and assorted exotic flutes and percussion. He is from California but has recently migrated to New York. The instruments are visually interesting but the sounds get boring upon prolonged hearing.

Needless to say there are many events going on in churches across the country. Breakthroughs are being made in every direction. The Catholic Liturgical Conference is commissioning a new rock Mass to be done in Milwaukee in August, 1969. The Union Theological Seminary Alumni workshop is using a cantata of mine as a study piece and it is being performed in concert as part of the workshop. Folk singer Ian Mitchell—among others—will also be there.

All kinds of recordings are available—everything from the Bantu *Missa Luba* to a Mariachi service can be found in local record shops. So investigate—listen—maybe the revolution is not far away!

As a kind of postlude to this article you will find my *Music for Minister, Congregation and Saxophone*. The notation is indeterminate, it does not require professional singers and it sounds contemporary!

Music For Minister, Congregation and Saxophone © 1967 Summerlin Music

I. Long-Low	I. Long-High
II. Short-High	II. Short-Low
III. Pat Knees	III. Stamp Feet
IV. Clicking Sound	IV. Hissing sound
V. Gliss-up	V. Gliss-down

Performance notes: *The congregation is divided into two sections. The left hand conducts one side and the right hand the other. The minister composes the piece as he goes along by indicating with his finger what sounds the respective sections are to make. The short sounds should not be done in rhythm, but at random time intervals. Unisons and chords built on thirds should be avoided. The saxophone improvises freely. Go to it!!!* ■

WHICH WAY OUR MASS MEDIA?

(Continued from page 9)

the pompous military-industrial establishment. Hopefully, more inexpensive FM radio outlets and community-antenna television, as well as ethnically-owned and operated media, can help to add to the pluralistic free exchange in the marketplace of ideas.

All this is possible, but it will only become a reality if citizens become interested enough to monitor the performance of the operators and licensees of our present day mass-media. In the case of radio and television, we must remember that no broadcasting company owns the airwaves —but we, the public, do. If we do not think our local stations live up to their license requirements to broadcast "in the public interest, convenience and necessity," we have only to challenge the renewal of that license by writing to and documenting our complaint to the Federal Communications Commission which was set up to protect our interests. But we had better hurry, because even this avenue of public accountability is now under massive counter-attack by the powerful broadcasting lobby.

Some 50 bills have been introduced into Congress which seek to even further erode the public's right to review broadcasters' performance at license-renewal time. Senator John O. Pastore (D-R.I.) has bowed to the industry's pressure and introduced a similarly regressive bill of his own. The public will have to rely on the often sluggish, industry-dominated FCC, which even now these current bills seek to cripple.

Another ominous sign is the Nixon Administration's indication that it would not rule out commercial broadcasting executives from membership on the FCC. Two seats on the Commission will soon be vacated, which would give the President power to check the Commission's recent faint liberal leaning.

These are some of the issues affecting the broadcasting structure of our national mass-media educational system. As Commissioner Nicholas Johnson puts it, "We must realize that *all* television is educational television." The content and the curriculum depend on the consumer and the voter. If the current situation disturbs you, there are several active organizations to help you. Write to the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting, 609 Fifth Avenue, New York City; the National Association for Better Broadcasting, 373 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California; or the United Church of Christ, 289 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y., or the Federal Communications Commission itself, in Washington, D.C. 20554.

It is only public pressure, after all, that can make the difference. ■

Mrs. Henderson is a freelance writer whose special concerns include the impact of laissez faire commercialism on mass media viewers and listeners. Her articles have appeared in numerous periodicals and journals.

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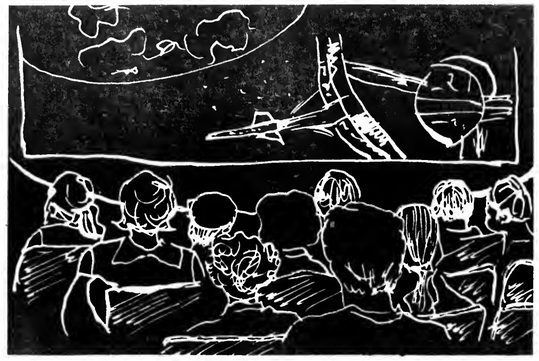
TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

Summer, Kids, and Movies



HERE'S a toast to that much maligned entity, the rainy day in summer! Perhaps only an incurable movie fanatic can propose such a bizarre salute, but I do. Summer alters movie-going in a couple of ways. First, I have a little more time, and the kids, freed from the need to be bludgeoned off to school in the morning, can stay up a little later. Of course if you spend the whole summer on a reef in the Bering Sea or a tent in the Everglades no cinema palaces are available. Personally I gladly turn over these wilderness sites to more hardy spirits. I prefer a summer location that is within a reasonable fly cast of the local Bijou, especially if it is one that seizes the summer slack to run off vintage, classic, or just plain old movies.

On Martha's Vineyard Island where my family collects its ivy poison and mosquito bites, we are blessed, among other things, by a summer cinema program occupying the swept out second floor of a local garage (in addition we have of course a couple "regular" movie houses). In this quaint setting, seated on rented folding chairs, I can enjoy again some of the movies that twisted my mind as a youth (I've already done so with *Casablanca*, *High Noon*, and two W. C. Fields features). Furthermore I can take my children, on ticket prices far below the city average, and be assured that I am making at least a small contribution to bridging the generation gap. What kid today can possibly understand a forty-year-old father if the kid has not sat through *The Maltese Falcon* and *Stagecoach*? From my perspective the saddest kind of "cultural deprivation" is not so much the kid who doesn't know who painted "View of Toledo" but the kid who doesn't get the joke when daddy goec into this uproarous imitatien of Peter Lorre or Mae West.

So, summer provides an unusually good opportunity to take the family to the flicks. Parenthetically, I have never been particularly fond of those movies that are advertised as especially produced for children. Most of them are an insult to the intelligence and emotional maturity of the average nine-year-old, to say nothing of an unutterable bore for the buckless parent who has to sit through them, knee deep in popcorn bags while an endless stream of moppets crawls over him on its way to and from the rest rooms. Last summer I made the fatal mistake of taking my eight-year-old son to see *Alaskan Safari*, a film that had been widely and expensively advertised during the "children's hours" on TV. ("Ask your parents *now* to take you to this thrilling, action-packed . . ." etc.) Well, Alaskan Safari was, for my money; infinitely more obscene than *Sister George* could ever hope to be. It depicted the technologically refined location, tracking, and slaughter of splendid elk, moose, and bears by pudgy sportsmen in search of "trophies." It filled the screen with bloody snow, dying animals, and banal descriptions of the promise of Alaska. It was badly made, repetitious, gory, and depressing. The fated animals were spotted by helicopter, chased in amphibious jeeps, and then picked off from hundreds of yards away by rifles with telescopic lenses. I learned my lesson: stay away from highly tauted kiddie movies unless you've read a good review by a critic you trust, or you've talked with someone who's seen it. *Alaskan Safari* should be designated with a new classification I've invented for Saturday morning disasters of its ilk: triple X, unfit for anyone regardless of age.

My experience is that with some important exceptions, children enjoy the same movies adults do if the subject matter is a part of that world where childhood and adult interests overlap. Of course kids can be scared or upset by some movies. But if they go with their parents, the experience is not, in my view, a negative one. Aristotle knew that human beings *should* be purged by theatre. This includes kids. Good movies, like other memorable experiences, are something that a family can enjoy together and talk about in common. The family that flicks out together may stay together.

All of which provides my reason for saluting the rainy summer day. For, you see, it is hard to drag kids off to the movies on a glorious August evening when they want to roast wieners or chase fireflies. It seems a little unfair somehow, especially in this epoch of parental permissiveness. Good weather may indeed make it hard for adults to indulge their nostalgia at an old movie. Even I would occasionally prefer to watch a sunset over West Chop rather than see Marlene Dietrich in *The Blue Angel* for the fourth time. We all have our human weaknesses.

But when it rains, all such ambivalence disappears. When the clouds gather over Buzzard's Bay and the big drops fall melodiously on the roof, I do not fret or complain. I smile. With a perfectly good conscience I can pack up the wife and kids for an evening with Jimmy Cagney or the Marx Brothers. And remember, the farmers appreciate rain too. ■

DONALD SWANN INTERVIEW (Continued from page 5)

worldwide surge which flows around this music. It's as though either people turn to the artist to help them sort something out, or it consoles them. Maybe somebody working away at a new tune, especially if it's humorous or light, alleviates their anxiety.

People outside as well as inside the church you're talking about?

Right! People are looking for some new germination. They're seeking it everywhere—in music which is enlightening, or lively. They're trying to find a completely new vision. Who am I to know about vision? But yet isn't it visionary when somebody comes around and says, "Every Sunday night we're going to have a discussion. We shall have dancing. We shall have Marxists discussing things with Christians. We shall hear the people connected with the famine relief. Anything! It's all our life—the whole world—we're welcome inside here—instead of having the sleepy traditional six o'clock evening service. That's stimulating. But here's the rub. Artists can barely eke out a living by working for the church.

Aren't records helping support some of the new composers and creating a part of the worldwide ferment that you've spoken of?

Records are the most formal way music travels. If you cut a really good record, produced by a good company, and it has time to appear in different places, then people in another part of the world wake up to a new idiom. But why has there never been an international new music church festival, or whatever you'd call it? It could be a most exciting affair if somebody really got going on it.

As an internationally known composer-entertainer who devotes half his time to writing church music, why do you write for the church?

A lot of links between the church and entertainment have come to me successively over about three years. One is that the very need for solace, which comes from laughter or humor, is frightfully close to the joy which is what religion should be providing—and so often doesn't. And then there's the extraordinary risk of the business of acting, writing, and composing. I mean you write from the second. Your life is your idea for today. This is frightfully near to the meaning of Christian life. You live from second to second. I have a feeling that this is the spiritual move to action. After all, if you're a performer or writer you have to be excited up to the point of producing something. And then there's the whole business of creativity. If you are in writing or painting or doing anything like that, you must be somehow aware that the world is in fact its own creation.

An artist is a vehicle rather than originator.

Right. The whole of the Bible talks about creation on every page. So everyone is involved in it in some way. It's a platitude, isn't it, that we're all recreating the world ourselves? But if you are having to do it for a business, it can strike you one day that that's the way it is. I've been a Christian for a long time, which means that you have to be ready to go against the grain a bit and stand up for an individual point of view. That helped me a great deal. Being for peace put me on the wrong side of the blanket, so to speak. It's just one of those funny things.

(This is Part I of a two-part interview. It will be concluded in the next issue.)

A recommended list of institutions which maintain repertoires of new music in its various forms: books, sheet music, LPs and tapes:

Avant-Garde Records
250 West 57th Street
New York, N.Y.

F.E.L. Records
1543 West Olympic
Los Angeles, Calif. 90015

Galaxy Music Corp.
(Also Galliard Ltd.)
2121 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

Source, Music of Avant Garde
330 University Avenue
Davis, California

Mass Media Ministries
2116 North Charles St.
Baltimore, Md. 21218

Galliard Limited
Queen Anne's Road Gt. Yarmouth
Norfolk, England

Don Marsh & Dick Avery
Proclamation Productions
7 Kingston Avenue
Port Jervis, N.Y.

Ed Summerlin's Music
Box 242
Pleasant Valley, N.Y. 12569

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TEMPOsitions . . .

CONSCIENCE IS AS AMERICAN AS VIOLENCE

by Dean M. Kelley

OUR nation provides two basic alternatives for young men called to military service. One is to become a soldier and fight the nation's wars, perhaps killing strangers in a distant land. The other is to render two years of "alternate civilian service" at work that is in the "national health, safety or interest." Is it not strange that the first course is expected and accepted, while the second requires explanation and justification? Yet refusal to bear arms is as venerable a part of our tradition as is soldiering, and worthy of at least as much esteem. If "violence is as American as cherry pie," then conscience is as American as violence.

Conscience leads most Americans to take arms to defend the nation, yet from the first years of the nation's existence we have not compelled those to fight whose consciences led them to a different conclusion . . . *Provided*: (a) The conscience in question was *religious*, and (b) it refused participation in *all* wars. Today, "religious" is defined to mean the central principles of one's life, whether or not conventionally framed or expressed. But conscience is still not permitted to direct itself solely to the conflict in which a young man faces induction. In addition, it must test itself against all conceivable wars, past and future, to determine whether he could fight in *any* of them; if he could, he must fight in *this* one.

Barriers for C. O.s

If the nation's problem were to find enough manpower to fight for its defense, the strictness with which conscientious objectors are judged would be more justifiable. But the problem is the opposite: with a glut of manpower of draft age, how does *selective* service *eliminate* the six out of seven who are not needed? The main grounds for elimination are the various deferments and exemptions based on family status, occupation, physical and mental condition. It is much "easier" (statistically) to avoid military service by being a student, a father, a farm-laborer, a member of the Reserves or a rejectee, under the armed services physical and mental standards than it is by claiming to be a conscientious objector. And unlike some of the other categories, the CO is not simply excused from all service; he still has to put in two years at "alternate civilian service," perhaps working as an orderly in a mental hospital.

If one were going to dissemble in order to "dodge the draft," there would be many easier and cheaper and surer ways to do so than by claiming to be a conscientious objector.

Three Choices

Some young men cannot bring themselves to fight in Vietnam. Yet, if they are too honest to fake their way out of military service and too sincere to fit their scruples to the present provision for conscientious objectors, they have three choices: jail, resistance or emigration. (If they are already in the armed services when they reach this conviction, their choices are (1) application for discharge as a CO (not likely to be granted), (2) court martial for refusal to accept assignment to combat, or (3) deserting.) There are hundreds of young men, perhaps thousands, in Sweden, in Canada, in prisons and stockades in this country, because they cannot bring themselves to kill others in a conflict they do not believe is justified. They are following in a venerable American tradition, since millions of immigrants came to this land of freedom to escape conscription in the endless wars of Europe. Now their sons and grandsons face the same plight here!

Suppose some of them are not actuated by the pure scruples of enlightened conscience; suppose some simply want to save their skins: is that a mean ambition? Many of our forbears claimed no nobler motive: they simply didn't want to be cannon fodder for some petty prince's squabbles. And that is precisely the judgment of some of their offspring: they want neither to kill nor be killed in a war they feel is no concern of theirs and never should have happened. But most pursue their thankless course for reasons that are a credit to the highest ideals our nation has produced; we have taught them to have a conscience, and now we punish them for trying to follow it! Rather than calling them "draft-dodgers" or other epithets of scorn, we should refer to them as "draft-exiles" and "prisoners-of-conscience," and look forward to the day when we can grant them amnesty.

The contribution such men of conscience can make is sorely needed in America to balance some of our other national traits. ■

Mr. Kelley is Director for Government Relations, and Director for Religion and Civil Liberties, National Council of Churches.

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CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull
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THE COVER — In silhouette is shown Isaac Foster, whose reminiscences of a Mississippi boyhood appear on Pages 6 and 7, in a playful moment with a small girl at Freedom City, which he helped to establish as a project supported by the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches.

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NEWS UPDATE ON . . .

THE BLACK-WHITE POWER STRUGGLE IN THE CHURCH

by Edward B. Fiske

JAMES Forman, the black militant leader, has made few visible gains in his quest for "reparations" to blacks from American churches, but he has succeeded in spurring a struggle for power between blacks and whites in the country's predominantly white Protestant institutions.

The struggle has potentially far-reaching implications because blacks, who represent about one out of every four American Protestants, have thus far exercised little influence within these institutions.

The increased militancy of Negro churchmen is being felt in all of the major Protestant denominations, and especially in the National Council of Churches, which represents most major Protestant and Orthodox churches in the country.

The estimated total of one million Negroes in predominantly white churches and the 11 million members of all-black churches make up more than a quarter of the 42 million members of the council's 33 constituent denominations.

Public controversy over the issue of "reparations" to blacks for injustices resulting from slavery began May 4, when Mr. Forman and six associates disrupted services at Manhattan's Riverside Church.

Recent conversations with black and white churchmen and reports from correspondents of *The New York Times* in eight major cities indicate that the subsequent wave of sit-ins and other demonstrations across the country had the following effects:

—Members of local congregations have virtually unanimously rejected Mr. Forman's demand for reparations and vigorously condemned his tactics and the revolutionary rhetoric of his "Black Manifesto." As a result, he has been able to raise only $18,000 of the $3-billion that he seeks from white churches and synagogues.

—National leaders of the major denominations and the church council, however, have been seriously divided over how to respond to the black demands. Some fear that this polarization will seriously impair the future functioning of the council on social matters.

—Black churchmen in various denominations have been unified in support of Mr. Forman and the Black Economic Development Conference, the budding organization for which he is the chief fund raiser.

—The central issue has shifted in recent weeks away from reparations and the tactics of confrontation. Instead, the key question in current discussions is whether the major Protestant institutions are prepared to transfer a degree of decision-making authority to blacks within their ranks.

The Real Point

"As long as everyone was talking simply about money, we were missing the real point," said the Rev. Charles S. Spivey Jr., a black who is director of the Department of Social Justice of the National Council of Churches. "The overriding issue is now redistribution of power."

The current crisis arose in late April when Mr. Forman, a veteran civil rights activist and former national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, read his "manifesto" to the National Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit.

The meeting had been organized by the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, an ecumenical agency that channels church funds to organizations of poor people.

The "manifesto" called for $500-million of reparations—later raised to $3-billion—for projects such as a Southern land bank, black publishing and television facilities and a black university.

It also called for the building of a socialist society run by blacks and urged radical steps against existing social and economic institutions.

Charles S. Spivey, Jr.

J. Edward Carothers

Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr.

(*See* TEMPO, *June 1 and July 15 for Manifesto Texts.*)

At the present time the conference has a 24-member Steering Committee that includes several representatives of the National Welfare Rights Organization and prominent members of the National Committee of Black Churchmen, an ecumenical group founded three years ago. Among the board members are Julian Bond, the Georgia legislator, and the Rev. M. L. Wilson, president of the New York City Council of Churches. The committee elected as its chairman the Rev. Calvin B. Marshall 3d, 37-year-old pastor of the Varick A.M.E. Zion Church in Brooklyn.

"We're in the organizing stage now," he said in an interview. "The important thing is to develop our regional representatives, give out assignments and organize grass roots support."

In general, predominantly white churches across the country have consistently rejected any suggestion that they owe reparations to present-day blacks for the sins of their fathers. There has also been a visceral reaction to the anti-capitalistic rhetoric and revolutionary ideology of the "Black Manifesto."

When the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization failed to denounce the document that emerged from its conference, for instance, the American Jewish Committee withdrew from its board.

Leaders of the Roman Catholic Church in the country, which has about 600,000 blacks as parishioners, but only one Negro bishop, have denounced the manifesto and refused to accede to any of its demands.

Despite this general hostility to the document, however, numerous national and local religious groups have also acknowledged that the demonstrators raised valid issues that had otherwise gone unattended.

"My people were incensed at the invasion," said the Rev. Harry Fifield, whose Fifth Presbyterian Church in Atlanta was a target of demonstrators. "But almost without exception they faced the fact that this kind of movement has sensitized them to the needs of the poor Negro."

As a result of such attitudes, the wave of demonstrations has prompted numerous Protestant groups to initiate new programs in the area of black economic development. Thus far, however, virtually all of them have circumvented direct involvement with Mr. Forman and his group.

The most ambitious was that of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., whose general assembly heard Mr. Forman speak and voted grants of $100,000 to the Interreligious Foundation. It also authorized planning for a $50-million fund-raising program for general antipoverty work.

Major Changes Seen

The Rev. J. Edward Carothers, head of national missions for the United Methodist Church, said that the Forman controversy has "unglued our bureaucracies."

"The demonstrations have made it possible for us to shift priorities away from traditional projects like elementary schools and concentrate on community organization and other work with the disadvantaged," he said.

In St. Louis, a Presbyterian congregation that was visited by demonstrators responded by setting aside $200,000 for low-income housing.

Such programs, however, have not obscured deep division among religious leaders, especially at the national level, over how to deal with the race issue.

Among those seriously divided have been the leaders of the National Council of Churches, whose 27-member executive committee has been unable to agree on any action either for or against the economic conference. (*A decision is anticipated at the committee's next scheduled meeting, Aug. 28. Ed.*)

The pro-Forman camp has emphasized what one official termed the "blatant injustice" of today's racial situation and sought to maintain the council's traditional role as a leader on social issues.

Others, however, have cited threats they have received to withhold funds if the council endorsed Mr. Forman, including some from pastors who have avidly supported such controversial civil rights activity as the council's voter registration drive and other work among blacks in Mississippi.

One high official of the council predicted that endorsement of the black conference would lead member denominations to impose new strictures on the council's freedom of action and would cause some of them to reconsider their methods of selecting delegates.

Many also agreed with Dr. Carothers that "even if the council urged us to support the Forman group, our denominations probably wouldn't come up with the money."

While the demonstrations have polarized white groups to the point of inaction, however, they have hastened a movement toward black unity that began with the formation of the National Committee of Black Churchmen.

"There's no doubt that Jim Forman's actions

(Continued on page 11)

Escaping from a War That Is "Totally Wrong and Utterly Futile"

U.S. DRAFT EXILES LIVE ON IN CANADA

by Aubrey Wice

TORONTO — It may seem shocking to some, but churches are giving active help to American draft-exiles. I've seen it in both Toronto and Detroit.

In the American city, I visited a downtown church where counselling sessions were held on the premises. These sessions were designed to show young men how to avoid military service in the United States forces.

I visited this old red-brick church on a busy avenue in the Motor City and was met by a tall, young, serious clergyman, wearing a clerical collar.

Over a bologna sandwich and cup of coffee in the church kitchen, we talked about this program set up by peace-minded members of various Detroit churches.

He told me how the group put ads in the papers and handed out leaflets, telling American boys where to go for advice. I learned that the draftees were not directly advised to go to Canada, but shown alternatives on how to avoid the draft.

This included giving them literature prepared by students in Windsor, Canada, just across the border. There was information on how to dress (short hair, a business suit), how much money to carry, advice on lining up jobs, night school courses and other things.

I learned that at the counselling sessions information was passed around on how to fake army medical examinations.

This clergyman told me he had received hate letters and obscene telephone calls and that literature was circulated saying he was betraying Christ and the United States.

But he defended his group's position to me.

"When inducted it is not God calling these young men, but Uncle Sam, and there are things the draftees can do about it."

"Unjustified War"

There was no mistaking his belief that the United States did not belong in Vietnam . . . that it was "an unjustified, genocidal kind of war."

There was a glum unhappiness about this man because of the war, the draftees, the country's involvement and especially pressure from church authorities because of his stand. I got the impression he would soon move out of that situation.

One Sunday I walked into the Anglican Church of the Holy Trinity in downtown Toronto and saw that some of the back pews had been taken out and a wooden partition erected. Being a very old church I naturally took this to be some of the periodic repairs that are necessary, but a note in the leaflet told me about American draft exiles being given shelter behind that partition.

More than thirty American draft-exiles were sleeping in army style bunk beds and being fed in the nearby church kitchen.

This went on for a few weeks and likely would have continued, but an official of the city dropped around for an inspection—undoubtedly tipped off—and ruled that it was illegal to have sleeping accommodation in the building. It was either close up or go to court, so the Americans had to be evicted.

Some of the church members took the Americans into their homes.

This church runs a 24-hour distress centre and most of the help is the referral type over the telephone. The phones are manned by volunteers of many religious backgrounds.

The leader is a United Church of Canada minister, The Rev. Gordon Winch, a young man like the youths he serves.

He told me about his encounter with American draftees.

His denomination's Board of Evangelism and Social Service had put up one-thousand dollars to help young Americans on the run but one of the top officials didn't like the draftees on the premises.

To solve the problem, Mr. Winch was made a trustee of the fund and given the job of doling out the money—away from church headquarters.

He not only gave the exiles money but helped in other ways, and there is still an active contact with them.

Frightened Draftee

The pastor told me that most of the draftees are "terribly frightened."

A friendly young family man, Mr. Winch feels a special compassion for the dislocated American youths. He says they are afraid of the FBI finding them. So strong is this fear they live like hunted animals, frightened to even leave him their phone number.

Hundreds of them are said to be living under false names. A draft-exile from Boston who has disguised his appearance told me a story going the rounds of the deserter underground in Toronto. According to the story, the FBI attempted to kidnap an American deserter in Vancouver. They were said to be rushing him to the American border in a fast car but he escaped.

Mr. Winch told me he sees the draftees or deserters as new left young radicals who will not accept the establishment for the simple reason that it is the establishment.

He agrees with their attitude about not being willing to kill another human being. He couldn't do it himself.

The Boston exile I talked with estimates there are 65,000 draftees who have fled into Canada.

He lives under the assumed name of David and is in the center of the draft-exile movement here, living in an area where communals have been set up. These are living quarters for anywhere from four to ten people.

I visited a couple of these in an older part of the downtown section of the city. They are in an area where recent immigrants from Europe live, and this gives them something in common.

Others are banding together and establishing farm communals. Land is plentiful in Canada and relatively cheap.

The city communals have a primitive aspect to them. The group pool resources, eat together as a family, share expenses, make clothes and other items for each other and manage to do it at reasonable cost.

David estimates he can live on fifty dollars a month, and he gets this money by doing odd jobs. But, he says that many of the draftees, used to a comfortable middle- or upper-class way of life, can't adjust to a lower living standard, so they go back to the United States.

Doing Well on Jobs

But not all are in this fix. Some of the men on the run are doing quite well with professional jobs in industry and teaching.

One handicap here, however, is that many American-owned companies have a stated policy against hiring draft-exiles. This is the official Canadian Government stand as well.

Besides the obvious other handicaps of living in a foreign country there is nostalgia for family and friends. David overcomes this by periodically slipping back and forth across the American border. He claims to have a foolproof system but won't discuss it. I'm sure part of it is the way he dresses to look much older.

David told me his draft board was looking for him, and that it would be a black day if he were discovered. "Once they do, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police will be notified and I'll be watched from then on," he said.

Dr. R. B. McClure, Moderator of the United Church of Canada, got after the government. He charged the government with issuing secret guidelines to immigration officers at border points so they would know how to deal with draft-exiles.

The government shot back that his charges were false, and there was a very hot exchange of telegrams. At one point the Moderator was called "irresponsible" by a Cabinet Minister. Finally, after a face-to-face confrontation, Dr. McClure was promised that the government would consider his church's demands for an investigation by a committee that regularly deals with immigration matters.

Dr. McClure outspokenly supports draft-exiles. He says it is natural for young people to be rebels and that the Christian church should back conscientious objectors. Talking to students—some of them draft-exiles—he said conscientious objectors were following in the steps of Christ.

Another United Church headquarters official, the Rev. Charles Forsyth, says: "They are not irresponsible types who are fleeing responsibility, but young men who have had to wrestle with a very difficult decision, out of conscience. The church should be doing everything it can to extend hospitality to these young men who have risked exile in a real moral dilemma."

On a recent visit to Toronto, Dr. John C. Bennett, president of Union Theological Seminary in New York, asked Canadian clergymen to assist draft-exiles. Dr. Bennett told the clergymen: "The sense of revulsion to the war in Vietnam in the United States is tremendous. It stems partly from a sense of moral indignation because of the loss of human life involved, and partly from a feeling that the war itself is totally wrong and utterly futile. These young men have the right to avoid a war in which they want no part, even if it means leaving their country."

Some Opposition

Although there has been much support for draft-exiles among churchmen there has also been opposition.

A questionnaire, widely circulated among Canadian church members, showed fifty-two per cent of laymen and twenty-six per cent of clergymen opposed to giving aid to the evaders. Forty churches in the area near Niagara Falls went on record as saying that draft-exiles didn't deserve help. Many church people threatened to cut off financial support of the United Church if it helped the draft-exiles.

Barry Moore, full-time crusading evangelist, on the eve of a ten-day Toronto crusade which attracted many young people, said American youth had a moral obligation to fight for their country. He said he would turn them back at the border.

A former moderator of the United Church has also expressed a different view to that held by Dr. McClure. While in office, the Rev. Wilfred Lockhart said the young Americans, instead of coming to Canada, should "take an alternative form of service or go to jail."

One draft-exile who landed in Toronto thought about this alternative before coming here. He tells of being drafted from his home in New London, Connecticut, in June last year and of the following four-months' army training in the South—probably Fort Benning, Georgia.

"It was a devastating, physically and mentally traumatic experience," he says. "The simmering brew of self-confrontation came to a boil in my thirteenth week of training. I decided then that I would not go to Vietnam whatever the consequences."

He settled in his conscience that obedience to the government could not be regarded as the ultimate moral value. "Where human lives and the matter of resistance to or submission to the schemes of an unscrupulous power structure are involved, there is a higher law," he decided.

The Rev. Gordon Winch, of the United Church of Canada, counsels a U.S. draft-exile on arrival in Canada.

Dollar Price of Freedom

This deserter looks back to his flight to "freedom" and says that after finishing basic training, he stayed with a friend at Yale university while sorting out alternatives. It boiled down to going to Vietnam, to jail or Canada.

Two days before the deserter would officially be recorded as absent without leave, he approach a counter at Kennedy Airport in New York City and purchased a one-way ticket to Toronto—the cost, thirty-eight dollars. The price of freedom was cheap—in dollars.

High in the air, the young deserter's mind was in turmoil. Although he had been assured that entry into Canada would be relatively trouble-free there was this picture of landing in the midst of armed guards.

The fear proved groundless and after clearing customs he said to himself "could all those months of tension actually be over?"

They were, indeed, and looking back he says his first three months in Canada were much easier than anticipated. He says he prizes his new freedom and will always direct a part of his efforts toward "the elimination and prevention of the things that are making America less than beautiful." ■

Mr. Wice, who covers the Canadian scene for TEMPO, is former Religion Editor of the Toronto Telegram.

THE MEMORIES OF ISAAC FOSTER — with Leon Howell

ON GROWING UP BLACK IN MISSISSIPPI

Freedom City is a four-year-old attempt by poor black Mississippians, many of them evicted from plantations, to develop a new town of their own in the heart of the rich delta cotton country.

With staff and financial support from the National Council of Churches' Delta Ministry—including money raised in churches in Europe, Africa, and Asia — the people have progressed from living in tents, to dormitories at DM's Mount Beulah Center, to prefabricated plastic huts which were destroyed by a windstorm, to a barn on the 400-acre farm they are buying. This summer the first 14 homes built of brick are being completed on the land; 36 more are under construction by the men of the town, who earn "sweat equity" in the houses while learning a trade. On completion of a two-year education and construction program financed by OEO and the Ford Foundation, the people of Freedom City will be literate homeowners, experienced in self-government and trained in skills attractive to manufacturers who are considering locating in the town. The growing city will make the DM's fifth anniversary this September a triumphant celebration —although the battle for freedom for black Mississippians is far from over.

The detailed story of this modern-day exodus —which had its beginning with the attempt of a handful of hungry plantation workers to live at the deactivated Greenville Air Force Base, is described in *Freedom City,* by Leon Howell (John Knox, $2.45) reviewed on page 12 of this issue, and in *The Delta Ministry,* by Bruce Hilton (Macmillan, $1.95) reviewed in the May 15 issue of TEMPO.

One of the most vivid portraits of the Freedom City people in Mr. Howell's book is that of Isaac Foster, who five years ago at the age of 22 was a founder and administrator of Freedom City. Now studying at Queens College in New York City, he plans to return one day to Freedom City and his people. His poignant and searing reminiscences that follow are taken from an unforgettable chapter in Mr. Howell's book, by permission of the author and publisher.

"I'VE seen too many people lynched, I've seen too many people hung, I've seen too many people coldly shot down.

"It started at a very young age when my father worked for a man named Sam; I was only about six. I guess the reason I can remember it so vividly was because it involved the first black person I ever envied and desired to be like. He was a young Negro guy—I thought a man, which I judged to be anybody over 17. He came to the field with a pair of blue jeans, white socks, and pennyslipper shoes and a real cowboy hat; he had natural hair. This was the guy I envied.

"And I was chopping fast trying to keep up with him, and my mother was helping, when the boss man, Sam, got out of his truck, a battered thing. He walked over and asked the guy, 'Are you still a nigger?' (He was really a city boy from Hollandale and his father was kind of better off.)

"He didn't say anything. The boss man said: 'You're a smart nigger, aren't you? . . . Hmmm, I'll teach you a lesson!'

"So he walked back to his truck, got his '45' and put it, you know, in his hand naturally and walked right up to the boy, like about five feet away and said: 'You can't talk, Nigger?'

"And the guy looked up. When he did, the boss man said, 'Pow!' like that, and killed him.

"I was hysterical and Mother said, 'Stop looking and go to work.'

"I've never been able to get used to it, killing him like that.

"I've seen, I don't know, I couldn't count the cases of death I've seen. . . ."

"There was an old man who lived near us when we first moved with my father to the place where he was killed and he was lucky enough to have a set of twin boys. They were beautiful, real beautiful. They could run, hunt, play ball with us, and I liked all that. They were all he had. They didn't have phony straightened hair, like so many guys. Those twins went swimming in the river which ran 400 yards from our house—it wasn't a river, really, but a drudge ditch with a sand bottom. The water was clear. These guys were swimming there; some hunters drove up in a jeep and got out. We all heard shots. Four years or so after that, that man was sitting on his porch and he said, 'My boys will be home.' He seemed to really believe that."

"You mean, they were killed at that time?"

"Sure, that's what happened. People don't believe that in the 1950's my brothers and I used to go hunting and we used to find bodies all the time, either hanging in trees, bloating up to the bank, or dumped. The woods there are like solid for 100 miles, reaching from Tribbett all the way into Sunflower and running down to the gulf. They are huge. The thing was, you found a dead body and reported it, you were found dead next. Nobody was allowed to tell it. Forget it, it was no sense. . . .

"My family was very religious but I've never been very much so. I think I realized where God stood when I was very young. I had cursed or something, without knowing what it meant, and my mother scolded me, telling me about God 'jurdging' and Jesus soon coming. She told me about what was wicked and what wasn't and how what I said was bad.

"She didn't make clear to me what she meant by Jesus coming, to 'jurdge' the wicked, and for three or four days I watched for Jesus. I never saw him. I still have—right now—dreams about this. The dream has gone through different stages. . . ."

(Mr. Foster's father, having decided to buy some land in order to be independent, had almost completed the arrangements in 1957; the purchase would have been from a black landowner and he had just about worked out the legal details. The White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan began threatening him; at that time, according to Foster, whites were buying up all available land to keep it from any Negroes with "ideas." Just before he signed the deeds in 1957, he was shot in his own home, while most of the family was within 10 yards. His nine-year-old daughter, who had heard the noise, ran to see what was happening; the killer knocked her down as he dashed out, heading for the woods.)

WITHIN ten minutes, the sheriff showed up. Now our house was way off from anywhere, with no phones, and he had to know what was going to happen. In fact, it was another sheriff—never mind his name—who did it. In the papers the next day they said, 'Willie Foster from Longspur committed suicide yesterday!'

"Now he had been shot through the head with his own shotgun; the gun was on the bed, the shell was seven or eight feet away. How the hell could it have been suicide?

"Now we all knew who it was, but we could not do nothing about it. I decided to kill the man myself, had a trap all set one day, up in a tree when he was driving down a back road, but he didn't come back the way I thought. Later I decided it would be useless to kill him because it wouldn't bring my father back.

"My father's problem was that in spite of the fact that he had courage, he kept it all in like when they threatened him not to buy the land. But I think where he was foolish was to pray that God would help him rather than understanding that help came from his own self. He was a victim of his faith. Since his death, I had wanted to help my family and help others see the problem.

"Last summer I went to see my oldest brother, who has been living in Michigan for eleven years. I wanted to see what he was like, what we would say to each other. And it was something, just like when we were born. We weren't allowed to play with toys, have a ball, read books except the Bible, or shoot marbles. It was, according to the Bible, an idolatry, idling away the time.

"And it was the image with him; his children—has eleven—can't have toys, read even their school books at home, shoot marbles, visit friends of a different faith. I tried not to approach him from a know-it-all level; we sat down and tried to talk. But he is very irritated about my going to school — as a matter of fact most of my older brothers and sisters are. 'If you want to learn something,' he says, 'the Bible says you learn of God.'

"And yet the Bible says, 'the beginning of knowledge is the fear of God,' and this doesn't make sense to me. He feels civil rights work is of the devil, and now I'm proving it by going to school.

"We talked a lot about the Bible and how it was written and finally I told him, 'You need to read more than the Bible.' It made me sad to see that there was no change, just like my parents, only worse. I took his children for a walk, and they told me about their problems. 'He don't let us got no balls, Uncle Isaac, and he don't let us got no bicycles.' And so on. I felt sorry for them.

Freedom City-ites produce marketable ceramics, too.

"This kind of thing has to be destroyed, the perpetuation of this; at least, children like Willie's must be given a better chance. . .

"I enjoy history and literature most in school. Beginning to understand better our present day, why it's like it is. Lots of things that ought to seem new are very old to me. Coming into contact with Hobbes, Nietzche, Ibsen, most of the better writers and philosophers, seem to speak to us today. It's good to know about the ideas which will influence our culture, our time; early Egyptians, Judaism, Hinduism, Christianity, up to the present day. . . . Machiavelli is interesting.

"Does he sound like a Mississippi politician?"

"Yeah, man! And I wrote up the visit to my brother and my professor wanted me to publish it. I don't want to yet. Someday I'm going to write about a lot of things."

"Weren't you an athlete? And did you know George Scott?"

"I think I knew him; somebody like him anyway I played baseball against. I played football, basketball, and baseball, but it was a lot easier to play baseball, attending school irregular. I also once boxed and all this. Once I had an offer to play baseball from the Cardinals. But that wasn't what I wanted to do; that wasn't me."

"Now that you are going to school full-time and not working, how do you finance it?"

"I'm financing school with an OEO grant . . . though I'm aware that OEO finances people to get them to stop agitating."

"Do you really believe that? I mean, I know lots of people in Mississippi might pay your way —and lots of your friends—to get out of the state. But do you really think Washington would do that?"

"Yes, I do. People in Mississippi and people in Washington as well would do that. But I accepted it; hell, I was going to school anyway."

"What will you do when you go back to Mississippi? What kind of concentration? Education? Economic development? Politics?"

"At the present I really don't know; it's hopeless to talk about economics really. The attitudes in the schools, the churches, must be overcome. The entire people have to do whatever is to be done. Getting people to see is the thing. The experiences I had, meetings on the plantations, other things in the movement, helped me understand that. The mere fact that they could talk about their own conditions, and once they talked about it long enough, they gained a tiny piece of insight valuable to them, something they would *die for.* When people can freely talk about their problems they will begin to see them and make their own leaders.

"That part of the movement we've got to get beyond. It helped at one time to have white people come in but that too has to pass. White people can't help it, but they couldn't think but from their own way and it always came out sounding like, 'I know it all.'

"I think Mississippi is now ready for the kind of movement that lets people do it for themselves. I can get people to vote or strike but they do it because I tell them. We've got to have the kind of movement that lets people talk about the problems, discontinue the kind of school system they have, discontinue the kind of Sunday services, and discontinue the kind of weekends they have, living for the weekend."

"Could you say a little more about the Sunday services?"

"It's typical of a preacher on Sunday to say obey your master; and that stuff about suffering like Job; a definite absence of the here and now. And people are brainwashed completely, they have lost the meaning of progress. Progress means that you do what you want done, you don't wait on God to do it. And this bit about reward being for those who suffer the longest! You've got to change people's attitudes without destroying the hopes they have that *somebody's* concerned about them and that's God."

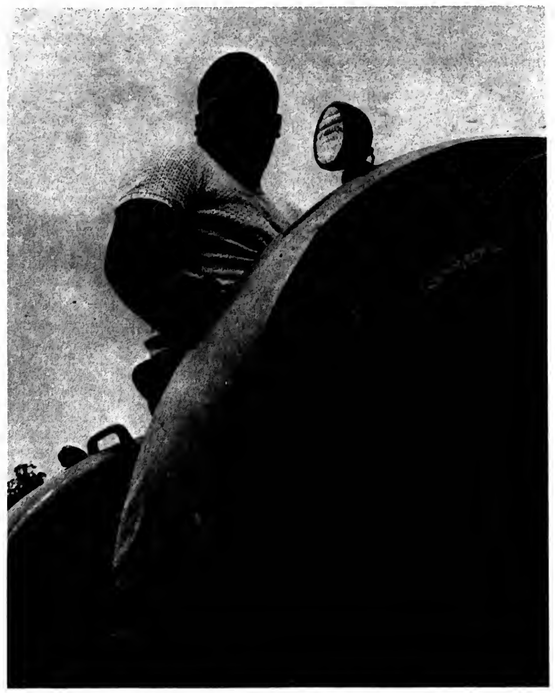
"One of the interesting things about the freedom movement was its use of church buildings and the role of the church in it. Do you think that has helped this problem?"

"I think the death of rights leaders had this influence. The first time people could finally say, 'No, this man wasn't called by God but he was killed, murdered, and there's no reason for it.' This really shook a lot of people, but I think it was good. Made them devise a philosophy not oriented to suffering but to survival. God hasn't just called another faithful servant home, but preachers can now say, clearly, 'They have murdered another one of God's servants!' It has a revolutionary flavor."

"If someone said to you, the majority of black people in Mississippi, if they had enough to eat, are happy . . . well, satisfied . . . living where they are, on the plantation, so on; what would you answer?"

"I might agree that a lot of them have never had the chance, the alternative, to decide whether they are happy or not. My mother, if she didn't believe in God, in going to church, couldn't live. It is because they are victims that they have accepted this, so many don't see it clearly. But one thing is sure. Their children are not going to be happy, and they are not going to put up with it." ■

Five-two and stilling growing. A scene at the Freedom City health center.



Much of Freedom City's food springs from the furrows ploughed by this tractor driver.

An Interview with Donald Swann — PART II

NOTES FOR THE SPACE BETWEEN THE BARS

by L. I. Stell

Donald Swann, noted composer/performer on stage and in churches, says that people are asking for a new kind of music on Sundays (see TEMPO August 15). Folk music, with its melodies of human experience, Swann thinks is most easily accommodated to a religious setting. The Englishman, most often associated with his partner Michael Flanders in the Broadway productions of "At the Drop of a Hat" and "At the Drop of Another Hat," is convinced that music is central for the continued life of the church. Besides composing many pieces for performance in the church, he wrote down his reflections on its importance in a book recently published titled, THE SPACE BETWEEN THE BARS (Simon & Schuster). In the second half of his informal conversation with TEMPO reporter L. I. Stell, he begins to speak of how making music is an integral part of human existence.

You have said that melodies can never contain all the emotions they raise in people. Where does this emotion go?

Into new life. Once you link music and drama (which is where I feel strongest, obviously, since I work in the theater), music leads on to life, one's entire life. Liturgy has music in it and about seven or eight different things besides. Could this really be it? That we want to contribute song, those of us who write church music, to a new pattern of living? Not a new Christmas carol just to replace "Jingle Bells," or something or other, but something which adds to our very life—to the daily activities of this world.

Thoughts such as these eventually became too abstract for me. So, during the last year, I have cooked up my own sort of evening which is called "Soundings by Swann." I couldn't find a form for all this, except by creating my own entertainment. It's like an evening in Church. I collected a choir of about twelve singers and a children's choir of about fifteen. And I have found pieces for them to do from my own repertoire, many not published. We take it to churches and cathedrals, as a sort of entertainment for two hours. I link it with a script and go from one piece to another. Some are very serious about challenging matters, and then some are light and gay. Really, though, when all the ideas have been done and said, in the end the composers' music has got to work. Take a great composer like Benjamin Britten. He's written a lot of good pieces for the church, which stand as music. "Flood," "St. Nicholas Cantata," and "War Requiem," are sort of half religious emotion and profoundly anti-war. It's all there in his composition. But I'm a performer. I like to stand along with my church music and ham about and play at the piano and try and introduce it, because I'm fond of words at least as much as music.

In your book you speak about all people being imprisoned in their own bars—even musical bars. How can church people break out—find the space to make their own sound or soundings?

My impression is that many, many churches are already doing this to some degree. More and more people are being persistent and surmounting the heart of all this is that they should write it themselves—between themselves.

You think composing music is possible for non-professional groups?

Yes, it's possible in a very simple, humble sort of way to say, "we are bringing our insight into this church—what we find interesting." For example, I can imagine a service where, instead of a person reading texts, people sing or read or shout poems or news stories they have enjoyed or been moved by. I'm very fond of the Quakers who have always brought the reality of things outside right into the midst of them. The whole idea of the meeting is that if you arrive, you share in the silence, and then when you want to contribute you do. And women too. We have this fantastic idea that it's always got to be the minister. Actually, this new movement has a lot to do with the community speaking its own mind. I'll give you another example. We had in England a TV program calling for a "Hymn for Britain." They received three or four thousand entries. They had a carol contest for last Christmas, and the poor organizers were snowed under with a similar number of new carols by people. Most of the contestants were non-professionals, some of whom had written new hymns. I don't see why they shouldn't have a chance to use them. Anybody should feel open to creating something, however small, whether it be a reading, or a piece of lighting or musical program. They could fit it into the church not frontally—but from the back, the balcony, or the bell tower. If everybody thought, "well, it's our job to redramatize the old story," then the opportunities are limitless.

You are interested in new stories also. Among them, are C. S. Lewis's "Perelandra" and Tolkein's "Book of Rings." Both of these are modern mythologies. "Perelandra" is Christian and the Rings series is almost Zoroastrian—with its land of light and land of darkness. Why when science and theology are demythologizing biblical and supernatural imagery, are you drawn to myth?

Well, I am! I get very involved in images of heaven. In them I have a feeling it's the leaves of the other world that we hear rustling, which can't be carefully analyzed. They have something to do with that part of us which is divine, which is the human consciousness. No one's even started to explain why it is we have these conjectures, and dreams, and visions, and pray, and why we have a feeling that there is another world of goodness, somewhere. Theology talks about it "scientifically." But imagination is something which belongs to every human being very specially. All of us need this solace.

Young people in particular?

Many young people, certainly, but many, many older people take the same amount of comfort from it. It seems to me that we have a great inheritance of hope, and writers of great genius weave it for us. Every age has had its myth. Tolkein is just one for our time; C. S. Lewis another. I don't see that there's any escaping it. If you don't have myth, something begins to groan in you, and you create another one. You create another myth like the myth that everything sordid is real. That's one going around at the moment. The filthier it is, the truer it is. Now this is terrible. The far side of the moon doesn't have to be its best side.

This ties right in with the statement in your book about the artist or writer being a tradesman of hope. As you put it, the artist's "faith in the blank page, his joy in creating and looking forward to something entirely new is a form of Christian hope—the blank canvas or manuscript being his highest excitement and inspiration." So why have many people fallen for the myth of the sordid, the dark side of the moon being the better side?

You could say the same person with the same blank page does have the choice to go off and write, or otherwise create, not as a tradesman of hope, but as a tradesman of despair. That's tragedy, isn't it? Sometimes in the heart of these writings they find profound truth and compassion. I would be the first to acknowledge that something like, "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf," which is sordid as a story, has inklings of incredible revelation in the middle of it. When you get to the heart of it, it's profoundly moving. But still, I feel the act of doing something new must, fundamentally, be hopeful. I have a feeling that it's like having a baby. All right, you can say. You have a baby, you add to the world's population. You've created an absolute disaster, because you've added one more, when there are millions with nothing to eat. It could even be seen as an act of violence. But, in fact, when a woman we know has a child, we're pleased, radiant—because something important has been contributed. It's the same simple idea that when you write something new, you feel as though something has occurred that's wonderful.

I like the way you put this thought in your book. "To get into the totality of men, you have to split the seams, break down, break out, loosen something, put on a paper hat, instead of a helmet. There is within informality, some nectar that we can drink and learn friendship; some bond with which we can heal one another's wounds." Most churches that I've been in have erected tremendous walls of formality. What is it that can bring church people out of their formal frame of mind or attitude?

I am a product of an English public school. It was a formal process, a formal place, as was Oxford University. My upbringing in the Church of England was reasonably strict. In fact, my illumination on this formality didn't come until I joined the Quakers during the wartime, because I was pacifist. I rushed into an informal faith where the light within us was apparently all about, and everything else was quiet and practical. Now, I find that even with my formal suit on, I need passionately to escape into informality. The moment I do, I get a great sense of release. This passion for informality also stands at the heart of much of the youthful revolution insofar as I can understand it. They are asking what's the good of nationalisms and other "isms" today?

They're formalities, aren't they? An informal relationship would be Chinese and Russians and Americans—all coming together in some completely different way. Isn't the United Nations just that little bit too formal? I wholeheartedly feel that the present search is for experimentation and transition. For the moment, movement needs to be outward.

We must get down to it and try to write something very funny. People are becoming so anxious. They need solace, like they need a doctor to laugh at something in themselves that they didn't realize they were taking so seriously. We all, and especially the church, cannot afford to forget the humor of life. ■

WASHINGTON COMMENT

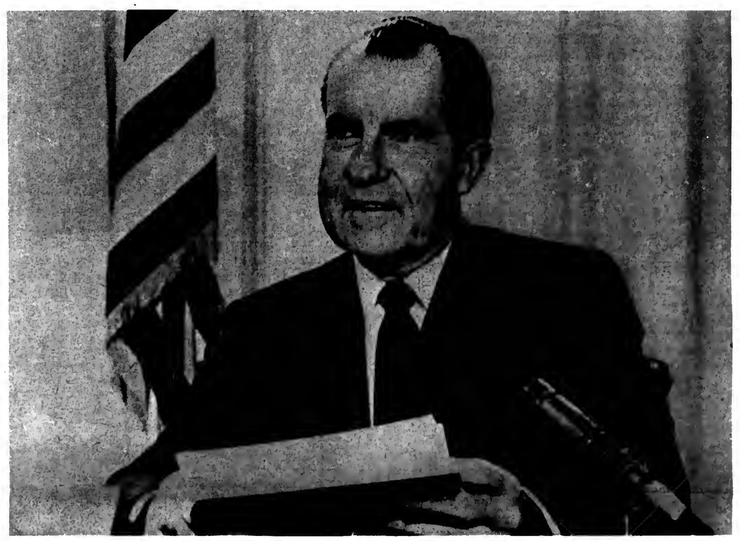
OUR LOW-KEY ADMINISTRATION

by John W. Turnbull

I HAD intended in this column, which is being written just as Congress is winding up its business before going home for three weeks and just as the President is leaving for a month in California, to try to report the major trends of this first half year of the new Administration and the new Congress. But the longer I rummage through my notes and my mind, trying to locate those trends, the more intractable all the material seems to become, and the closer I come to utter frustration.

Part of the trouble is that this year has been seriously deficient in dramatic political content. I've been reading some of the books on last year's political events, notably of course the campaign, and it's hard to believe, even with it all relatively fresh in our memories, that so much could have happened in one year: that personalities and issues could confront each other so dramatically, that hopes could be raised so high and dashed so low, that there could have been so much tragedy, excitement, humor, passion, such portent of change for better or worse.

This has not been that kind of year, and one feels a little cheated both emotionally (who is there to be hated or who to be loved?) and intellectually (what are the signs of this time and how shall they be read?). Is it that last year's appearance of great movement and potential for change can be seen in the cold light of this year to have been a deception? Or is it this year's appearance of relative calm that is deceptive? In either case, the signs of movement are more difficult to detect and interpret now than in a more obviously volatile time.



President Nixon as he proposed last month a $4-billion-a-year plan that would replace the present outmoded welfare system.

Bringing us together

It is, of course, part of Mr. Nixon's stated intention as President to reduce the volatility of political life, even at the cost of reducing also its excitement. The mood of his Administration, or at least the mood he has sought to create, is not that of urgency, movement, or novelty so much as that of competence, confidence, stability. No new or fair or any other kind of deals, no new frontiers or great societies, not even the crusades of his Republican predecessor and mentor. Like any president, Mr. Nixon stamps the White House with something of the image of his own past, so it is not surprising that over the past months it has come to look less like a Texas court house and more like the conference room of a New York law firm.

In all this Mr. Nixon believes, no doubt rightly that he is reflecting what a large and perhaps decisive segment of the American electorate wants of its president. The business-like lawyer may not be a very inspiring leader or arousing preacher, he may not elicit much affection or fervor, he may be a square and even a bore, but he can be counted on to run a tight ship, to deal calmly and rationally with the items of his agenda, and not to stick his neck or his clients' out too far. The only drawback is the lingering suspicion that he lacks real convictions, that he can argue both sides of any case with equal skill, that your defender today may be your prosecutor tomorrow.

Mr. Nixon's most serious embarrassments so far have come from letting the clients see a little too much of what goes on in the back room—in the case of the Knowles non-appointment, for example, or in the softening of the desegregation guidelines. In these and other instances it has become evident that behind the calm exterior of the official family rage some very heated battles among men of widely varying and passionately held persuasions on some of the critical issues of our day.

If such disagreement exists up there, you can be sure that it exists at least as strongly in the populace at large; and you can be sure also that it will sooner or later show itself in the latter forum as well as the former. To "bring us together" may indeed be Mr. Nixon's highest aim, and a laudable one at that; but whether the issues that divide us are capable of being resolved by the lawyer's bland mediation remains to be seen.

The Administration's moves in the area of defense and foreign policy have to be counted a plus from their point of view. The de-escalation of our troop commitments in Vietnam has actually begun, even if at a slower pace than some would like. Whether because of this fact or just because of sheer emotional exhaustion, the Vietnam issue does not seem to be quite the political menace that it was a year ago. The ABM measure squeaked through the Senate even if by the narrowest of margins, and the success of the moon landing lent some reflected glory to Mr. Nixon's round-the-world trip. Both his domestic critics and the Communist world have generally gone rather easy on the President where howls of protest might have been expected.

Defense and Dissent

The most striking development in Congress has been the extraordinary growth of the resistence to unquestioning acceptance of purported requirements for defense. The near-defeat of the ABM in the Senate and the passage on the following day of a measure to subject Defense Department expenditures to closer accounting are instances of Congressional independence on defense issues for which one would have to look back to the thirties for a parallel. Indeed, whether one welcomes this development or views it with alarm depends in a large measure on whether or not one thinks the present international situation and America's place in it is analagous to that of the thirties. A preoccupation with the analogy seems more than any other one factor to unite the contemporary hard-liners on defense, and the conviction that it is more-or-less irrelevant to characterize the new breed of opponents. Everyone assents to the desirability of learning from history, but it's a little more difficult to agree on what lessons are to be learned from what history.

The toss-up vote on the ABM is a convenient symbol of how closely and unpredictably divided Washington opinion is on a wide range of issues — and we may suppose the same thing to be true of the country at large. We seem to be losing most or all of our traditional political "majorities" and "minorities" and to be forming in their place precarious coalitions of one sort or another which cross over and tend to obliterate the older lines of party, ideology, even economic interest. Perhaps in these gropings for new alliances to correspond to newly-felt common commitments are the beginnings of new and more permanent political instruments — like the "Urban Party" which some people expect to be born out of the progressive or potentially progressive elements in our bedeviled metropolitan areas. Or the gradual consolidation of the diverse and loosely-connected interests to whom the Wallace movement is in one way or another and to one degree or another appealing. Or some major transformation of one of the existing parties.

But these speculations are just that. The present fact is that despite some actual and potential troubles, Mr. Nixon is riding pretty high; and in its quaint way of starting to speculate about the next quadrennium while the present one is still barely under way, Washington is already beginning to think of him as pretty hard to beat in 1972, barring some unforeseen disaster. In that connection, the most important political event of the year so far — and its only real drama — may be one which took place outside the political arena altogether and interrupted if it did not finish permanently the presidential aspirations of the last of the Kennedys. Of Edward Kennedy's sad misfortune and of its effect on both his prospects and those of the Democratic party, his brother Robert's rueful words about his defeat in the Oregon primary last year are the least that can be said: "It certainly wasn't one of the more helpful developments." ■

it says here . . .

CHURCHMEN TRY TO END TENSIONS IN CAIRO, ILL.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL. — The continuing efforts by black and white church groups and the Illinois Council of Churches to end black-white tension and violence in Cairo, Ill., were reported by the Rev. Robert Chapman, following an emergency visit here. An Episcopal priest, Father Chapman is director of racial justice in the National Council of Churches' Department of Social Justice.

The crisis in Cairo, he said, exploded in gunfire at the end of March when a white vigilante group, the White Hats, opened fire on the city's black housing development. Since that time, he said, the National Committee of Black Churchmen, headed by the Rev. J. Metz Rollins; the United Front Drive to Save Cairo, headed by the Rev. Charles Koen; the Illinois Council of Churches, headed by the Rev. Frederick A. Roblee; the Catholic Inner City office, headed by the Rev. Michael Lucey, and other church leaders have been working on round-the-clock efforts to put a stop to the outbreaks.

Attempts to get aid from Governor Richard B. Ogilvie have been unavailing, said Father Chapman, and protests made in the state capital have so far resulted in 65 arrests, among them 17 Roman Catholic nuns and two priests.

Father Lucey, out on bail, told Religious News Service that as of July 29, "there is some semblance of order in Cairo, but each side is scared to death."

Men were sent by the governor, he said, to make reports and more studies, but the poor "got tired of being studied so the United Front came here to make a direct appeal to the governor."

"We asked the governor to declare Cairo a disaster area," said Father Lucey, "but he defined disaster in terms of natural disaster. We still can't impress on him that it is a disaster when people are hungry, live in bad housing and are thrown in jail."

Dr. Roblee told a rally in the Union Baptist Church here that "the full utilization of the power of the state and Federal agencies should be used in a deeply troubled community" and warned that "the time is late, very late."

An uneasy truce developed in late June, the Council reported, when a new chief of police was appointed in Cairo who ordered the White Hats off the streets and enforced a curfew against both whites and blacks. The more than 600 vigilantes included many of the city's office-holders, professional and businessmen who told the *New York Times*, "We won't read them a card about their rights — we're going to shoot them."

Despite a bill passed by the Illinois Legislature designed to outlaw the White Hats, their leaders declared they'd continue whether the Governor signed the bill or not.

On August 12, an emergency meeting of the Board of Directors of the Illinois Council and its Special Task Force Committee was called here which reviewed the Cairo situation. United Front leader Koen presented a six-point supplement to its original resolution, prepared at the request of Governor Ogilvie for more specific suggestions.

In it, the demand was again made to declare the city a disaster area, paralleling a recommendation made by a special state House Committee, and called for a government-sponsored program to bring industry into Cairo to improve the economic situation.

* * * * *

INDIAN AFFAIRS HEAD APPOINTMENT QUESTIONED

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The "perfunctory manner" in which the U.S. Secretary of the Interior named Louis Rooks Bruce Jr., to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs was strongly criticized by an officer of the National Council of Churches. The Senate approved the appointment in mid-August.

The Rev. E. Russell Carter, director of special ministries in the NCC's Division of Christian Life and Mission, which includes responsibility for the churches' work in Indian affairs, stressed that his quarrel was not with Mr. Bruce — whom he said he "holds in high regard" — but with the "perfunctory manner" in which Secretary Walter J. Hickel made the appointment.

"Since the sudden resignation in July of Robert L. Bennett as Commissioner," said Mr. Carter, "we have urged the Secretary to initiate extensive and open consultations with a wide number of Indians and Indian agencies in the selection of a person who will deal intimately with the issues which directly affect their lives and well-being."

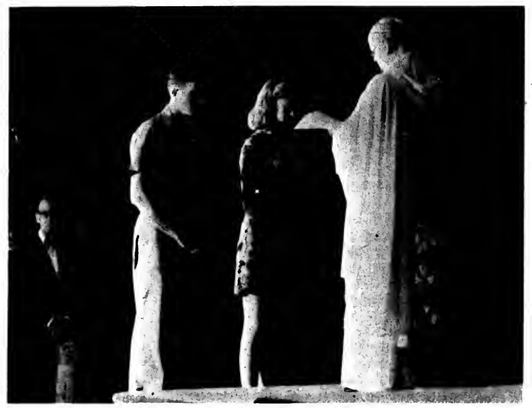
Mr. Carter, who is also chairman of the Council on Indian Affairs, warned in his last letter to Secretary Hickel that to make a selection without direct consultation with the leaders in the Indian communities would "be an affront to the Indian people."

Discussing the appointment, Mr. Carter said: "Here was a wonderful opportunity for the Government to demonstrate that it is serious about following through on its declared Indian policy stated during the ((presidential) campaign. It is hard for many people to reconcile this with the appointment of a commissioner taking place without the prior knowledge and involvement of the Indians."

Vital matters involving the Government's responsibilities as "legal guardian" of the Indians are at stake, Mr. Carter warned. These include land management problems stemming from treaties with the Government; welfare, employment and job training, and the Federal education program.

Mr. Bruce, a Mohawk-Sioux, lives in New York City. His father was a Methodist minister, dentist and professional baseball player. Mr. Bruce is the second Indian to head the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Mr. Bennett, an Oneida from Wisconsin, was the first in almost a century.

Director of youth activities of the N.Y. State Dairymen's League Cooperative Assn., Inc., Mr. Bruce has been director of Mid-Eastern Cooperatives and is a past vice-president of the Compton Advertising Agency.



PRAYERS FOR WAR DEAD

NEW YORK — Pfc. Thomas Hawkins, 19, of El Cajon, Calif., and Margaret Pearson, 25, stand on altar of the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine as Canon Edward N. West reads the names o f160 servicemen from the Episcopal Diocese of New York who died in Vietnam. Miss Pearson is co-convener of the New York chapter of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship which is affiliated with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an organization of religious pacifists. The young enlisted man, who is attached to the Signal Corps at Fort Monmouth, N.J., said the reading was not a demonstration but part of a prayer service and he felt he did not disobey army regulations that prohibit participating in demonstrations while in uniform. Memorial services are being sponsored across the country by a coalition of peace groups.

* * * * *

FLINT COUNCILS SET UP "OMBUDSMAN" PROJECT

FLINT, MICH. — The Interfaith Action Council of Greater Flint, planning and acting jointly with the greater Flint Council of Churches, has set up an "Ombudsman" project, the first of its type in the community.

The project began last May with a grant of $2,500 from the Interfaith Action Council for use in a project of its own choosing from the MUST II program of the United Methodist Church.

The Rev. Thomas E. Sagendorf, director of the IAC, and the Rev. Earle R. Ramsdell, executive director of the Flint Council, drew up the proposal. The Ombudsman's role will be "to investigate and attempt to correct allegations of administrative deficiencies made by the 'poor' in such areas as government, health, education, law enforcement, the courts, exploitation of the poor, etc."

On receiving the "go" signal from their own boards, the two directors contacted the regional office of IFCO (Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization) and received endorsement for the project and their candidate for the new post, Mr. Will O. Franklin, who has been working with local black groups and the United Welfare Rights Organization.

* * * * *

DOVISH PASTORS "GROUNDED" BY CONGREGATIONS

NEW YORK, N. Y. — Wide divergence on the war in Vietnam between ministers and people and between conservative and liberal Protestant churchmen was reported recently in a survey conducted by Harold E. Quinley in Stanford, California.

Nearly 1,600 responses were received to a questionnaire sent to 2,800 clergymen of nine Protestant denominations in California. They showed that a large portion of the clergymen who advocated withdrawal from Vietnam were censured by their parishioners.

—69 per cent said their parishioners expressed private opposition to their views.

—72 per cent of the clergy thought their parishioners were more "hawkish" than themselves.

—28 per cent lost members over the question.

—24 per cent lost financial contributions because of their stand.

—20 per cent had the issue taken up publicly before their church boards.

—8 per cent faced attempts to have them removed from the posts.

The Black-White Power Struggle

Continued from page 3

have forced us into a more unified and radical stance," said the Rev. J. Metz Rollins, executive director of the group.

The reasons for this new solidarity are complex. Partly it results from a new sophistication regarding the allegedly "racist" nature of predominantly white churches, especially in their role as major economic institutions.

Also involved is increased sensitivity to what leading black churchmen term their "powerlessness" in the predominantly white ecclesiastical structures.

Those with relatively high positions repeatedly asserted in interviews that while they are increasingly consulted by white officials and thus have grown in influence, they still have relatively little authority in decision-making.

Several pointed out, for instance, that when officials of the Interchurch Center, the headquarters of numerous religious groups in New York, and its principal tenants voted to seek a court injunction barring further sit-ins, no black was involved in the decision.

"I would have hoped that in such a situation white leaders would have taken the advice of some of us who have been around for a long time and understand the black community," said the Rev. Gayraud S. Wilmore Jr., who is head of race relations work for the United Presbyterians. "But in crisis situations somehow the controls shift to manual, and the power that is supposedly resident in our offices is simply not operative."

Role in Decision-Making

It is for this reason that the focus of attention among churchmen has shifted in recent weeks from the demonstrations to the role of blacks in the decision-making process.

"The fact is that black and white church officials have unequal voices when they speak," said the Rev. Robert C. Chapman, a black Episcopalian who is the council's director for racial justice. "I, myself, would be willing to table the Forman issue for the time being if blacks and whites in the churches would seriously confront this problem."

Some major white leaders have also come to similar conclusions. "The issue is no longer reparations or the B.E.D.C. It's whether we are prepared to follow more closely the advice of blacks, in our denominations," said William P. Thompson, stated clerk of the United Presbyterian Church.

Even if a transfer of power to blacks becomes a priority item, however, the problems are considerable. Within the National Council of Churches for instance, some officials have suggested that the funds should go to leaders of the all-black churches rather than to the more militant blacks in the predominantly white denominations whose numbers are considerably smaller but who have forced the issue.

Another problem is whether blacks should give priority to taking over positions now filled by whites or to the setting up of new all-black bureaucratic structures in fields such as urban missions. This is a matter on which black strategists are in considerable disagreement.

A major unanswered question is also the viability of the alliance between blacks in the churches and Mr. Forman and his associates outside them.

Although the ultimate ambitions of Mr. Forman and the black economic conference extend far beyond what could be funded by religious bodies, the two groups have thus far been able to smooth over tensions and work closely together.

Pressure Used

The black churchmen have been content to continue to use their alliance with Mr. Forman as a means of keeping pressure on the churches in which they are trying to gain greater power. In turn, they have provided the only reliable constituency and power base that Mr. Forman has thus far developed.

Despite the many problems posed by the conflicts in the churches in the last three months, there have been some recent signs that both blacks and whites are softening their positions.

In an interview, Mr. Thompson, who was known for his hard line against Mr. Forman, stated that he would be willing to see Presbyterian funds channeled to the conference "if the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization approved the manner in which the money is to be held and administered."

Black churchmen, in turn, presumably in consultation with Mr. Forman, have begun to state privately that they are willing to abandon the fight for recognition of the black conference by white church groups as long as funds are made available for projects like the land bank and other items envisioned by the "Black Manifesto."

One close adviser of Mr. Forman predicted that such projects would be established with independent boards that would be funded by the churches yet work in close collaboration with leaders of the Black Economic Development Conference.

He expressed some optimism that this would happen even though the Interreligious Foundation, one such project already established by the churches themselves, has not received any new funds as a result of the Forman controversy.

"The important thing is to get the funding," he said, "and it doesn't make much difference whether it is over, under or around the table." ■

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LETTERS

NO HOPE FOR HIGH SCHOOLS?

I have just read the gloomy review which Harvey G. Cox gave of the Fred Wiseman film "High School" (TEMPO, July 1). I am sure Dr. Cox gives us a good picture of the message of the film, but I would hope and I believe that there is something far more positive in the modern high school than this review would give us cause to think.

If a "really gifted and dedicated teacher (cannot) break through" the apathy of the modern high school class, maybe it is the attitude of those who have been hounding everyone in this day that there is nothing that we do that is right. If I do the best I can and the best I know and am willing to learn what is new, and to be guided by what seems good and helpful, and still I am told that there is no use—then I begin to think the effort is not worthwhile and that perhaps what we all ought to do is sit down and have a long wail. . . .

I may be speaking to Wiseman and not Cox but all in all we need a more positive approach from everyone or else our ills will continue until death.

Orval L. Bear
Macomb, Illinois

"MANIFESTO" ADDRESS

The Black Manifesto poses a profound prophetic challenge to churches and synagogues. Predictably, the response of the denominational bureaucracies has been to evade, to vacillate, and to procrastinate.

But there is no reason why individual Christians must follow suit. While the Manifesto is addressed primarily to the institutions of religion, it speaks also to individuals who profess a religious faith. Is there any reason why these persons should not make their own reparation payments, or perhaps divert a percentage of their church pledge to the National Black Economic Development Conference?

TEMPO would be performing a useful function by publishing the address of Mr. Forman's group, so that some of us may respond to him individually, until the time the churches decide to do so corporately.

(The Rev.) Ivan A. Backer
Grace Episcopal Chapel
East Rutherford, N.J.

(The address of the Black Economic Development Conference is 806 Quincy Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 011225.)

ON DOING GOOD BY COERCION

In her editorial commentary, "Will the Rich Tax Themselves To Help The Poor?" (TEMPO. August 1), Miss Barbara Ward makes the same mistake made by so many who feel the use of the power of the government is the proper way to achieve social goals. . . .

It would take too long to document the errors, but to illustrate the point I will quote from one sentence: "It is the question that God in the Bible puts to the rich, to Dives, to the man who filled up his barns—even, in an extreme form, to the rich young man."

The question in the Bible is not what she implies by this remark, and affirmatively in other parts of the article by urging the acceptance of taxation for what should be done voluntarily.

Jesus never accepted this philosophy and in no place in the Bible can any quotation be given to support the passing of laws to do good to others. There are ample quotations available to support the need for a change in heart that would bring the individual to want to help the poor as an act of love. Governments operate only by coercion and history has shown that socialistic solutions only make the lot of the poor worse.

S. A. Chalk, Jr.
Wayne, Pa.

AN APPRECIATION

When I get my copy of TEMPO, I read it as quickly as I can, then I pass it on to my minister. I think I have had some part in the start-toward-conversion of two young preachers, through your publication.

My sincere appreciation to your entire staff for your interesting presentation of what seems to me the Christian's chief reason-for-being.

(Miss) Roberta Clay
Dublin, Texas

"I AM CURIOUS (YELLOW)"

You guys have to be kidding! It is unbellevable to me that in your June 15th edition you gave a favorable review to "I AM CURIOUS (YELLOW)." . . .

Let's face reality. The movie industry is not telling it like it is. Sex is not all fun and games. There are things like pregnancy, venereal disease, guilt feelings and the lack of well-being of children brought into the world. Tell it like it is, TEMPO. I am sure you know of these things.

The Scriptural norms for morality are still real, relevant, and rational.

(Rev.) G. R. Fisher
Laurelton Park Baptist Church
Brick Town, New Jersey

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

Reviewing "IF . . ."
Directed by
Lindsay Anderson

HERE is a back-to-school special that is guaranteed to make your blood run cold, especially if you have any stake in "education." Forget those old early September sales of pencil sharpeners and notebooks. The hot items this year are mortars, grenades, pistols and automatic rifles. If we can believe *"If . . .,"* our students, from prep school on up, have a little surprise in store for us soon —a violent, armed uprising with bodies strewn all over the quadrangle and the ad building going up in smoke. If we can believe "If," that is.

"If . . ." won the top prize at the Cannes Film Festival last May. It tells the story of an English boarding school of the Eton or Harrow type. It sports all the standard props. The boys wear stiff collars and ties and long coats. The grounds are immaculately trimmed and at the center of it all stands an imposing Anglican chapel. Many of the characters are borrowed without apology from *Goodbye, Mr. Chips* and a hundred lesser films about English school life. There's the taunted fat boy, the eccentric history teacher, the moralistic headmaster, the nasty junior masters ("whips"), the homosexuals, the frightened but lovable "new boy" and the pompous chaplain.

Soon we begin to see, however, that this particular Eton is on a downward slump. Spirit is decaying, the "boys" lack enthusiasm, excellence is imperiled. But something else is happening, too. Among three of the older boys a revolt is brewing. In the final scenes it breaks out in all its technicolor violence. Not only do the rebels try to slaughter the whole lot. Also, the masters, parents, guests and other students, who have been gathered in the chapel for Prize Day, begin firing back just as savagely. One frumpy, middle-aged auntie in a flowered hat siezes a machine gun and blasts away at the sixth-form guerrillas screaming, "Bastards, bastards, bastards!"

By the time the last scene explodes on the screen, Lindsay has given us enough of an admixture of realism and fantasy that we can do with it what we like. It becomes a kind of cinematic Rohrschach test. Is it happening or isn't it? Could it happen? The film ends with the single word "If . . ." reaching across the screen.

The School As Society

What's it all about? It is easy to complain that the school and its teaching and disciplinary methods are grotesquely caricatured. Perhaps somewhere today one could find these sadistic "whips," inept masters and brutal thrashings. Certainly they are no longer very typical. And as Fred Wiseman has shown in *High School*, the nice enlightened schools where nobody gets caned are in some ways even worse.

"If . . ." is not just about schools at all. The school here stands for the whole society with its constrictive rules, its empty rituals, its contempt for human values. At least that is the society as many young people perceive it today. And "If . . ." is bound to become a favorite of the youth set. It allows them, for a few moments, to identify with the Prize Day uprising and vent all the hostility they have accumulated against those placed in authority over them.

"If . . ." has to be understood in a much larger setting. After the May 1968, uprisings in France, an interdisciplinary committee at the Nanterre, the Sorbonne branch where the "trouble" began, issued a report. In the light of *"If . . ."* that report makes even more sense. It says in part that what the students were aiming at during the crisis was not only the political regime, but the social system . . . "not only capitalist private property, but the entire organization of life, all the 'values' that modern societies, whether of the West or the East, use or fabricate, impose or insinuate, to disarm desire." The report goes on to state that what the French rebels were after was not just political change, but fundamentally altered relations among men. "The force of this desire," the report says, "has shaken the edifice of exploitation, oppression and alienation. . . ."

Premier Georges Pompidou put it even more graphically. After thinking about the "French May" for a year he decided that it was ". . . nothing so minor as 1789 or 1917, but an earthquake in values as deep as the religious revolution of the Fourth Century in the Roman Empire."

A Coming Revolt

If these assessments have any validity, "If . . ." is a prophetic and frightening movie. It foresees a coming revolt against all existing conceptions of authority, against every type of hierarchical value structure, against any and all top-down imposition. Especially in its fantasy episodes, "If . . ." celebrates the emergence of subjectivity, feeling, expression and imagination that means so much to young people today. Its armed violence is of course scary. But we should remember that at the school depicted in "If . . .", as at American colleges and universities, the guns were not brought there by the rebels. They were already there, in "If . . ." for what appeared to be an English prep school version of ROTC. Violence, in this case symbolized by weapons, is *there* already. Not just in the verbal and physical beatings administered to the "scums" by those in command, but in the whole atmosphere of the place. Campus uprisings, such as the one at Harvard, serve mainly to reveal the hidden violence on which the present system is based.

Christians for whom the services of the Church of England mean something precious will shudder during "If . . ." Everything from the hymns to the lessons to the sermon seem, in the film, cruelly calculated to function as tools of social control. They provide the ideology that keeps the boys in line. And they despise it. Yet there is a curious irony. Michael, the leader of the rebels, portrayed very effectively by Malcolm McDonnell, has in his room a phonograph record of the *Miss Luba*, a stirring African setting of the Christian Mass. He listens to it over and over. In his own soul it catches up his indistinct vision of freedom, human vitality and joy. Whether he intended to or not, director Anderson was saying to me with Michael's *Miss Luba* that the Gospel need not become the establishment's club to enforce cultural conformity. It can also be the song of that untamed life urge within all of us, that hot spark that so much of our world seems intent on dousing. ■

BOOKS: THE STORY OF A 400-ACRE PROMISED LAND

FREEDOM CITY, by Leon Howell, John Knox Press, 1969, 144 pages, $2.45.

IRONICALLY, probably the most despotic "Intruder in the Dust" in William Faulkner's state of Mississippi has been Egyptian cotton. Once Pharaoh of the Magnolia State, "the fragile fiber has often been a cantankerous despot" which has "systematically disenfranchised, exploited, deprived, manipulated, and broken" a whole people. Thus does author Leon Howell set the stage for the modern-day Exodus of poor blacks who fled oppression and established their Promised Land on a 400-acre farm and new community named *Freedom City*.

Leon Howell's *Freedom City* is simultaneously an affirmation of the essential dignity of the people of the land and an accusation of the system which has served to exploit and manipulate them through the years. It is the contemporary scriptural account of the triumph and tragedy of a people "called out" of a state of peonage and beset by the hardships of the modern-day desert of bureaucratic red tape, broken promises, and powerful enemies.

Using the skills of chronicler, interpreter and interviewer, Mr. Howell reveals the challenge, response and promise of a new future for a pilgrim people who are in the process of shaking off the shackles of bondage and forging a new life. And in this new life, the people themselves will assume responsibility for deciding its quality and direction.

Woven into journey of the people's trek from the Greenville Air Force Base, through Mud City to Strike City, and on to Mount Beulah before taking root in Freedom City, the book also describes the role of the Delta Ministry — a form of the Church at its best ministering *with* the people, not *to* them. Taking its agenda and priorities from the world in which God reveals His will the DM stands as a witness to the Church's true role as servant rather than the usual misdirected effort at continued paternalism.

Mr. Howell chooses to reveal the heroic dimensions of these emergent and indigenous leaders via interviews with the people in which they speak for themselves. As a result, the reader is not likely to forget names like Mr. Curtis Hoskins (at age 19 elected the first President of the Poor Peoples Conference), Mrs. Ora D. Wilson (the grandmother who directs the sewing cooperative), Mrs. James Allen (the first poor white resident of Freedom City), Mrs. Thelma Barnes (the "tireless lady" who once worked for the Greenville Air Force Base and then helped to occupy it), and Mr. Isaac Foster (the "Poor People's Philosopher," see box).

Freedom City tells the tale of institutions as well as individuals; for "powers and principalities" have played their demonic role in perpetuating the inhumanity and injustice which have long scarred the victims of Mississippi's closed society. Consider the following text:

"In Sunflower County, Mississippi, 1966, the Federal Government spent $10,200,000 on 'welfare' to planters; it was able to scrape together $446,000 for food programs.

"Sen. James Eastland, whose home is in this county and who represents in his 'good offices' the needs of one of the poorest sections in the United States, received $157,390 in 1967 for not planting cotton. . . . He paid an average of 29 cents an hour to adults and 21 cents to children during the 1967 chopping and picking season."

In the light of such institutional racism, is it any wonder that the vanguard of today's black and white youth angrily denounces the System which so handsomely rewards the oppressor; but is so reluctant to exert its will and power in support of its victims?

God has always chosen people and events through which to reveal his will. Once the names were Caleb, Joshua, Ruth, David and Nathan; today the names have changed, but God continues to lead his pilgrim people out of the house of bondage. The import of *Freedom City* may well be best summarized in one of Mr. Howell's observations:

"Many people are critical of *Freedom City*, but most of the criticism missed the point. Sure, it seems a frail plant, surrounded by a hostile society, limited by its own ability to grow. I don't know how it will make it. But the cost of its failure is unthinkable."

Leon Howell writes with great empathy and insight, but the power of the pen is a limited one. If the capitols of Jackson and Washington respond to this Macedonian plea with the resources and skills available to them, then *Freedom City* will be much more than the title of a book. It will be living proof of the desert which blooms and, God willing, Mr. Howell will be compelled to write a sequel because others became convinced with him that "the cost of its failure is unthinkable." ■

—The Rev. Albert R. Dreisbach, Jr., Executive Director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, Atlanta.

TEMPO

In Pace With The Changing Church **September 15, 1969**

WHY NOT SEX EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS? See Page 8

TEMPOsitions . . .

The Progress of Peoples: VI

A CHRISTIAN DUTY: TO SUPPORT AND EXTEND WORLD DEVELOPMENT

by Barbara Ward

THE world does not have to go through the whole difficult and confusing performance of setting up functioning international agencies if it wants to conduct more of its economic activities on a global scale. The agencies are there and many of them are trying by every means to go farther and move more quickly. The World Bank, for instance, is doubling its rate of borrowing this year, so that it can go out and double its rate of lending in the years ahead.

But having the agencies is only a start. Why should we use them? Why does Pope Paul repeat again and again that it is a fundamental Christian duty to support and extend the work of international institutions? Why does he roundly declare that "the social issue is now a worldwide issue?" Why does he pick out the construction of a worldwide system of justice, peace and cooperation as the gigantic, overwhelming need of our times?

A World Grown Intimate

The reason lies, of course, in part in sheer physical fact. One cannot ignore rules and obligations in a community in which ordinary travelers can make the round trip in little more than 24 hours (this will be slow time, ten years hence) and astronauts in 90 minutes. One cannot be deaf to the worldwide implications of what nations do and think when television screens, night after night, give simultaneous coverage of our village planet's life — student riots in Paris or Mexico as immediate as Chicago or Berkeley, a boy's death in Vietnam almost as immediate as the motor crash in front of the living room windows. To allow raw emotion, brute force, total tribal and national claims to bash about in so small a neighborhood invites on a global scale that disintegration of order which people most fear inside the national community. We talk of teenage violence, we talk of ghetto cities. But what happens if whole continents become ghettoes, and more than half their population is under 20 years?

A World of Economic Independence

To the fragility of our world, we must add its economic interdependence. True, it is still rather a one-way interdependence. The wealthy 20% of the world's peoples who live round the North Atlantic and engross nearly 80% of the world's wealth invent so many substitutes — like plastics and nylon — waste so much money on armaments and produce so large a food surplus that for a time they could ignore the two-thirds of humanity who live on and below the poverty line. But 10 years from now? When farming has become even more productive, when every Western stomach is overfull, when automation has gobbled up more jobs, when color TV is laid on in every room in every house? How will highly competitive market economics deal with a situation in which they have to fight each other for the possibly saturated trade of the already wealthy twenty percent? It may be that their demand for still unimagined luxuries and extras or a sudden spurt of growth in their population, even some extravagant maneuvers in outer space or even — unhappily — eight times overkill in armaments will still keep their economies in trim. But it is equally possible that the catastrophic disease of the Great Crash in 1929 — the failure of demand to keep pace with supply — may overtake the wealthy West within a generation.

These are arguments of reason and self-interest to regard the world as a single system in which the wealth of each is dependent in a real degree upon the wealth of all. These are valid economic reasons for putting the weight of Western political commitment behind a concerted effort to make the Seventies a genuine Decade of Development and to use and develop the international institutions which best express the world's common interests and common life.

A World With a Thirst for Justice

But, for Christians, do these arguments — of reason, of enlightened self-interest — go far enough? It is no doubt admirable that if he is wise enough, Dives can make Lazarus prosper as well as himself. Yet this is not the argument of Dive's Lord. He argued for a certain extravagance and overplus of generosity, not suppressing reason but going far beyond it. The man with two coats is to give both away. The rich young man is to dispossess himself of all he possesses. These, no doubt, are the extremes of evangelical love. But short of it, Christ asks for a haste, an eagerness, a willingness, a thirst for justice which goes far beyond the sedate dictates of reason and good sense.

And so, for a people who, like the Americans, are adding $80 billion this year to a national income of over $850 billions — and giving less than $2 billions to world development — we may wonder whether the Lord's judgment on Dives is wholly beside the point.

This is the last of a series of six editorial commentaries by Miss Ward, the distinguished economist, author, lecturer and Catholic lay leader.

Cartoonist Dave Rusch caught an irate Bircher type fighting off the birds and the bees outside the schoolhouse. The Rev. David D. Mellon, executive director of the Trenton (N.J.) Council of Churches, is not alone when he says: "The great need for sex education becomes apparent when one observes the situation in our local school system." During the 1968-69 school year, he reports, approximately 167 pregnancies occurred. The age range was from 13 to 19, with over half the girls being 16 or under. "It would seem to me," he says, "that an adequate sex education program is greatly needed if the school is to help in the area of pregnancy prevention."

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause, Dorothy Roesenbrink, L. I. Stell
ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler
PROMOTION: David Poindexter
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull
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A Report on The WCC Central Committee Meeting

WCC IN SEARCH OF A NEW LIFE STYLE

by Betty Thompson
(via Religious News Service)

CANTERBURY, England — Should the World Council of Churches be a catalyst stimulating the churches to renewal and unity? Should it be the agent for pragmatic cooperation in which churches pool resources and personnel and operate as one despite their divisions? Should it be a kind of ecclesiastical United Nations, an international debating society? A theological think tank, a churchly Red Cross?

These are some of the recurrent questions which have plagued the World Council of Churches and which it must resolve in the next decade.

Varied answers were given as the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches met in Canterbury during the first three weeks of August. As the Council's Geneva secretariat grows and its membership becomes increasingly diverse, the consensus principle on which it has operated for so long may be breaking down. Some think it should. Just what the new life style will be is not determined. But changing it is, not fast enough for some of its constituents and too fast for others.

The first meeting of the World Council of Churches' policy-making Central Committee after an Assembly is always a time of testing and encounter. But the new committee — 114 men and six women led by two lay persons — had little time to spend getting acquainted with each other before tackling controversial issues.

Since last July when the Assembly met in Uppsala, Sweden, the world has not stood still. Men have landed on the Moon. Wars in Vietnam and Nigeria/Biafra have dragged on. An organization devoted to Christian unity and meeting in the United Kingdom could hardly ignore a religious war taking place in Northern Ireland. And American church leaders arrived in Canterbury exhausted and somewhat bewildered by confrontations with black militant forces demanding reparations.

Mandates from Uppsala

The new Central Committee was faced with the task of making the multiplicity of mandates from Uppsala take concrete form and of holding together the fellowship of Protestant and Orthodox churches amidst the polarizing forces outlined by its general secretary, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, in his opening report. In a sweeping analysis of theological, political and ecclesiastical currents, Dr. Blake stressed the new and exciting potentiality of our increasingly polarized times rather than fears at the dangers we face.

Quest for a new style of operation is more evident in some WCC units than others. The Commission of the Churches on International Affairs which met earlier at Cambridge made it known to the Central Committee that it was no longer placing primary emphasis on the issuing of statements and on Western-oriented corridor diplomacy at the United Nations headquarters in New York and Geneva.

The CCIA, which has been under attack because of its European and American staff, is now headed by a Latin American, the 39-year-old Argentine Lutheran, Dr. Leopoldo Niilus, a lawyer. (He came from experience in the World Student Christian Federation circles so in that respect is not new. The WSCF has been the hatchery for most ecumenical leaders in the first half century). To shed its alleged reputation of operating on a global level without consulting with or listening to member churches, CCIA hopes to take a more active part in helping the churches to awaken political concern among their members. It will attempt to pursue closer contacts with member churches and Council and their related agencies to get and receive information and advice.

CCIA will also inaugurate "medium and long range study projects which will provide criteria for action." Fresh perspective on causes and probable effects of tensions in the political field will be sought. The establishment of closer links with member churches will be formed through visits to them by "world perspective teams" commissioned to discuss international issues of importance with church leaders and government officials in particular areas.

Also proposed was a consultation to be held in Geneva on the problems of disarmament with special attention to the work of the U.N. Committee of Twenty-Five Powers on disarmament and to the problems of biological and bacteriological warfare. Obvious, too, was the fact that Geneva, not New York, was to be the center of the CCIA activities now (the former director, Dr. O. Frederick Nolde had his principal office in New York near the U.N.) and that the staff would be internationalized with more third-world membership.

New Formulas in the Making

The old CCIA formula had been to balance carefully any statements with a "plague on both your houses" ("on the one hand . . . on the other hand," the Russians are bad, the Americans are bad, etc.), but this kind of approach was considered by some to be self-negating. In the statement calling on the U.S. to resume trade and diplomatic negotiations with Cuba, this element of a simultaneous criticism of Cuba as well was missing. It was just that which caused Dr. Robert T. Marshall, New York, and H. Ober Hess, Philadelphia,

The presidents and other officials of the World Council of Churches proceed into Canterbury Cathedral for opening service of the WCC Central Committee meeting. From far left: Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, general secretary; Dr. John Coventry Smith, U.S.A.; Dr. Ernest A. Payne, England; Patriarch German of Yugoslavia; and Dr. W. Visser 't Hooft, retired honorary president, The Netherlands. Sessions were held Aug. 12-23.

of the Lutheran Church in America, to vote against it.

Development was a thread running through the concerns of many departments and commissions — CCIA, world mission and evangelism, interchurch aid, ecumenical action, SODEPAX (the joint agency of the WCC and the Roman Catholic Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace which was created to deal with Society, Development and Peace). Despite the appointment of an Indian layman, C. I. Itty, as staff coordinator and an expressed desire to work together, it was not clear whether a real, massive effort is being made in which the existing divisions sacrifice their identity in a coordinated quest for the most effective instrument or whether there is still too much doing of their own thing by the various Council units.

One unresolved issue is whether the churches should concentrate on funneling their potentially enormous resources into secular channels as suggested by an ecumenical veteran, W. A. Visser 't Hooft (Methodist Dr. José Miguez-Gonino of Argentina warned against trying to come up with a single concept of development), or whether the churches would attempt to develop their own comprehensive models in the area.

Father Paul Verghese, a Syrian Orthodox priest from India, issued a somber warning that certain kinds of Western enthusiasm for development might deprive those in the poor countries from seeking their own development and preserving freedom and dignity. That old ecumenical answer, a consultation (and so far its most stringent critics have really not come up with anything more imaginative to replace the consultation as a modus vivendi of ecumenical strategy) is proposed to set criteria for projects and mobilize increasing church funds for development.

Since the churches in the council and individuals within them hold widely differing concepts of political theory, development will continue to be a subject of debate.

Margaret Mead on Reparations

The issue of reparations produced much behind-the-scene infighting as well as public comment. Dr. Margaret Mead, the noted anthropologist who made the report of the church and society department, made some astringent remarks on this subject at a press conference. Dr. Mead said the concept of reparations could be looked at from three angles. First, it is a dramatic form of communication understood by the mass media who can say that reparations have been demanded "or even better that some money has been extorted." But, she insisted, she does not believe in any reparations on a base of race and guilt, for then one gets into the problem of retroactive guilt.

"Should descendants of fair-haired blonde slaves in Rome get some reparations from the Italians?" Where there has been specific wrong done to specific groups by those still alive, such as when a church is a ghetto landlord, then restitution should be made, she argued. Such direct righting of wrongs does not "involve ambiguous racial guilt." The incomparable Dr. Mead, in calling for a study on the future of human society shaped by technology, told the churchmen that it had been their tendency to "regard every invention before the life of Jesus Christ as the work of God" (the sail, the wheel, the plow, etc.) and to regard all subsequent inventions as inspired by the devil.

She did, however, acknowledge that though technology could greatly benefit mankind ("I do not regard the saving of babies' lives as materialistic"), she saw danger as well as hope and need of some kind of controls of "galloping technology" in man's use of the biosphere. "Curbing technology where it can harm us and encountering stewardship and development where it can improve the life of man is part of our stewardship of the earth under God."

Christian Ed to WCC

Almost overlooked in the concentration on more headline-grabbing issues was the proposal which would take final steps toward bringing the World Council of Christian Education into the structure of the World Council of Churches. When this is accomplished a few years hence, the last of the early ecumenical movements which were founded on individual support and membership will pass from the scene. The International Missionary Council was integrated into the World Council at New Delhi in 1961. The WCCE grew out of the Sunday School movement begun by Robert Raikes in 1780. The World Sunday School Association was founded in Rome in 1907 and became a federation of national and interdenominational bodies directed toward Christian education in 1924. It became the World Council of Christian Education in 1947.

At Canterbury in 1969 the new Central Committee of the World Council of Churches became better acquainted with one another and the issues facing the council and the Church in the decade of the 1970's. More Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans were present and more articulate than ever before. Absent youth (there are only two members under 30) with their discontent with both church and world were frequently alluded to. The fellowship among individuals was real. Just how this fellowship can be extended beyond Canterbury to local communities is one of the problems which will not be resolved before the next meeting 18 months hence at Addis Ababa. ■

A Churchman Reports from The Scene:

SOUTH VIETNAM IS A POLICE STATE

by A. James Armstrong

United Methodist Bishop A. James Armstrong, of Aberdeen, South Dakota, was one of a nine-member fact-finding team of distinguished Americans who were sent by an ad hoc committee of religious leaders to South Vietnam in late May and early June to study religious and political freedom in that war-wracked country. Bishop Armstrong's report that follows is personal, but it is in harmony with the findings of the entire group. It appears in ENGAGE for July 15 and is reprinted here by permission.

THE U.S. Study Team on Religious and Political Freedom in Vietnam returned to Washington, D.C. on June 9, after an exhausting two weeks in Paris and Vietnam. It had talked with the widest possible range of persons, from President Nguyen Van Thieu to Ian Wright of the *Guardian* to a 9-year-old girl who was in the Thu Duc prison for picking pockets.

The "findings" of the team were included in a 36-page report completed in Paris. The report dealt with freedom and dissent in Vietnam, with the arrest, detention, classification and treatment of prisoners, and with legal standards and procedures related to political suppression.

The team, as such, did not presume to suggest solutions or offer firm recommendations to the governments involved. As a "private" team, it felt that its major contribution would come from sharing its findings with responsible public officials and with the American people.

It goes without saying, however, that individual team members formed or confirmed some strong convictions. The following will summarize my own conclusions.

I. The Thieu-Ky government is not a representative government, nor does it have a broad base of popular support.

On March 26, 1964, Secretary McNamara attempted to explain Diem's fall in political terms. He said, "(The) progress (in 1962) was interrupted in 1963 by the political crises arising from troubles between the government and the Buddhists, students, and other *non-Communist* oppositionists. President Diem lost the confidence and loyalty of his people; there were accusations of maladministration and injustice." Exactly the same set of factors exists today.

In Paris we talked with the political exile, Au Truong Thanh. A leading contender for the presidency in 1967, he was not permitted to run because of his alleged "pro-Communist neutralism." He argued that the present Saigon government is made up of "war profiteers, militarists, traders and fanatic anti-Communists," insisting that it has no "solid base."

Truong Dinh Dzu, runner-up in the 1967 presidential election and now serving a five-year prison term at Chi Hao Prison in Saigon, told us that neither the Communists nor the Thieu-Ky government would win in a free election. He advocates a coalition government as the only solution. Earlier he had asked for negotiations with the National Liberation Front. Although today such negotiations are taken for granted, Dzu remains in prison.

President Thieu met with us shortly before he left for Midway. He had just returned from South Korea and Taiwan. He was in a truculent, won't-budge-an-inch mood. As we discussed political prisoners, we mentioned Mr. Dzu. Heatedly he told us that talk of a coalition government would not be tolerated. When he returned from Midway he opened his press conference with the same dogmatic assertion. Can any government be considered democratic when it prohibits the free discussion of the obvious?

At least 80 per cent of the Vietnamese people are Buddhist. Buddhism believes in non-violence. Thich Thien Minh, one of the most influential Buddhist monks in South Vietnam, was summoned to the office of the Minister of the Interior early this year. He was told to stop preaching "peace sermons." On February 23, he was arrested. He is now being held, under heavy guard, in military custody. He told us: "My only offense is that I believe in peace."

Our first full day in Saigon was Buddha's 2513th birthday. We attended the ceremonies at the An Quong Pagoda. I was privileged to participate. I knelt, shoes off and incense in hand, to pray with the "venerables." Later I held a white dove and released it as helicopters hovered overhead. Who would ever think that releasing a dove of peace would be considered a political act? Yet it was, for the advocacy of peace has led to the imprisonment of hundreds of faithful Buddhists.

Buddhist monks, students, intellectuals, ardent nationalists and suppressed political leaders comprise a vast Third Force in South Vietnam that rejects Communism on the one hand, and the Thieu-Ky government on the other. Madam Binh, the charismatic spokesman for the N.L.F., confesses that this Third Force would win a free election south of the 17th parallel. Yet, it is a voice suppressed; silenced by the Saigon government.

Don Luce and John Sommer have written a vitally important book: *Vietnam—The Unheard Voices*. In it they stress the fact that the voice of the Vietnamese *people* is not being heard. A Buddhist student explained it to them like this:

> "What we need in Vietnam now is a third force. To understand this just look at what we have: on the one side is the Viet Cong and China behind them; on the other side is the regime in Saigon supported by the Americans. They are deadlocked. Neither one can win. They fight against each other. But in the middle are the Vietnamese people. They are the ones who suffer. We must organize these people who are caught in between and who cry out for peace. It is they, the people of Vietnam, who can save their country from this evil war."

II. In many respects, the Thieu-Ky government is a police-state.

On March 24, 1969, the *New York Times* quoted Nguyen Lau, owner and publisher of the *Saigon Daily News* as saying, "Diem said bluntly that he was not going to tolerate freedom of the press. There were no illusions then. We are living a lie now. People say they are giving you freedom and someone without experience in journalism may be innocent enough to believe that this is paradise. Now you may be carried away by your illusions and land in trouble."

On April 16, Nguyen Lau landed "in trouble." He was arrested. Today he is held in Saigon's National Police Headquarters. We were not permitted to see him. Yet, his reference to the Diem regime, and its similarity to the Thieu-Ky government, was commonplace. Many of the people we talked with agreed that President Thieu's government is less repressive than the ten years of brutal intimidation under Ngo Dinh Diem. Others, while agreeing that repression is not as obvious and violent, argued that it is equally pervasive today.

Although State Department personnel assured us, before our departure, that there were no Buddhist monks in prison, that there were virtually no "political prisoners" (other than V.C. agents) and that prison population figures were declining, the U.S. Embassy in Saigon contradicted Washington. Don Bordenkercher, senior American advisor to the South Vietnamese Director of Correctional Institutions, said there had been a steady increase in arrests and imprisonments since "pacification" efforts were intensified, and that there was a dramatic rise in February and May of 1968, as a direct result of the Tet offensive. We saw 120 Buddhist monks who were prisoners in Chi Hao Prison alone.

Of the 45,000 prisoners officially acknowledged by government authorities (it is assumed there are thousands more being held in military custody, refugee camps or in a network of secret service detention centers), it is estimated that about 70 per cent are political prisoners. Most of these are said to be Communists or N.L.F. agents. However, thousands more are in prison simply because they oppose the government or advocate peace.

The charge that the Saigon government is a "police state" is substantiated in at least three ways:

1. Prisoners are denied virtually all procedural protection. Many peasants are arrested only because they are found near areas of guerrilla activity. They may be held for as long as two years, and then be sentenced or freed by a provincial council that does not interview them or permit any defense. Thousands of others are tried and sentenced by "military field courts." These are not constitutional military tribunals or civil courts but extra-constitutional "courts" appointed by and responsible to President Thieu. Almost all political prisoners, including Truong Dinh Dzu, Thich Thien Minh and Nguyen Lau, have appeared before these roving field courts and have thus been denied all constitutional guarantees and protections.

2. The classification of prisoners is often arbitrary and erroneous. At the Thu Duc prison there are said to be 823 Communist prisoners. The administrators insist that there are no "political prisoners." Yet, we talked with two girls, student leaders from Saigon University, whose dossiers charged them with "leftist tendencies"; nothing more. They had attended a peace meeting and some V.C. literature was found in a Student Union desk. So there they were, classified as Communists, treated like Communists, housed with Communists. Is it any wonder that young idealists, suffering from such miscarriages of justice, are considered fair game for the N.L.F.? The administrative classification procedure brands as "Communists" hundreds of persons whose only crime is that they are staunch nationalists and peace advocates.

3. There is physical abuse in detention and interrogation centers. A young woman is arrested and taken to a district police station. She is brutally beaten and sexually violated. She dies. Her body is taken to a nearby hospital where a police official asks a doctor to fill out a "natural" death certificate. This is common practice says the physician. From the "tiger cage" on Con Son Island to electric wires and "the water treatment" in detention centers, the first-person and eyewitness testimony concerning torture seemed overwhelmingly conclusive.

It would not be just or fair to suggest that all Vietnamese officials are conscious partners in a police-state. Prime Minister Huong, a former political prisoner himself, has released many people who were being held illegally. Minister of Interior Khiem expressed interest when two deputies from the Lower House criticized certain prison practices early in May, 1969. He listened respectfully to concerns shared by the U.S. team members and insisted they were his own. When Col. Nguyen Mau, Chief of the Special Branch of the National Police Headquarters, was asked about torture in his institution he bristled and shouted, "What do you think I am? An animal?" (National Police Headquarters in Saigon is infamous for its forms of physical abuse and intimidation.) But, in spite of some correctional institutions reflecting notions of modern penology and some government officials manifesting genuine concern, the end-result still bears the trappings of police-state terrorism.

III. The war has become an American war and is systematically destroying Vietnam.

The war was not "Americanized" all at once. Ho Chi Minh worked with American intelligence during World War II. Many Americans were sympathetic to the Viet Minh resistance movement. But, in 1950, President Truman threw the full support of his administration behind the French colonialists. In 1954, following Geneva, President Eisenhower supported the Diem regime. In 1961, President Kennedy increased the number of American "military advisors" from 600 to 17,000. And in 1964 and 1965 the lid blew off. The Bay of Tonkin resolution was passed. We began to bomb the North. We increased our troop strength from 23,000 to 165,000. The war had become "ours" and began to crazily escalate beyond control.

Today, there are 540,000 American troops in Vietnam. We are spending more than $30 billion each year on the war. The countryside is laid waste, the cities are glutted with refugees, and more than a million Vietnamese people have been killed.

Bishop James Armstrong, at right, talking with (from left) Buddhist lay leader Hoang Chau, Fr. Hoang Quynh, a North Vietnamese Catholic leader, and the Venerable Phap Tri during Study Team's visit to high and low alike.

Duong Minh Kinh, a deputy in the Lower House, told me of the resources China and Russia are pumping into North Vietnam and of the manpower and firepower America is pumping into South Vietnam. He said, "We are beggars from all of the people of the world in order to destroy ourselves. That is the greatest tragedy of all."

But, Vietnam is threatened by more than napalm, defoliants, bombs, and search and destroy tactics. The culture itself is in jeopardy. I asked Thich Tri Quang to compare the French colonial period with the present era of American influence. "Oh, it's much worse now," he said. "For two reasons: first, the French respected our ancient traditions, while you have taken us from our homes and lands; and, second, the French were relatively poor. American money has changed everything in Vietnam. It is destroying our people." Where once we were respected allies and then advisor-partners in a civil war, we have become the hated presence; the tall, white avengers from a distant country. A non-Communist prisoner on Con Son Island, there because he refused to fight in the army, stated firmly that he would not fight for a country that was destroying his own.

IV. It is the Buddhists, not the Roman Catholics, who are most consistently reflecting the Christian ethic of reconciliation in South Vietnam today.

About one-tenth of South Vietnam's population is Roman Catholic. Yet, France was Catholic and Indochina was French. From the time of the French missionary-priests through Diem and the Nhus to the present hour, Catholics have influenced Vietnamese policy and life far beyond their numerical strength. It must be remembered that about 1,000,000 Catholics came south following 1954. They have been the most militant anti-Communists in South Vietnam and have played a dominant role in shaping government policy.

True, in January of 1968, all of the bishops of South Vietnam released a four-page statement supporting Pope Paul's message on peace and calling for a bombing halt in North Vietnam. But the people with whom we talked, without exception, insisted that the Catholic hierarchy had limited itself to what the Pope had said with no desire or inclination to supplement or further interpret the Vatican plea. On Christmas Eve, 2,000 students, many of them Catholic, held a peace procession. Hundreds were arrested in the aftermath. But again, Buddhists, not Catholics, fill the prisons of South Vietnam. President Thieu said as much. He reminded the Study Team that, though he has trouble with the Buddhists, Catholics are his strongest supporters. The former editor of a Catholic magazine, a friend and confidante of Archbishop Nguyen Van Binh, agrees that fewer than 10 per cent of South Vietnam's Catholics are critical of the war and of Thieu's government.

Some months ago, Thich Thien Minh argued that the people of South Vietnam could accept neither the "terrorist regime" of North Vietnam nor the "corrupt government" in Saigon. In response, President Thieu, a Catholic, said, "My government can die because of those pacifists (the Buddhist monks), but before we die, they will have to die first." The words, though not as blatant, are reminiscent of Madame Nhu's comment when Thich Quang Duc burned himself to death for his faith. She said, "I would clap hands at seeing another monk barbecue show." The Diem-Nhu government was flagrantly anti-Buddhist. Diem was a Catholic who once thought of becoming a priest. His brother was archbishop of Central Vietnam. The Buddhists contend, and rightly so, that they have been consistently discriminated against since 1954.

One of the team members was Father Robert Drinan, Jesuit priest and Dean of the Boston College Law School. He asked Archbishop Binh about the attitude of the Catholic Church in Vietnam toward the war, the government and Buddhist persecution. The archbishop replied that the Church could not become involved in "politics." Like Pilate, the Church has washed its hands in the presence of fateful public decisions, and has thus made its decision.

One should not group all Catholics together in South Vietnam, for there are heroic spirits like Father Hoang Quynh, who are working closely with Buddhist, Cao Dai and Hao Hoa peace advocates. Nor should one assume that all Buddhists are anti-government, for Thich Tam Chau and his National Buddhist Shrine have the blessing of the Thieu-Ky government. But the An Quang Pagoda has become a rallying point for persons critical of corruption, militarism and a prolonged American presence in Vietnam. At Buddha's birthday celebration this year we heard Thich Tinh Khiet, Supreme Patriarch of the Unified Buddhist Congregation say:

> "Every hostile tendency of the world has jostled its way into the Vietnam war in order to exploit it and seek for victory, whereas all the Vietnamese people—either on this side or on the other side of the seventheenth parallel—are mere victims of this atrocious war. Our nation is thus forced to accept ready-made decisions without having any right to make our own choice."

The Buddhist tends to be a devoted nationalist who resents the coercive intrusion of either Communist ideology or American military might into his beloved land. He is non-violent by faith and reflective by discipline. He represents 80 per cent of the Vietnamese people and, more than anything else, he longs for peace.

The religious man in Saigon faces many of the same pressures faced by his counterpart in Seattle and Saginaw. I asked one young Buddhist prison official where he had celebrated his Lord Buddha's birthday. "At home," he said. "It's getting so you can't go to the pagoda any more; even Thich Tam Chau's pagoda. They always talk about peace. It's too much politics." I asked if praying for peace was a political act. "The way they do it it is," he argued. We talked some more about the religious spirit and man's quest for peace. Finally he summed it all up. "Religion used to be 'passive' in this country, the way it ought to be. But now it's becoming 'active' and I don't like it." In that moment, remembering a thousand conversations in Jacksonville and Indianapolis and Aberdeen, I felt at home. ■

An Interview with Howard Moody, by L.I. Stell

A GREENWICH VILLAGE MINISTER SPEAKS OUT ON YOUTH IN REBELLION

A good deal that is happening in the lives of inner-city churches and their pastors is happening in the life of Judson Memorial Church, in New York's Greenwich Village, and its minister, the Rev. Howard Moody. But in other ways, Judson, its program, and Mr. Moody's experiences, are unique. For the Village is a special inner-city community, composed — again in unique part — of young people in search of new values and in rebellion against accepted hypocrisies, and with many of them in deep trouble and in urgently need of help.

Under Mr. Moody's leadership, Judson Memorial (American Baptist and United Church) has mounted a number of unusual programs for this special community of young people, including a teen center, dance and poet's theater groups and, beginning this fall, a mobile medical unit that will bring skilled health and psychiatric counseling to the blocks where the young people live in virtual isolation from the rest of the city.

From this vantage point and his experience of thirteen years as Judson's minister, with five years previously spent as Minister to Students at Ohio State, Mr. Moody here speaks out, frankly and searchingly, about youth and its problems, hopes and despairs today.

This is the first of a projected three-part interview, done by associate editor L. I. Stell. The others will deal with such topics as the city church today, new life styles for the local parish, the abortion issue, the minister in politics, and the impact of obscenity in our culture.

At the beginning of your book, The Fourth Man, *you quote a poem called "The Second Coming," by William Butler Yeats. It starts out: "Turning and turning in the widening gyre, the falcon cannot hear the falconer. Things fall apart; the center cannot hold. Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world." Since you reflected on these lines four years ago, do you think young people have pushed us nearer to anarchy?*

When we use the term "anarchy," we often put down various kinds of changes that are happening. Part of what looks like anarchy is people turning views of reality upside down. World views, our sense of the rightful, logical place for things—in politics, universities or churches—are being transposed by young people in a way which is terribly threatening. In other words, it is a moral change the kids want. They're puritans. People who think that kids today are immoral, nihilistic, or lacking of any real values—are dead wrong. In fact kids are moralistic. Sometimes their indignation is self-righteous and therefore a little repulsive—though I agree with the cutting edge of it.

The demand of "crazies" and others for chaos and change is just as puritanical as the demand for order by Birchers and "blue law" makers?

That's right! But the kids are trying to open up moral issues—not look them up. The really frightening revolution they bring is not on the college campuses and the streets, it's the revolution in values, in thoughts—the challenge to the whole Western, Christian, Aristotelian worldview.

The trouble is that not only kids are "getting religion", their parents and friends are hardening into what they think is the most moral view of the world.

Exactly. And what all of us need to do is to refuse the polarizations of opposites that we're being forced into by the world in which we live. We've got to have a little anarchy—that's clear. And we've got to have a little order. We are forced by the way we're headed to make choices. Black or white: you're either for me or you're against me! Maybe not. Maybe I'm with you sometimes, and I'm not with you other times.

Let's take sex. Here the kids have opened up one of our Pandora's boxes. You're either a man, or you're a woman we say. Well, maybe not. Maybe we're a little masculine and a little feminine. Maybe both of these are so mixed that the real man is the one who knows that both are in him. And that when he denies one altogether or to the exclusion of the other, then he in some sense denies part of the reality of being. This view brings a style of being human that we never really entertained as being part of the way things are. The blurring of the lines between masculinity and femininity in our time is the way of the kids saying, "Now wait a minute, you've always told me sex was just screwin' around. Well, I don't believe that. I believe sex is a lot more than that. I believe sex is touch, feeling, vibrations, and a whole lot of things. You're not going to confine my thinking about sex to the bed." And we'd always wanted to sharply define what we meant by sex. The kids have blurred that. The whole uni-sexual movement says the world is sex—one sex. That is, we're all sort of sexual combinations, and not solely masculine or solely feminine.

Are kids putting us in touch with our larger nature?

Either in touch with ourselves or somebody else. Touch and tenderness and warmth—these are basically feminine qualities. Men have been taught to be afraid of them from childhood. You know, the whole "What-are-you-crying-for? Little-boys-don't-cry," syndrome. The feeling of crying, of pity or sorrow or deep hurt feelings can't be viewed by people publicly. Hugging and touching? Men don't do that. Little boys don't play violins. Or dance. And this attitude is the basis of a lot of homosexuality in our culture. We have really pushed our kids, and we've really been hung up on this whole question of sexuality, and I think the kids have really opened this up for us in an important kind of way.

Actually uncovering another view of man?

Yes. Basic reality about how we look at each other in terms of roles and who we are. Take another thing they've opened up, being able to sense and feel the unity of the world. There is a lot of flirtation on the part of kids today with Eastern religion, because it's a reaction against the western, Aristotelian, rational, logical, explanation of everything being in its place. And this is right and that is wrong.

They seek to understand the irrational?

That's right, the absurd. And therefore the connection, as a being, with this whole cosmos. They're more interested in *all* the children of the world than just the children of America. They're putting question marks around the whole national state concept. We thought we became one world back in Willkie's time, in the early '40's. But that was nothing compared to today. Willkie was just recognizing that somebody lived over there on the other side of the ocean. But this revolution of the kids today—being almost able to think cosmically—is more Biblical. It is against thinking nationalistically, or racially, and challenges the fundamental, basic presuppositions upon which we are built as human beings—white American westerners.

It's going to be a blow when the full brunt of the implications of this world-view begins to come across. For instance, kids are not buying our whole demonology of communism. To my age-group, my peers, the whole of Western philosophy is based on anti-communism. Communism is the great demon that explains most of the evil in the world. Foreign policy, domestic policy—everything—is built on the basis of a stance toward that evil.

But the kids ask what the hell we're talking about. They know that Communists are the Puritans and the moralists of Russia. In a recent news story Russian Communists were critical of their own teenagers—"not enough discipline in the Russian family, got to have more after-school stuff." Again, by seeing the similarities between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., kids are really undercutting some basic presuppositions. And when you begin to toy with and to raise questions about *this* kind of thing, you really do upset the cart.

So they've made two circles: they've made an inner world out of what we had split up into male-female, and they've made our real world into one circle or community.

Right. And even beyond the earth. Many of them are becoming preoccupied with astrology—the occult. They'd rather have their destiny determined by a star than by a computer, they say, because at least they can relate personally to the star. This whole way of thinking has been reserved in the past for the fringe, weirdo element in our society. Today "Aquarius" is a hit song. Kids read science fiction and wonder what new spaceland lies beyond the moon.

Is one reason young people are going to their horoscopes because the church "copped out" to reason?

Yes. It did so by masculinizing religion. The Reformation actually excluded all femininity from our religion. Protestantism, a rational, logical, intellectual religion, did not leave any place for other elements in the Biblical traditions. We only selected those elements which were sort of intellectually explicable. The rest embarrassed us. We just didn't talk about it or rewrote the symbolization—weeded it out. What these kids are doing could bring a rebirth because our Judeo-Christian faith, in its completeness, has a huge, mysterious cosmos.

Another area where the church has abandoned its children is in liturgy, the ritual. There are a million new "rituals" going on today: pot smoking, LSD trips together, art "environments"—and even a lot of theatre is completely ritualistic. The Protestant tradition, rationalized its dramatic story in a way which made it impotent—castrated our worship and Christian rituals. Took out all the power, the excitement—if you will, the orgasmic element of emotionally-charged ritual. Even if we didn't want it to completely dominate our worship, at least we ought to allow it to be there. But we weeded it out. All that belongs to cults, store-fronts, people who need that kind of emotional stuff.

Now are you saying that Judson and you have gone Pentecostal, or . . .

Indirectly, I'd say we have rediscovered in our life together here more influences that play upon us. Namely, the influence of the artists around us in our theatres and galleries, happen-

ings, taught us the power of the non-verbal and the beauty of speaking without words, the grace of movement which speaks without saying anything. In addition, the black movement, the whole music ritual of the civil rights movement and the freedom movement and the anti-war movement, taught us the power of participation and of music that was desacralized. One might say we're moving more Pentecostal rather than toward some strange synthesis of mainstream traditions.

But the word Pentecostal actually is a loaded word for most. . . .

It's a loaded word, but it has to do with the spirit moving in the service — the service at 11:00 Sunday morning, or the service that you do for human beings all the time during the week, being open to the winds of the Spirit. They may blow you a different way than you thought you were going.

Most of our Protestant worship is not open, I don't care what we say, most of it's a closed book. Not much can get in there that we don't manipulate, and maneuver, and guarantee is going to happen.

Did the idea for Judson's Runaway House come out of your church community experience?

In some ways everything here comes out of the church. This church, historically, has always been concerned about youth. Even when it was thought of as more paternalistic, back in the late 19th century, the kids were the focus of an awful lot of the church's work. Judson, then, has always believed that part of the real revolution in our world is the youth revolution, but not in the traditional way. I was talking to a guy the other day about youth ministry, the church's youth ministry. When you make a whole area for youth ministry—that's a bad idea right there—just as though youth are some kind of special type people that have got to be ministered to in a special kind of way.

The kids are too smart today to accept our labels. The kind of tokenism and put-down of kids by letting them have a Sunday every year or relegating all the inventive, experimental, exciting things in worship to evening Vespers—but never for the church itself—is paternalistic and condescending. You're not going to get away with that kind of thing with kids in our time. They are already outside developing their own rituals. Further, Judson believes youth in our culture have been disfranchised, have been denigrated by the way we've treated them—denied their civil rights. We're dealing with underaged kids who don't have rights and can't have lawyers in cases of abuse of them by their parents. Their parents take them and do whatever they want to with them until a certain age.

You are offering them protection from city perils—and parent perils?

Sure, because you know there are a lot of kids who have run away from home for a *damn* good reason: parents. Parents are not to blame for everything that happens to their children but there are enough situations in which parents are, that we can feel it. Many times when parents come here and look for their kids the most important counseling is done by staff to parents. Not as much is said about what's wrong with their children, as about what they ran away from. Loving kids doesn't have to do with pampering them and indulging them, though. Parents have to be that authority figure, against which the kid beats his head. We're living in the first generation of "understood children," and that's bad news. Because when you always understood the kid, what that meant was that you always said, "Oh yes, you're right, of course, of course." And sometimes a kid's not right, just like we're not right. When you stand on that, you're not so threatened by the possibility that the kid will withdraw his love from you and therefore wholly indulge his whims.

What is the difference between authority and tyranny in the treatment of young people?

What we really have to fear is new tyrannies that do not necessarily mask themselves in authority. Let me illustrate this: I was out at Berkeley recently and I went to one of the demonstrations at People's Park. I wanted to get a feel for what was happening there. This was a few days after the helicopter had gassed the place. I ended up at a meeting, standing by a broadcasting car. Before long an egg sailed over my shoulder and hit the car right in front of me. It

wasn't the car that made them mad. One of the kids came up and said "They think you're a cop. I'm not justifying their throwing an egg at you, but, you know, they really think you're a cop. So maybe you'd better move along." "Well, that's too bad," I said, "I am not a cop. But I probably can't convince you of that. Look, it's pretty bad isn't it? The cops don't like you because you got long hair and a beard. See? They have all long hair and beards pegged—you're anarchists, snot-nosed kids, breakers of the law. And you have all crew-cut people pegged as pigs. You're aping the cops. You're turning into what they are." And he said, "Well, maybe so, we got to be careful." I said, "Look, I read your literature. You say you want the people of Berkeley to be with you in this fight. It's their fight. Now all the people in Berkeley don't have long hair, wear blue jeans and all the rest. Some have short hair. But they're with you." After that we had a *long* hassle on the thing. But I'm worried. If all we've done—and SDS has done—is switch the demonology of the Birchers, change its characters, there won't be a real revolution, a real change for the better.

The Movement and the Establishment aren't packaged neatly.

Certainly not. Radicals have got to be smart enough to let some "straights," some "squares," work for them within the Establishment, within the church, within the political situation. Why not? Blacks are doing that, in terms of white radicals—telling them—"go back to your territory. White racism is rampant. And you can work forever and not clean it all up. But we know you care, you'd like to be with us in the black community, telling us that you care. But go ahead and work back there. We'll find out whether you're with us or not when the time comes. Not on the basis of color; on the basis of where you stand." We've got to quit stereotyping, pigeonholing people "figuring them out" by the words they use, the stands they take. We talk about being non-ideological—"the end of ideology"—but people are judging everybody on ideology. It is at a dangerous level in our society now. My conversation at Berkeley points up this polarization that's going on, which sets the stage for real repression in our society. And I don't want to be caught in that kind of polarization, but I'm forced to be. For example, let's take the National Council of Churches. That's something close that we all understand and know. The NCC is always being attacked by right-wing fanatics and nuts. I'm always defending the NCC against these people, which makes me sick. I'd like to attack the NCC's institutionalisms, its least-common denominator committee theology and committee social action, its standing mute before the burning issues of our time—yet capable of producing a new brochure on evangelization of the world in a couple of weeks. Yet I'm always having to stand around and defend the NCC. Either you're for it or you're against it. No, I'm not. I'm for it with reservations or I'm against it with reservations. I can entertain opposites without being irrational. The kids, with their openness may help keep us from splitting up our world.

So you think their rebellion is a symbol of hope?

Of course I do. Look at the things that have gone on in the past ten years that the kids have initiated, carried through, led. Just ask the question: Where would we be in the nation now? What would we have done? Would we have turned the Vietnam war around? Would we have been concerned about the universities and what they were? Would we have done a *little* of this? Would "liberals" have accomplished all of this by talking to each other, by saying "Yes, we should change this. It is now time for a change." No, I don't believe so. The kids have forced us to make these changes. And I don't care whether you like what they do, or the methods they use, the tactics employed. It's significant that they have influenced us. They *are* a source of hope, because they are ready to put their life on the line. Even if you tried to put them down by saying that most of them have the kind of affluence and the kind of position in this world that they can *afford* to lose a little. Even after you have said that, many of them are willing to go to the wall with what they believe is right. It is a moral thing for them. They're putting their schooling on the line, their draft status, whatever hopes they have of some future escalation of their vocation—all for what they believe. That's courage, especially if you compare them with the kids I served as chaplain in colleges in the '50's, who were apathetic and complacent for the most part. There wasn't anything worth going to bat for. Nothing was worth it. I have great confidence not in the ones who are like us, but in the ones who really make us think—the ones who challenge everything we stand for. ■

(*Next issue: Moody on the city churches*)

Divided We Are

WHAT KIND OF SEX EDUCATION DO WE WANT?

by William Genné

MANY congregations and communities are feeling the strains of divisiveness over the question, "What kind of sex education do we want?"

Let us be clear at the outset that no parent, congregation or community can decide **against** sex education. They may decide against saying anything about it but, even as they choose silence, they are educating their children or their fellow-adults that sex is a taboo subject, unmentionable in polite society. The question, therefore, is not whether to have sex education but what kind will it be?

To insist that sex education is unavoidable does not mean that you "tell all" to a three- or six-year-old. The development of sexuality is a gradual experience just as is the understanding of arithmetic, literature or any other subject matter. However, since our maleness or femaleness is with each of us day and night, twenty-four hours a day, from birth until death, adults need to be ready and willing to answer honest questions whenever and wherever they occur in home, church, school, Scout troop or other community group.

It is precisely because in past generations the more respectable channels of education tended to avoid adequate treatment of sex that adults are experiencing so much misunderstanding and confusion at the present time.

The Role of Parents

Despite all the claims that sex education is the responsibility of parents, every responsible study of modern high school and college youth indicates that parents are ranked well below several other sources of information. Furthermore, several comprehensive surveys of parents reveal that 90 to 95 percent of them feel themselves to be inadequate to the task. These are facts that no amount of emotional oratory can erase.

However, parents do have the responsibility, not only legally, but in terms of their emotional intimacy with the child. Unless parents are helped to understand and enjoy God's gift of sex, they will never be able to communicate wholesome sexual knowledge and feelings to their children. This is why every organized program of sex education in church, school or community group needs to involve parents as well as children and youth.

The Interfaith Statement on Sex Education, which sets forth the officially adopted position of the U.S. Catholic Conference, the Synagogue Council of America and the National Council of Churches, recognizes the primacy of parents but also recognizes that the religious community and the schools have important roles to play. The churches, synagogues and schools need to help parents, and all adults who touch the lives of youth, to do a better job of sex education.

Honest Questions And Answers

But, insofar as religious and school groups touch directly the lives of youth, they must be prepared to give honest answers to honest questions as they arise in the life experiences of young people. Sexual questions dealing with the roles of men and women in history, literature and religion cannot be isolated, insulated and ignored.

When a child is urged to obey the Ten Commandments, he is entitled to ask, "But what is adultery?" if he is to have any understanding of what is expected of him. When the Pharisees brought the woman taken in adultery before Jesus, why did the oldest men leave first when Jesus asked the one without sin to cast the first stone? And why did Jesus refuse to condemn the woman? Questions such as these are vital to making the Gospel relevant and effective to growing young men and women today.

Fortunately, these are some of the questions to which our Christian educators are addressing themselves. A recent research study financed by Duke University, "The Sex Education Programs of Major Protestant Denominations" by Dr. J. H. Phillips (**published by the National Council of Churches at @75c**), examined the materials of twelve denominations. He found that uniformly they took a very positive stance in affirming that our maleness and femaleness is a gift of God. Among the denominations studied are those who identify themselves as more conservative, such as the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod which has just published a multi-media curriculum for all ages from children through adults—**Sex Education Series, Concordia Publishing Co., St. Louis, Mo.** The Southern Baptist Convention is also included in the study and has recently issued a strong endorsement of sex education in the public schools.

United Religious Backing

When the Roman Catholic Bishops, the highest authorities of all three Jewish communities, and the representatives of the Orthodox and Protestant communions all unite in affirming the need for well-planned, well-taught courses in home, church and school, it is difficult to understand why some people insist that sex education is some devious Communist plot to undermine the morals of America.

The distortions and exploitations of sex that are rampant in our culture are the products of ignorance and obscurantism. Advertisers exploit sexual themes in all media because they titillate the curiosity of adults as well as youth. Entertainment is sure of a warm response to a sexual theme. I am thinking not only of "Oh, Calcutta" but also of the many soap operas that explore the emotional involvement of men and women day after day.

We are faced with a curious paradox as we look at our society. On the surface there is so

much blatant sex and superficial freedom that some have characterized our culture as "sex-saturated." However, at the very same time, there is such a deep hunger for a right understanding of what our maleness and femaleness is all about that our culture must also be described as "sex-starved."

These "starved" people get divorced and remarried, hoping that each new marriage will be "the real thing." The sad fact is that no one has ever helped them understand how to build a marriage that will be satisfying and growing throughout the years. Many premarital pregnancies are the direct result of a hunger for the experience of love and affection the youth think sexual intercourse will bring.

Developing Greater Understanding

As we face this culture, characterized simultaneously by "sex-saturation" and "sex-starvation"; we can work our way through the paradox by a massive mobilization of resources to develop a greater understanding of our sexuality.

The "we" includes every one of us, young and old, rich and poor, black and white. Retired couples are meeting their sexual needs without benefit of clergy to keep their Social Security checks coming. Men and women in the middle years are discussing the male and female "change of life" in order to alleviate the anxieties associated with that period. Blacks describe their "castration" as they seek to recover the dignity of their manhood. Young people of high school and college age know these things are happening, and they wonder why adults seem embarrassed to discuss them and to remedy them where possible. Children are puzzled by the emotional overtones communicated by what parents do and do not say.

To work our way through this paradox, we do not need silence, book-burnings and thought-control for teachers. Jerome Frank has said, "The tragedy of American sexuality is not in the behavior of youth but in the inability of the generations to enter into honest dialogue concerning it."

To develop this dialogue with open, honest feelings means that parents must be prepared to share their own experiences and feelings with their children. It is not enough for parents to give a "fairy tale" interpretation of their romance; they need to communicate how they managed their desires and what they understood marriage to be and how they are enjoying marriage.

Marriage As Joyous Adventure

At a retreat sponsored by a local congregation, the parents and teenagers were discussing sex morality today. As they discussed marriage, the parents used many negative terms like "settled down," "tied down," etc., until their leader called their attention to the fact that they were not using one term to describe marriage that would make it seem attractive to their sons and daughters. To experience, and then to communicate marriage as a joyous adventure in growth, togetherness and service to one's fellow man is something we all need to do better.

At a church youth conference, after a panel of professionals had described various facets and statistics dealing with boy-girl relationships, illegitimacy, V.D., etc., one youth made the comment, "You have been talking for over an hour and not one of you has said a word about how you managed your own feelings. How can you help us manage our feelings if you don't tell us how you managed yours?"

Our young people know, despite all our high-sounding talk about the sanctity of marriage, that in any state of the Union it is easier to secure a marriage license than a driver's license.

They also know that when communities became sufficiently concerned about the deaths on the highways, practically every high school in the country found time, money and trained teachers for driver education.

When will we become as concerned about the marital and personal tragedies that are strewn all over our communities? When will we mobilize our churches, schools and community agencies to build coordinated, comprehensive community programs in education for sexuality, marriage and family living? ■

Dr. Genné is Coordinator of Family Ministries of the National Council of Churches. With Dr. Mary Calderone, he co-founded the Sex Information and Education Council in the United States.

WASHINGTON COMMENT

ABM: The Morning After

by Allan M. Parrent

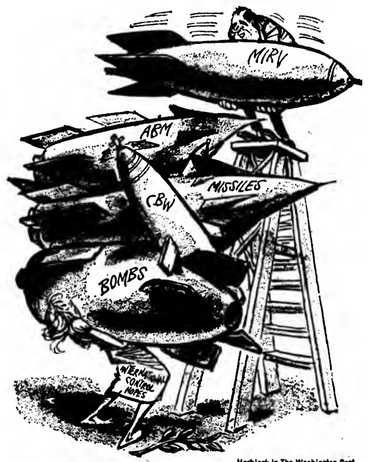
ONE of the longest and most dramatic Senate debates in recent memory was ended on August 6 when the Senate voted 51-49 against the Cooper-Hart amendment which would have halted deployment of a U.S. anti-ballistic missile system. The narrow victory means that the $759.1 million authorization to begin deployment of the Nixon Administration's Safeguard ABM system will remain in the $20 billion military procurement authorization bill for fiscal 1970 (S. 2546). Whether it is true or not that "ABM is an Edsel", it seems for now, at least, that "there's an ABM in your future."

Contrary to what may be a prevalent view, however, the debate is far from over. Several significant amendments have already passed the Senate since the August 6 vote, amendments requiring closer scrutiny of defense contracts, restricting testing, procurement, and handling of chemical and biological warfare agents, and reducing DOD emergency and social science research funds. Other amendments to the military procurement bill still to be considered at this writing would reduce total military manpower by the number withdrawn from Viet Nam, postpone authorization funds for the Main battle tank, reduce funds for additional C-5A transport planes, reduce research funds for a new strategic bomber, halt development of a new Navy fighter plane, and deny construction funds for a new nuclear attack carrier. In addition, the efforts to assert control over military policy and military spending will continue when the actual appropriation bill comes to the floor later this fall.

A New Political Reality

But more important than the closeness of the vote, the intensity of the debate, or even the small but significant inroads already made, is the new political reality which underlies all of these and which is revealed by them. This new political reality is the continually growing awareness, both in Washington and in the nation at large, that both the real security of this nation and, to some degree, the well-being of all of us on "spaceship earth", require some major changes in our national priorities and in our care and use of our national substance. Any objective appraisal of the national budget, two-thirds of which goes for military purposes (actually 80% of what is relatively controllable in that budget), can only lead to the conclusion that there is considerable distortion in the priorities therein reflected, especially when seen in the light of other critical needs which the nation has not really begun to meet. The 29-day ABM debate was the first major effort to reshape and redefine those priorities in the light of the political realities of 1969, both at home and abroad. To the extent that such an effort has become a permanent factor in our political decision-making process, and it appears to be here to stay, the ABM fight was a major success, the 51-49 vote notwithstanding.

The argument advanced by some (including Dr. Lefever in the August 15 issue of **Tempo**) that savings from defense cuts will not necessarily be transferred to any other federal program is, while not a very compelling pro-ABM argument, true as an abstract point. The reality is, however, as every obituary for the "Great Society" made evident, that the nation has not been willing to produce both "guns and butter" as long as the endless demand for more "guns" was presented as "vital for the national security" and accepted as such. It is the automatic, pavlovian, uncritical response to that heretofore sacrosanct incantation that is now changing, one result being that the competition for the tax dollar will no longer be a one-sided competition in which one protagonist is virtually precluded from losing. While it is true that each



Herblock in The Washington Post

"You see, the more arms we have, the more we'll be able to disarm."

"cause" has to compete on its own merits in the political marketplace, the superior merit of one "cause" over the others, and the greater importance of that cause for our national security, will no longer be automatically assumed. If nothing else, the ABM debate marks the end of an era in which multi-billion dollar defense appropriations could be passed in a few hours, with only minimal scrutiny and pro forma debate, while weeks of nit-picking debate could be devoted to foreign aid or anti-poverty legislation involving only a fraction of the money and usually resulting in crippling cuts in even those relatively small requests.

Grasping After Straws?

In a recent editorial, "The Great ABM Counterfeit," **Commonweal** dismissed efforts to read positive signs into the ABM debate as "grasping-after-straws." The challenge was impressive but it failed, and, according to **Commonweal**, "the American catalogue of priorities is precisely as it was." Such an out-of-hand dismissal of the debate seems unduly pessimistic and ignores both the trend which the debate has evidently begun and the all-important change of mood in Washington toward military-related questions which it has reflected. This trend and mood change can be seen in the minority report on S. 2546 from the Senate Armed Services Committee. Speaking of the thousand billion dollars the U.S. has spent on defense since World War II the Report said:

"These gigantic expenditures have been detrimental to many other plans, programs, and policies which now also appear vitally important to the security and well-being of this nation. The American people now know that many billions of these dollars spent on defense have been wasted. This observation is not offered in criticism, but to emphasize the wisdom of not being frightened into unnecessary additional weapons systems expenditures."

In short, the ABM debate can be credited not only with spearheading the first major effort toward controlling military policy and spending, but also in some measure with (1) broadening the public understanding of what constitutes national security, (2) restoring the somewhat eroded independence and authority of the legislative branch, (3) revealing, through some of the related congressional hearings, the colossal waste involved in our military expenditures, (4) pointing out the misuse sometimes made of selective declassification of secret information, and (5) creating an atmosphere in which it is no longer somewhat unpatriotic to question military requests and the military policies on which such requests are based. A final positive not of possible long-range significance is revealed in the fact that among the 50 oldest senators the vote was 32-18 in favor of ABM (12-3 among those born before 1900) while among the 50 youngest senators the vote was 31-19 against ABM (12-3 among those born since 1924). Time itself may therefore be a factor in accentuating the trend and mood change referred to above.

Effect On SALT

But all of this is not to say that unbounded optimism is in order. While the Senate ABM exercise was not "counterfeit," perhaps the most serious cause for pessimism in its aftermath (which **Commonweal** overlooked) has to do with its effect on the strategic arms limitation talks. (SALT) In the weeks since the mid-June announcement that the U.S. was prepared to reschedule the postponed talks, there has been both a Nixon visit to Romania and a Senate vote supporting ABM, neither of which seemed designed to elicit a favorable reply from Moscow. The delay in rescheduling the talks (which the USSR has sought since January), while previously attributable to the new Administration's desire to review the strategic situation and/or its desire first to complete a series of MIRV tests and get approval for ABM deployment, is now attributable to the Soviets. Soviet sources have been quoted as saying that claims by U.S. officials during the ABM debate concerning both ABM and MIRV development were causing Soviet leaders now to review **their** position. Meanwhile, efforts by 41 senators and over 100 representatives to bring about a joint moratorium on MIRV testing have reportedly divided the Administration. The President, supported by Secretary Rogers and ACDA Director Smith, has called such efforts "constructive" and is giving them consideration. The Pentagon is dragging its feet.

The fear is, however, that the period of relative nuclear stability in which fruitful talks can take place is rapidly coming to an end. One major problem seems to be the tendency of the Pentagon to divide offensive and defensive weapons artificially into mutually exclusive categories, and to refuse to see that defensive-sounding weapons can be quite dangerous and provocative. By downgrading the adversary's deterrent the ABM can be seen as a war-winning weapon as well as a deterrent. By increasing our targeting ability, the originally declared purpose of MIRV, that weapon can also be seen as something more than a weapon for assured destruction in a retaliatory strike. The strategists' practice of planning for the "greater than expected threat" is a two-edged sword which seems admirably designed to sever any substantial threads of hope for meaningful arms control. It would be ironic if the Administration, in its successful effort to win the ABM battle, has given the coup de grace to its hope of forestalling an unlimited arms race which can only decrease security on both sides. It would also be ironic if American hawks and Soviet hawks, who appear to hold joint membership in a mutual agitation society, were to take us in record time from Mr. Nixon's era of (potential) negotiation back to a new era of confrontation. ■

Mr. Parrent is Director of Program, National Council of Churches Department of International Affairs, Washington, D.C.

it says here . . .

NCC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ISSUES STATEMENT ON BEDC DEMANDS

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The Executive Committee of the National Council of Churches, which met here Aug. 29, acknowledged the Black Economic Development Conference (BEDC) "as a programmatic expression of the aspirations of black churchmen," and drafted a five-point proposal for consideration by the Council's General Board, meeting in Indianapolis Sept. 11 and 12.

The proposal recommended that the NCC "seek from its member communions a coordinated immediate response of not less than $500,000 to be expended through the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) and through the National Committee of Black Churchmen."

The Executive Committee also asked that the NCC prepare a program plan, to be submitted to the Council's General Assembly in December, by which "tens of millions of dollars" would become available to disadvantaged groups for loans and grants toward social and economic development.

As a first direct response to the "Black Manifesto" of the BEDC by the National Council, the Executive Committee said it was "aware of the grievances of the black people of this nation" and continued: "While rejecting the ideology of the 'Black Manifesto' (we) acknowledge the Black Economic Development Conference as a programmatic expression of the aspirations of black churchmen."

The committee also pledged the National Council's "determination to continue consultations with representatives of the Black Economic Development Conference and other minority groups."

The Executive Committee was authorized by the NCC's General Board last May to take action on the demands of the BEDC's "Black Manifesto."

AID RUSHED BY U.S. CHURCHES TO VICTIMS OF HURRICANE CAMILLE

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Truckloads of blankets, mattresses, baby foods and gasoline-powered saws were dispatched by U.S. churches, working through Church World Service, to help meet the staggering needs of the thousands made homeless by Hurricane Camille.

James MacCracken, executive director of the National Council's relief agency, reported that many urgent requests for baby foods, disposable diapers and sanitary supplies were met, and funds allocated to make additional purchases.

In addition, he said, NCC field staff headquartered in Greenville, Miss., which was not hit by the storm, recruited doctors and nurses and flew them in chartered planes to the Gulf Coast. Return flights evacuated many families who were cared for in church-sponsored centers elsewhere in the state.

Acting on appeals for blankets and food from Church World Service, Church of the Brethren trailer truck drivers spent 46 hours, much of the time on nearly impassable roads, delivering shipments to five distribution points in Mississippi. Ten Brethren Volunteer Service workers from the New Windsor, Md., CWS Center also were sent to the state to work with Mennonite disaster units.

Although field reporting was limited for days by the virtual destruction of telephone and power lines, CWS was able to deliver more than 10,000 blankets, two tons of clothing, mostly for infants and children, the mattresses and the saws. As of Aug. 26, CWS had disbursed $80,000 for materials and food stuffs.

Other participating churches included the United Methodists, the Episcopal Church, the United Presbyterian and Presbyterian, U.S. Churches, the Seventh Day Adventists and the United Church of Christ.

At press time, exact figures on the damage to churches and church-owned property in the ravaged areas were still not available, but estimates put the total at more than $15,000,000.

"FRONTIERS" TO PROBE POLLUTION AND OUR ECOLOGICAL BALANCE

NEW YORK, N.Y. — A three-part series on "High Risk Living" dealing with pollution of our environment and maintaining an ecological balance in the world will be aired on the NBC-TV network series, "Frontiers of Faith" three Sundays in September.

Guests on the programs will be Pete Seeger, conservationist and well-known folk singer, with Richard Prindle M.D., of the U.S. Department of Health ,Educatio nand Welfare, on Sept. 14; Dr. Joseph Sittler, theologian of the University of Chicago Divinity School, with Editor William Houseman, on Sept. 21; and Stewart Udall, former U.S. Secretary of the Interior, with Richard Baer Jr., president of the Society for Preservation and Use of Resources, Indiana.

All will be interviewed by Richard Gilbert, executive director of the United Presbyterian Church's Division of Mass Media. "Frontiers" is produced in association with the Broadcasting and Film Commission of the NCC and NBC's Religious Program unit.

METHODISTS COMMENT ON NIXON'S WELFARE REFORM

NEW YORK, N.Y. — President Nixon's new proposals for welfare reform have met with mixed reception from the United Methodist Church's Board of Christian Social Concerns. Denominational officials say the proposals move in a "new and positive" direction but that the suggested levels of support are, in their words, "indefensibly low."

The aim to put an "income floor" under every American family is good, they say, adding that the structural reforms are most important. However, they note, the new family assistance program should provide "more realistic and adequate levels of support for the poor," which would still be well within the nation's financial capacity. They also question the Nixon proposal's emphasis on work opportunities for the poor. They point out that very few of the 10 million persons now on welfare are potential additions to the nation's labor force.

NKAMBA-JERUSALEM, Congo — His Eminence Joseph Diaglenda, spiritual head of the 3-million-member Church of Christ on Earth by the Prophet Simon Kimbangu of Congo (Kinshasa), is greeted, at top, by some of the Kimbanguist faithful at Nkamba-Jerusalem, the spiritual center of the Kimbangu Church. The World Council of Churches' Central Committee at its Canterbury, England meeting approved WCC membership for the African Church. At bottom is the mausoleum where the Prophet Simon Kimbangu, founder of the Church, is buried. Joseph Diangienda is the youngest son of the Prophet Simon.

TWO CHURCHES SPONSOR NEW HOUSING IN NATION'S CAPITAL

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Two churches, one white and one black, have received approval from the Redevelopment Land Agency here for plans to build a $2.4 million high-rise apartment house for low and middle-income families. The 10-storey building is the first slated for the northwest part of the city, which was damaged in the April 1968 riots.

Sponsors are Lincoln Temple and Westmoreland Congregational Church, both United Church of Christ. Lincoln Temple's pastor is the Rev. Channing E. Phillips, the first Negro to be placed in nomination in a Presidential election when the 1963 Democratic Convention was held in Chicago.

The 108-unit building will have a rent range from $93 a month for efficiency apartments, to $160 for three bedroom units. Low income families will receive a 20 per cent reduction of rents, under the Federal rent supplement program, if the sponsors' application is approved.

Also approved by the capital's urban renewal agency is a housing corporation to be developed later this year by the New Bethel Baptist Church of which the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy is minister. He is a former vice-chairman of the Washington City Council.

As TEMPO went to press, a news report from the Reuter's correspondent in Saigon stated that President Thieu had ordered the release of 51 prisoners and reduced the sentences of 470 others. While it was not known whether these were all political prisoners, the agency said that Buddhist sources believed that the monk Thich Thien Minh was among those freed.

(See Bishop Armstrong's report on pages 4 and 5. Ed.)

PORTNOY'S COMPLAINT

(Continued from page 12)

recollection of voices of family and neighbors. Portnoy imagines "vocal chords inside them thick as clotheslines! Lungs the size of zeppelins! Nobody has to tell them to stop mumbling and speak up, never! And the outrageous things they say!" Outrageous, indeed. Outrageously humorous in the kibitzing of the men's neighborhood baseball team and sometimes outrageously cruel in the case of Portnoy's mother who could transform a sentence from love to hurt with the turn of a single phrase.

"High Literacy"

Even those fortunate readers whose tastes have long since led them from the worlds of the verbal peep show can discover in Roth's work the impress of an artist. Critics like Marya Mannes who contend that "Portnoy's Complaint" "succeeds brilliantly in generating revulsion" and displays "every trick of the pornographer's trade" are compelled to admit that the book "also comes in a package of high literacy."

Finally, one wonders if the real subject matter of the novel doesn't have something to do with its phenomenal popularity. The real subject matter is not, of course, sex but guilt. Portnoy, says Roth, "is obscene because he wants to be saved," and it becomes increasingly clear that his urge for salvation was spawned in a gnawing sense of guilt. Portnoy is able to trace its progress from the time his mother used to lock him out of their apartment for offenses which he didn't understand until his attempted rape of a proud, nationalistic Jewish girl in the State of Israel — a girl who countered his attempt not only with extraordinary physical force but also with the moral violence of truth, the truth that Portnoy was "nothing but a self-hating Jew" and a diaspora Jew at that.

Portnoy the young liberal-on-his-way-up, the "closet Socialist," Portnoy the boy genius, Portnoy the determined sensualist is so obsessed with guilt that he cannot live with himself. And so, in an effort to become whole, he lays bare his soul to Dr. Spielvogel with much the same abandon and crudity with which a long and varied series of girls laid open their bodies to Portnoy himself.

"Portnoy's Complaint," then, is a many sided book. Apart from its literary merit, which might recommended it to the few, it has a great deal to offer those whose tastes, or perhaps needs, run in other directions. Besides being a sensitive portrayal of the pangs of guilt, it is also as barefaced a piece of erotica as ever leered from the first page of the New York Times Book Review. That Roth could publish such a novel and not only get away with it but become something of a hero in the process ought to say something to us.

It ought to suggest the possibility that a significant segment of the reading public is in trouble. Either the mass of readers are a guilt-ridden people grasping and scratching at Portnoy's experience with the hope of gleaning from his "complaint" some kind of relief for their own, or else a flock of underdeveloped sensibilities who have not as yet come to the place where they can regard sex as something to be accepted, respected, and used intelligently as well as effectively in a total life situation.

Disconcerting Book

On either of these counts "Portnoy's Complaint" must be judged a terribly disconcerting book. In the first place, it is unnerving to imagine so many adults with such a juvenile notion of sexuality. In the second place, it is futile to look to Portnoy for a therapeutic out for one's own guilt problems. Part of his difficulty, as Josh Greenfeld has pointed out, was that Portnoy was not only able to live with his guilt but was also "unable to conceive living without it."

After 274 pages of the frankest and most agonizingly detailed kind of soul-baring and self-deprecation ending with a final five-line moan (or was it a scream?), Dr. Spielvogel finally reacts. "So (said the doctor). Now vee may perhaps to begin. Yes?"

Chekhov once said of his characters, "Let the jury pass judgment on them; it is my business to show them as they are." Roth shows Portnoy as he is. It is for the reader to pass judgment on him. The discomfiting thing is that perhaps, at the same time, all too many readers of "Portnoy's Complaint" are passing judgment on themselves. ■

Father Bernard Head is director of religious affairs at Marian College, Indianapolis.

LETTERS

IN REPLY TO BARBARA WARD

by Jessma O. Blockwick

TEMPO has done a fine service in carrying the series of articles by Barbara Ward entitled "The Progress of Peoples." In the light of increasing American disenchantment with sending development aid abroad, we need her stern reminder that, as Christians in the richest land in history, we cannot turn our backs on the suffering and poverty which is the life-long lot of much of the rest of humanity.

We do feel, however, that some of her statements regarding the problems of rapid population growth (TEMPO, June 15) do not adequately grasp the need to deal with this crisis now, directly and vigorously.

She argues that if we are willing to devote enough funds to achieve development in the poorer nations, the population growth rate would automatically come down just as "the growth rate in developed nations has become more stable . . . precisely because they are developed." This is an area in which it is dangerous to draw a historical analogy, because the conditions existing today are quite different from those which existed when the U. S. and other nations were developing.

In a more recent article by Miss Ward, she herself makes this point very clear. She refers to the claim often made that the high population density of, for example, the Low Countries of Europe is proof that the developing countries can hold many more people. But the Low Countries, she says, "reached their present conditions over more than a century during which they built up their whole apparatus of industry, modern agriculture, power, transport, cities." Given that long period of time, the annual economic growth rate was sufficient to give a steady balance, over and above consumption, for investment in houses, roads, electricity, factories, fertilizers and all the other needs for a developing society. By the time medical advances had begun to cut the death rate, family size had stabilized at a low level and urbanization and industrialization had already occurred.

The situation is reversed in the developing world today. Public health services and control of epidemics have arrived while the birth rate is still high, but before modernization of the economy and of agriculture has taken place. Millions have poured into cities before industrialization has created the prospect of enough jobs.

IN the less developed nations, death rates have been cut as much as 50% in just a few years through the efforts of private groups, U. N. organizations and government programs. This has brought about population growth rates of from 2% (which means a doubling in 35 years) to 3.5% (which doubles in 20 years).

Try to imagine the U. S., with all its wealth, having to feed, clothe, house, educate and employ 200 million more people in the next 20 to 30 years. How much more difficult to imagine nations such as India or Brazil being able to provide for the basic needs of a doubled population in that period. Could they possibly find enough capital beyond this stupendous undertaking for the investments necessary to make the economic growth accelerate sufficiently?

It is Barbara Ward's belief that the rich nations must pour enough capital into the poor nations to ensure that their development pace can get ahead of their population growth. But is it conceivable that the rich one-fifth of the world could or would be willing to pour in enough funds to bring to the poor lands an adequate standard of living and a hope for the future so long as population growth continues at such a furious pace?

Miss Ward illustrates, in another place, the vastness of the dilemma by pointing out that "the installations, the buildings, the services built in Western Europe and the Russian region over the last 2,000 years would need to be provided in only 20 years in order to give these new urban millions anything like a comparable ease and income." As she says, "There is no hope of this."

This is not to argue that, in order to break the deadly cycle whereby population growth eats up progress, we should pour all our aid funds into population control programs. A lowered population growth rate by itself is no guarantee of development. But it is imperative that we work on increased food production, economic development, fairer trade policies, and population control all at the same time.

There is a misconception in the suggestion that this is a crisis which affects only the less developed nations, as Miss Ward implies when she says that the "chief hope of securing a workable balance between population and resources lies in stimulating and hastening full scale development."

NUMBERS are growing in developed societies, too, even though more slowly. At present rates, U. S. population will double in 70 years, and perhaps sooner since the growth rate is expected by many to increase. The President has recently commented that many of today's domestic ills may stem from the fact that the second 100 million people were added to our nation in only the last 50 years, while the third 100 million will be upon us by the year 2000, a mere 30 years from now.

Similarly, pressures on food supply, natural resources of all kinds, and on the environment in general will increase all over the world and all mankind will be affected.

The miraculous "Green Revolution," which Miss Ward says can set in motion an upward spiral of food production, can never be more than a victorious skirmish, not the end of a war. It gives mankind a breathing space only, for it is a spiral which cannot go upward forever.

Miss Ward insists that the decision on child bearing must always be by individual parental choice. Individual choice in both underdeveloped and developed nations alike, however, is for more than just the number of children needed to replace the parents. As long as this is true, population will continue to grow.

How is this dilemma to be resolved — by relying on unrestricted and occasionally irresponsible individual choice? By giving up hopelessly and letting famine and war reassert control by increasing the death rates? By resorting to "inconceivable interventions by government, reducing citizens to the levels of animals in a stud farm"?

It is surely to avoid any of these choices that Christians must help society find mutually-agreed-upon methods of population control. In this framework individuals can come to accept the necessity to consider the greater good of all where the birth of children is concerned. Cannot this be a part of that Christian vision of the world Miss Ward so passionately urges us to work to bring about? ■

Miss Blockwick is a member of the department of world development, United Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns, Washington, D.C. Her statement represents the department's point of view.

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

REVIEWING: "GOOD-BYE, COLUMBUS" Directed by Larry Peerce

HALFWAY through this movie, during the much-touted wedding reception scene, Mr. Petemkin, the father of the groom, and now a little tipsy, draws his daughter Brenda aside and tries to tell her how much he loves her. It is a pathetic and poignant moment. Flushed by the punch to articulate something he has felt but rarely said, the balding daddy holds the twenty-one-year-old daughter in his arms and tells her she can have anything, *anything,* she wants: "If it gets cold this winter, you can go into Boston and buy a leather coat with a beaver collar." He tells how much he and his mother trust her to "be moral," then, a little embarrased by this unusual display of his own emotions, he retreats back to the raucous hilarity of the wedding reception.

That scene was worth the price of the movie. For a few minutes I *was* balding, semi-inebriated Mr. Petemkin. No father with a daughter growing everyday a little more toward maturity and independence can fail to feel his pain. It is terribly hard to talk to our kids today, and when we try it so often sounds bumbling and inept. We can try to cling to the past the way Brenda's brother does, by playing his souvenir record of his Ohio State days over and over again, but eventually Columbus is gone forever and for good. Kids goo and grow and graduate in a flash. They are up and out so fast we hardly get to know them. There are so few moments when we really talk with them. At least old man Petemkin tried. Give him credit for that.

Goodbye, Columbus, based on a ten-year old novella by Philip Roth, now famous for *Portroy's Complaint* (see below) tells about the summer love affair between a bright, somewhat cynical young veteran who is now working in the Public Library and the pretty, vain daughter of a wealthy plumbing supplies manufacturer. Both are Jewish, and their liaison across Bronx-Westchester class barriers gave Roth a golden opportunity to pour out his contempt for a certain type of tasteless Jewish suburban consumptionism. But apart from the *mazuzah* at the door of their $200,000 home, the Jewish faith seems to mean mere zilch to the Petemkins.

The story is not complicated. Brenda and Niell sleep together several times while he is a summer guest in their house. When Brenda has returned to Radcliffe, her mother discovers in her drawer the diaphragm Niell had asked her to get as a kind of sign of her taking him seriously. The parents write to Brenda about their discovery, and when Niell comes to see her she tells him she can never take him home again. Neill leaves. End of movie.

GOODBYE, *Columbus* is the kind of movie parents ought to see *with* their teen-age kids, and then talk about. In the final scene of the break-up of Niell and Brenda, she says to him time after time, "But Niell, they *are* my parents, and they think it's wrong." To which Niell responds insistently, "But do *you* think it was wrong?" The question is never answered, and it provides a good kick-off for a family discussion.

There have been many severe criticisms of *Goodbye, Columbus,* many of which, I think, have missed the point. It is true, for instance, that the whole story has a dated flavor today, that it lags about ten years behind where the kids are in 1969-70. For example, if a 'Cliffie really did appear in Harvard Square dressed in the *Mademoiselle* back-to-college outfit Brenda sports, she would be stared at like a freak. Canvas field jackets and jeans are the uniform of the day now. But, though the externals may be shifted, the deep gorge between parents and offspring has not grown any narrower. If today's parents are not as uptight about diaphragms, they are still upset by boyfriends from a different social stratum. (At least Niell was white and even Jewish.) The battle lines may form on different sections of the front, but the generational war goes on.

My own criticisms of *Goodbye, Columbus* come at a different point. Brenda's older brother, the lame-brained athlete who is brought into Daddy's business, is unbearably overdrawn. His slack mannerisms, his taste in music (Kostelanetz and Mantavani), his slovenly stupidity, make him unbelievable, even as a caricature. Brenda's mother is also a flat stereotype, the pastel, manicured, stylish matron who goes to bed with ointment and plastic gloves on her hands to keep them smooth-looking.

Niell's relationship to the little Negro boy who visits the library where he works also peters out. In the novella, it was developed more and served to reveal certain facets of Niell's character. In the movie it goes nowhere and should have been eliminated. Even the wedding reception I found overdone. Sure, Jewish wedding receptions are funny displays of competitive clothing, awkward dancing, sodden relatives, maudlin sentimentality and food, food, food. But so are Itlian, Irish and even WASP wedding receptions.

Still, despite its flaws, some of them major ones, *Goodbye, Columbus* is a successful flick. The photography, especially during the expressionistic sequences centered on the young lovers themselves.

YET I wonder about *Goodbye, Columbus.* Obviously, filmmakers are pitching their product today toward the high school and college crowd. People under twenty-five constitute the largest movie audience. One can understand why movie-makers depict the love between Brenda and Niell as joyous and liberating, and the world of their parents as vacuous and money-grubbing. There is even a suggestion in the last scene that, if Brenda would only get those intrusive parents off her back and out of her head, then she and Niell would face no obstacles whatever in their quest for the bluebird of happiness.

But that is a lie. To draw this kind of contrast between the imprisoned parent world and the liberated youth world is a misleading form of neo-manicheism. At his best, Niell knows that. In the garden of the country club, where he and Brenda have fled one night to escape the cloying conviality of a dance, he tells her that he is in the middle. He can't grow long hair, wear beads and be a flower child. Neither can he take the path her parents have taken toward the endless accomulation of tufted carpets, convertibles and rumpus room bars. Life is more complex than that. It is also more complex than the movie makes it.

At Brenda's brother's wedding, the synagogue is unbelievably overdecorated with endless bowers of geraniums and roses. The guests seem overdressed in sequined frocks. But, at the conclusion of the wedding, the rabbi declares the couple man and wife, "before all Israel and all men," and chants a Hebrew benediction. When I saw the movie, someone giggled when the chant started, but before it was over the whole theater was hushed. Cutting through the bouquets and tuxedos there came a word about the mystery of the relationship between man and woman that went far beyond the cleft between parents and children and the post-adolescent affair between Niell and Brenda. And it was in a language that almost no one in the theater could understand. Like Eden, Columbus is gone. But where are we headed? ■

BOOKS: What Makes 'Portnoy' Run?

by Bernard Head

Philip Roth

THE fourth book of novelist Philip Roth, "Portnoy's Complaint" (Random House, $6.95), is a record of certain experiences, largely sexual, of Alexander Portnoy, a guilt-ridden Jewish lawyer, as recounted to a psychiatrist. Neither the sex nor the Jewish atmosphere nor the psychiatric setting are unique in modern fiction. Vidal, Malamud, and Salinger are names that come easily to mind in this regard. Yet there is something unique about Roth's book. Its unprecedented immediate and immense popularity has promised to make it not only a runaway best seller but something of a literary phenomenon as well.

Why has "Portnoy's Complaint" so quickly and completely claimed the attention of so many readers? Perhaps it is curiosity. Some responsible critics have called it pornographic, and there is no denying the frankness and explicitness of its sexual passages which appear with great variety and abundance throughout the book. Could it be that Roth's millions of readers are so many voyeuristic fun seekers peeking and snickering their way through some kind of erotic Disneyland?

Or is it status? When a controversial book begins to make it on the market, reading it, or at least having it, becomes the thing to do. Alex Portnoy imagines the copies of Agee and Dos Passos which he had given to a former model, one of his bed companions who moves her lips when she reads a menu and who misspells half the words in a note to her cleaning lady, being carried around "just to impress some fairy photographer, just to impress passers-by in the street." Might Roth imagine a similar circumstance for his book?

Not Just Another Dirty Book

Either of these possibilities could conceivably make a best seller, especially the first. But are they enough to create a phenomenon? Perhaps. "Portnoy's Complaint," however, does not appear to be just another dirty book. Its appeal seems broader than mere curiosity or status. Critics of the stature of Granville Hicks call it "something very much like a masterpiece," and writers such as Josh Greenfeld consider it "one of those bullseye hits in the darkening field of humor . . . potentially monumental in effect." Surely they are beyond curiosity or status seeking.

If the novel is erotic, it is also cleverly conceived and extremely well written. In an interview with George Plimpton, editor of the *Paris Review,* Roth explained the structure of "Portnoy's Complaint" along the lines of "blocks of consciousness, chunks of material of varying sizes piled atop one another, held together by association rather than chronology." Again, Roth is not original in this. Eliot and Faulkner have done it before him. But Roth, like his predecessors, has done it well. The recitation of scattered episodes from Portnoy's childhood, adolescence, and adulthood which weave in and out of the narrative in no apparent order are, in fact, carefully arranged so as to culminate in a striking and perhaps startling image of Portnoy the person.

Roth, without doubt, has a gift not only for rhetoric but for common speech as well. The memories of his Jewish childhood, which create an utterly moving and frequently humorous sense of nostalgia, are embodied, to a large extent, in the

(Continued on page 11)

TEMPO

In Pace With The Changing Church October 1, 1969

TEMPOsitions . . .

BLACKS, STUDENTS, AND GUILT

by Hubert C. Noble

WE liberals have long lived on the assumption that a sensitized conscience is the first step toward constructive action. Some of the action literature we have read and meetings we have attended recently raise the question as to whether too much guilt doesn't result in frustration, confusion, ill-conceived action, or paralysis.

Christian liberals who have fought for many years the battles of social concern have no trouble finding much to criticize in the Church and in their personal lives. There is certainly no ground for complacency and old methods, structures, and perspectives must all be suspect. But one wonders if, under the constant onslaught of student and black criticism, our sense of guilt isn't becoming paralyzing. We are tempted to lose faith in our own perspectives, our own judgments, our own convictions, our own programs of action, and embrace any suggestion of demand that promises to give us a feeling of doing something worthy of our sense of crisis.

Some of us who have long struggled against the complacency of the Church, the hypocrisies of the university, and the superficial shams of our culture, perhaps need to recapture some resources of perspective that will sustain us as the rage of the blacks and the newly sensitized consciences of youth pour their judgments upon us.

Guilt For White Sin

Obviously, the older generation should have done better than it has, but it too inherited a corrupt culture; it didn't wholly create it. Of course, we must attack white racism, but we cannot carry the burden of guilt for all white sin. Those who for years have fought the practice of judging a man by the color of his skin should be able to understand and not be demoralized when they are so judged.

Those in the Church who through the years have raised the prophetic voice against injustice, hypocrisy, and prevalent social evil should not now be panicked because the mills of the gods threaten to produce the crises they predicted. Because, in the face of these crises, the Church cannot produce repentance, reform, and instant justice doesn't quite mean that all done in the past has been wrong, all programs useless, all structures evil. This is not the first time prophets have not been heard, reformers not succeeded, and the best efforts of conscientious men failed to prevent disaster. After all, this ineffective, structured Church has been more than a minor influence in raising up the generation that is now so critical of it.

Ends And Means

Few of us would claim that our consciences do not need further sensitizing, that we do not need to be challenged to do more than we have done. Most of us are all too conscious of our mixed motives that are never as pure as we feel they ought to be. But, by the same token, we can hope that they are not as corrupt as the new young recruits for social justice seem to feel. Our failure to respond to some calls for action may not necessarily come from cowardice, complacency, or complicity; it may come from a genuine awareness of complexity, history, and experience. We have seen the best of intentions result in evil consequences, good men enhance the wrong they deplored, and praiseworthy ends corrupted by the means used to achieve them.

Perhaps we need to remind ourselves that while God undoubtedly speaks to us through our critics, not every critic's voice is the voice of God, and that in the last analysis He is our judge. It is His voice we must listen for, His will we seek to obey, His judgment the ground of our guilt, and His forgiveness our ultimate solace. We rightfully strive for His kingdom of justice and love on earth and we are called to do our best, but the outcome rests in His hands whom we serve and is not judged by the measure of success in our aims.

Some of us have often said this to guilt-ridden parents and students—we in the Church need to be reminded of it ourselves. ▪

Dr. Noble is Executive Director, Department of Higher Education, the National Council of Churches' Division of Christian Education.

THE COVER—

The photo study of the Rev. Howard Moody was done by TEMPO Associate Editor L. I. Stell in the course of his interview with this outstanding New York City churchman. Part II of this three-part interview begins on Page 7 in this issue.

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates
ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruce Kroker, Elsa Kruuse, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell
ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler
PROMOTION: David Poindexter
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Hans Tilgkman, John W. Turnbull
Subscription Correspondence: TEMPO, P.O. Box 51, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010
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NCC'S General Board Meets Amid Tensions

TWO CROWDED DAYS IN INDIANAPOLIS

by Dorothy Rensenbrink

NCC President Arthur S. Flemming telling denominational leaders they had "failed to come up with the massive economic support" that they had promised two years ago. Confrontation politics is the price of that failure, he said.

Mr. Calvin Hamilton, NCC vice-president at large, presents an alternate statement of response to Manifesto, based on one passed recently by the Christian Church. He asked the board to adopt it as its statement, and simply "receive" the Executive Committee statement.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. — The General Board of the National Council of Churches, in session here September 11 and 12, responded to the Black Manifesto by urging member communions to raise an immediate sum of $500,000 to meet needs of black clergy groups and put plans into motion to make available "tens of millions of dollars" for minority economic development. (For full text, see next page)

The action came after an emotion-packed afternoon session on the first day, when representatives from 33 major Protestant and Orthodox denominations supported the Board's Executive Committee, which had made the recommendations, and defeated an alternate proposal to issue its own independent response to the Manifesto's rhetoric.

The proposal was made by NCC Vice-President-at-Large Calvin Hamilton of Los Angeles, who said "the grass roots people of our churches want to hear a definite rejection of the Manifesto rhetoric." He called the response of the Executive Committee "wishy-washy and insipid" and suggested that rather than adopting it, the Board merely receive it and adopt an independent response of its own, patterned after one made recently by the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).

Speaking against the amendment were Dr. Edler Hawkins (UPUSA) who said "We (The Executive Committee) tried to talk to the black community in a spirit of reconciliation which is ignored in this amendment," and Judge William Maness (UM), who called the Executive Committee's statement "little — this amendment is even less."

Dr. Eugene Smith (UM) said the amendment "does not acknowledge the creative necessity of a movement of Black Power," and Dr. David W. Jenks (RCA) suggested that the Board "pursue truth rather than worry about what our friends think of us in this tragic time."

Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, NCC president, recounted the many meetings between black leaders and the Executive Committee and told Board members that the "integrity of the processes which you have set up (Executive Committee authority to act) must be respected. We must engage in a continuous process of mediation."

The issue of self-determination and independence of black-led organizations pervaded discussions and in each case a majority of the predominantly white churchmen voted confidence in their black colleagues by keeping in the document a "no strings attached" policy with regard to the funds given.

The sum of $500,000 is to be raised by the Council's member communions to go directly to the National Committee of Black Churchmen for five regional conferences for black clergy (at an estimated $200,000 cost) and to the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, which makes grants to local groups seeking improvement of the economic status of minority groups.

The plan to raise "tens of millions of dollars" will be presented for action to the NCC's triennial General Assembly, scheduled to convene in Detroit in early December.

Dr. Flemming said he envisaged a "black-led cross between a World Bank and Ford Foundation" type of corporation, which would both make loans to and invest in minority development. Funds would be sought from churches and other sources.

Only in this way would the "massive support" for minority development, promised by the churches two years ago, become a reality, Dr. Flemming said.

The Board also urged "massive assistance" from the Federal Government and made minority economic and social development the "first priority" of the NCC.

Somewhat related to this action were two resolutions passed at the Board meeting which also affect the poor. The first called for immediate steps by the Government to provide all poor people with an adequate diet at a cost to them of no more than 25 percent of their income.

"The immediate needs of hungry people in the U.S. should not be obscured by long-range Federal plans to change the welfare system," the Board noted.

The Rev. Jeffers G. Harris (AME) of Pittsburgh, Pa. said "We're not begging anymore. We'd rather take no money at all than take it through the side door."

In the second resolution, the Board commended the proposed Federal family assistance system for "beginning a turn-about in a welfare system badly in need of reforms," but the proposed Federal contribution of $1,600 per year per family of four was criticized as being entirely too low.

Commenting on the action taken by the churches with regard to the Manifesto, the NCC's General Secretary, Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, in his report to the Board, said the Council "has to a degree unprecedented in its twenty years of existence had to engage in crisis action in an emergency that well could tear it and the churches themselves apart.

"The life of the world will not allow peace to the life of the Church. Neither will the Holy Spirit," he said.

However, he thought the experience of the past summer had "bound us together spiritually more than it pulled us apart. The Church has successfully traversed a crossing-point in unity — as black and white individuals together, and as churches, in common determination to listen across racial lines, to respond in a more massive way to the plight of our black brother, and to address themselves to underlying issues," he noted.

Sex education was a topic that involved Board members Friday morning when Dr. Mary S. Calderone, executive director of the Sex Information and Education Council of the U.S. spoke. She called for church groups to investigate "false charges being made by many against SIECUS and against sex education in schools."

Dr. Calderone said there is an observable polarization in American life between the extreme left, obsessed with erotic exploitation, and the extreme right, equally obsessed with the erotic, but as something to be grimly regulated.

She asked churchmen to promote "a positive approach to human sexuality" and to support the right of the majority who want sex education to be taught in schools, while at the same time respecting the right of the minority to withdraw their children from these classes if they wish.

In other major business the Board called for a conference on population awareness, to be sponsored by the Division of Overseas Ministries and the Division of Christian Life and Mission, next June.

The Board also accepted a document called "Goals for Mission in the Seventies" which is to be presented for action to the General Assembly in December. Put together by representatives of the NCC communions and the Canadian Council

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The Full Text, As Adopted September 11 . . .

NCC'S GENERAL BOARD RESPONDS TO THE BLACK MANIFESTO

Pleading with the board not to adopt the alternate statement on the Manifesto is Bishop Frederick D. Jordan of the AME Church. He spoke of the "agony" that white and black churchmen had gone through in the past few months.

Listening intently to the speeches are three delegates from the American Baptist Convention.

General Statement

In response to the demands presented by the National Black Economic Development Conference contained in the Black Manifesto the Executive Committee of the National Council of Churches finds itself under Christian constraint to make every effort to understand these demands and by the grace of God to respond in a way consistent with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Cognizant of the great injustices done to the black man and members of other minority groups by white men, many of whom have been members of Christian Churches, throughout the entire history of our country to this very day we declare that we as Christians have no right under God to refuse to listen to any demand presented to us whatever may be our initial reaction to the form it takes. The physical and psychological and spiritual distance which separates white churchmen from the ghetto of our day, the increasing race gap between white liberals and the new black movements, the recent appearance of black caucuses within most of the larger communions, the threat to integration as a clear and unquestionable objective and the continuing evidence of white racism as a major component of our presentday culture make it imperative that white churchmen in the name of Christ open every possible door and make every attempt to listen.

But openness alone is not enough. There must be penitence and a readiness to make recompense. Remembering that if our brother has anything against us nothing we do is acceptable before the altar of God until first we be reconciled to our brother, we here solemnly commit ourselves to the removal of those barriers to first-class citizenship which are the product of racial discrimination and human greed. We confess that we have no right to appear before the altar of God so long as this priority has not taken possession of us or in any moment of time when we have renounced it.

The NCC, aware of the grievances of the Black people of this nation, while rejecting the ideology of the Black Manifesto, acknowledges the Black Economic Development Conference as a programatic expression of the aspirations of black churchmen. The Black Economic Development Conference is a new agency among those agencies in the Black community directed toward the achievement of economic justice for the deprived peoples of this land.

In the light of this statement, the General Board takes the following actions:

1. **Funding of Five Regional Black Churchmen Conferences**

The National Council of Churches commends to the member communions for funding the five regional conferences for black churchmen sponsored by the National Committee for Black Churchmen, the purpose of which is to:

a. Initiate regional black churchmen group-planning and strategy development for meeting urban and rural problems; and
b. To plan and develop, in cooperation with minority groups, programs of mutual interest and concern.

2. **Funding Proposals**

The National Council of Churches welcomes the commitments of many of its member denominations to use their financial and personnel resources for more aggresive action against injustices and poverty in the rural and urban slum areas and ghettoes of the United States. The Council recognizes a need for the coordination of such actions and offers its services to meet that need.

The Council expresses its gratitude for the creation of national Black-centered organizations such as the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, the National Committee of Black Churchmen and the non-white caucuses in various denominations. The Council states its belief that rather than working separately the churches can be more immediately effective working together through such bodies, particularly those with proven ability to support programs against injustice.

The potential of the churches must be used quickly if it is to have success in combating racial injustice. The National Council offers to help by organizing to achieve this. It will seek from its many member communions a coordinated immediate response of not less than $500,000 in new money to be expended through the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization and through the National Committee of Black Churchmen. Funds made available to the National Committee of Black Churchmen will enable it to hold its projected regional conferences, for which the estimated budget is $200,000, and to develop other aspects of its program.

The Council will also encourage a continuing and increasing response to the policy of coordinated expenditures by the denominations in commonly accepted program areas with assurance of self-determination on the part of minority groups.

In addition to dealing with the needs outlined above the Executive Committee requests the Divisions of Overseas Ministries and Christian Life and Mission, in cooperation with the General Administration and Finance Committee, the General Planning and Program Committee and coopted minority group representatives, to prepare a proposal for a program which would make available to disadvantaged groups funds from the churches and other sources in the order of tens of millions of dollars to be used for both loans and grants for social and economic development. In preparing this proposal the Divisions should explore the possibilities of interreligious cooperation and of providing such funds in a total context of social and economic development in the United States and abroad. Those working on the proposal should have as their objective the presentation of a specific action program together with their appraisal of its feasibility to the Executive Committee in time for transmittal to the 1969 General Assembly.

3. **Proposal re Massive Government Involvement**

The National Council of Churches calls upon

(Continued on page 11)

A Survey Shows Trends in

NEW FORMS OF MINISTRY

by Elsa Kruuse

FROM June through August, historic Trinity Church at the foot of Wall Street staged a festival in the sanctuary featuring different events each weekday at lunchtime. "We're trying to make the church more relevant to people's experience, to change the note of penitential gloom and stiffness associated with it," says the Rev. John V. Butler, Trinity's rector. Responses from Wall Street brokers, their secretaries and others in the audiences have ranged from "I'm not crazy about it," to "I plan to stop by every day."

In another section of Manhattan where its experimental ministries include folk masses, plays and various attempts to change neighborhood attitudes, the walls of St. Clements Episcopal Church are still periodically daubed with "All niggers should be killed," and "White Power—Nazi Power."

"I don't know how we can come to terms with this community," laments St. Clements' vicar, the Rev. Eugene A. Monick, Jr. "We are trying to make religion relevant to the world today."

The first study of its kind ever made of new forms of ministry carried on by the churches in their efforts "to make religion relevant to the world today" has now been completed by the Department of Church Renewal of the National Council of Churches, in cooperation with its Department of Research.

"We didn't want this to be another esoteric, ivory-tower study," says the Rev. Frank P. White, director for new forms of ministry of his department, "or to answer questions no one is asking."

To "reflect as accurately as possible the thinking of men on the job in the field," the department sent a comprehensive questionnaire to 350 selected persons connected with projects designated as new forms of ministry. And the 49 per cent response was a surprisingly high one. With a total of 141, not counting those which arrived too late to be tabulated, the work began on getting the first picture of general trends in experimental ministries in the nation.

The scope of these special ministries is indicated in the study by the 32 specific categories covering, in addition to experimental worship services, drama and the arts, an almost complete list of social work programs. With individual counseling, job training and placement, legal assistance, family planning and housing improvement, the list ranges from direct food and clothing assistance, at one end, to involvement in city planning at the other.

More specialized ministries reported, requiring highly trained leadership, included assistance to homosexuals, prisoners and parolees, juvenile delinquents, drug addicts, unwed mothers, hippies, alcoholics, suicidals and draft-age youth.

New Cutting Edges

Commenting on this latter set of categories, the Council's study says that "nearly eight out of ten of these new forms of ministry represent types of services not generally associated with the program of the local church."

The category receiving the highest number of first rank checks was what the researchers like to call "the ecumenical breeder ministry." These projects aim at an ecumenical venture which enables the church to reach and minister to people with special needs, the study explains, adding that it also indicates the success of local *ad hoc* ecumenical activities.

On the other hand, the study points out that most of these new forms of ministry usually operate within the framework of the church.

"While change in the purpose and focus of the church is an explicit motivation," it says, "most of the projects appear to be institutionally oriented."

Organizationally, eight of ten projects had a policy-making board on which a large majority reported having both clergy and laymen. The responses revealed, however, that fewer than half the ministries had blacks on their boards and that youth were members on only a few policy-making bodies. As for the boards, more reported that they were incorporated or chartered than that they were not.

"I let the sun rise on my foundation with the help of the Lord," chants folk singer Pendleton Brown to noontime crowd in old Trinity Church churchyard at the foot of Wall Street.

A marked increase in the number of projects having a director and paid staff, and gains in volunteer lay personnel were noted. "Also, the incorporation of volunteer clergymen, as well as teams of clergy, have been important additions since the initiation of several of the projects," the study adds.

Obviously impressed with these findings, the report continues: "In the sense of making more use of teams of clergy and the need for increased coordination of volunteers in specific situations, these ministries suggest a different kind of institutional leadership pattern than has generally existed in the church."

To finance their projects, approximately 47 per cent of those reporting said their ministries received some support from non-church sources such as individuals, foundations, or a community or government agency. The increasing involvement of the churches with programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Housing and Urban Development agency and others would account for some of the latter funds.

The Hartford Story

The boom in church-sponsored housing projects for low and middle income people has been documented elsewhere. Ironically, Hartford, Conn., where several nights of curfew were required recently to quell disturbances in the teeming black and Puerto Rican section, is a center of concerted church action.

In the shadow of historic Horace Bushnell Church, a row of 13 slummy old tenements has been refurbished into bright, comfortable homes by the congregation. It also supports a comprehensive social services and management program handled by trained neighborhood people who live and work in the buildings. Invitations also went out in September from the Greater Hartford Council of Churches to ground-breaking ceremonies for the Sheldon-Oak Housing Cooperative it has been working on for three years, which will be ready in early 1970 for 91 low and moderate income families. Similar church-sponsored housing projects are proliferating around the nation.

Efforts by the churches to "change the power balance of society" are reflected in the study by the "target groups" toward which many of the programs are aimed. Four out of five such "targets" involved middle-class white laymen and present church members. (The comment is made that "these are not necessarily mutually exclusive groups.") Also, a large number of these projects deal with working with secular agencies, study and teaching groups, and political activity, such as voter registration.

"If one views the middle-class white layman as the key to community institutions and social justice," says the study, "the focus of the new forms of ministry could be seen as aimed at changing the power balance of society."

It adds, however, that the data raise some "real doubts" of this interpretation's accuracy. Elsewhere, the comment is made that "these data seem to indicate that most forms of ministries reported are aimed at changing the attitudes of people who control community power . . . through established societal means and structure."

In general, respondents indicated that their programs would be most affected in the next year or so by any changes in poverty and affluence, changes in the inner-city, the demands of the poor and powerless, and changes in attitudes "which may be called white racism."

While focussing much attention on services to "poor blacks," they placed Black Power fifth in importance in terms of conditions affecting their work but put "white racism" fourth.

One respondent summed up his problem by saying it was "the continuing one of relating lay people to life, to social conditions, and gaining a favorable response from them." He added that "their hang-ups about corporate action and their incipient white racism all complicate the process."

The need for "a massive input of manpower and money which will move people from concern to commitment," as another minister put it, was voiced by almost half the respondents in one way or another. Answers ranged from "fully adequate" support (24.1 per cent) to "very inadequate" (16.3 per cent). The difficulty in finding leadership for specific projects came in a close second.

Rounding out the picture, the National Council's study found that of the 141 respondents, 41.1 per cent were 35-44 years old, slightly less than one-third were 25-34, and 25 per cent were over 45. Nevertheless, while nearly three-fourths were aligned with the younger generation of churchmen, the data showed that a quarter of the leadership was over 45 years old.

Asked about their education, the responses showed that 87 per cent had had seminary training but that only 5 per cent of them found it fully adequate for their work.

"Almost all who answered the question were not entirely happy with the seminary training they had received," says the study, "and for a significant portion of these, the image of the church taught in their seminaries was inappropriate for the current era."

The fact that 88 per cent believed that theirs was an experimental or new form of ministry indicated the urgency of what one minister called "searching for new styles of life toward bringing about a better community."

"The old was simply not intellectually or spiritually or physically acceptable," said another, while a third commented about his ministry: "It chose me—I have always been concerned about the needs we are facing here."

For the great majority, their chief complaints were that traditional church programs are not ministering to the people, and that "the inaction and apathy of the laity when it comes to social change" make their jobs more difficult.

The "Study on New Forms of Ministry" prepared for the Department of Church Renewal by Douglas W. Johnson, director of research services, is available for study and discussion at $2.00 a copy from the Department of Publication Services of the National Council of Churches. ■

A Distinguished Educator Bluntly Appraises U.S. Drift in The Sixties

WAR AND WASTE—WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?

by Noam Chomsky

AT a very general and abstract level, few will disagree that a man is responsible for the foreseeable consequences of his acts—or of his failure to act. The real questions arise when we ask ourselves how compelling is the need to act—what forms should action take. The path of least resistance is always to accept the distribution of power as it exists—to ratify and support it either by doing nothing, or by lending one's talents to the implementation of policies that are not questioned or challenged. The cost of this passivity will be borne by the victims of American power—but they are far away, often of another race and culture, and powerless to strike back at us.

Since World War II we have spent over a trillion dollars in "defense." We have successfully defended ourselves against Guatemalans, Iranians, Dominicans, and all too many others who have sought to assert their national independence—to reconstruct their own societies in their own way and on their own terms. We have assigned to ourselves the role of international judge and executioner, and have acted accordingly. Where nations have escaped our control—China and Cuba, for example,—we have striven valiantly to strangle economic development by boycott, blockade, and military force. We have sought the most effective mechanism to ensure the form of stability that we, in our wisdom and benevolence, know to be most desirable.

Some feel that we may finally have found the answer. For example, the chairman of the Department of Government at Harvard—who is also chairman of the Vietnam study group of the State Department—believes that "in an absent-minded way the United States in Vietnam may well have stumbled upon the answer to wars of national liberation." The answer is this: ". . . if the direct application of mechanical and conventional power takes place on such a massive scale as to produce a massive migration from countryside to city, the basic assumptions underlying the Maoist doctrine of revolutionary war no longer operate." This subtle and ingenious approach is particularly useful in Vietnam where he describes our problem as follows: "With one-half the population still in the countryside, the Viet Cong will remain a powerful force which cannot be dislodged from its constituency so long as the constituency continues to exist." We therefore ensure that this constituency—the rural population—ceases to exist, by direct application of power on a massive scale. And then, after the war, we will help "resettle migrants in rural areas" and promote development—as we have done, with such notable success in the countries protected from harm by the Monroe Doctrine.

All of this, of course, with the noblest of intentions. As John Adams once said: "Power always thinks it has a great soul and vast views that it is doing God's service when it is violating beyond the comprehension of the weak; and that it is doing God's service when it is violating all his laws."

Why Vietnam, Officially

Given the realities of contemporary history, we can believe that we are serving noble ideals only by adopting a view that verges on psychosis. And I believe that we are in the grip of a kind of national psychosis. The man who is now President of the United States warned, in a letter to the *New York Times* four years ago, that ". . . victory for the Viet Cong . . . would mean ultimately the destruction of freedom of speech for all men for all time, not only in Asia but in the United States as well"—nothing less. Perhaps a clearer statement of our purposes in Vietnam is given in a State Department pamphlet of 1951, which emphasizes the psychological effect of the fall of Indochina. "It would be taken by many as a sign that the force of communism is irresistible and would lead to an attitude of defeatism. . . . Therefore Communist forces must be decisively conquered down to the last pocket of resistance." Recall the context: we are speaking of the destruction of indigenous Vietnamese forces by French colonialism. Such documents make non-

sense of the pretense that we are concerned with freedom for the Vietnamese—as do the facts themselves.

This kind of paranoia is illustrated further by our present Secretary of Defense, who sees us "locked in a real war, joined in mortal combat on the battlefield, each contender maneuvering for advantage"—against an enemy who appears in many guises: Kremlin bureaucrat, Asian peasant, Latin American student, and, no doubt, urban guerrilla at home. Small wonder, then, that Melvin Laird is on record with the advice that: "Step one of a military strategy of initiative should be the credible announcement of our determination to strike first if necessary to protect our vital interests." Compare *New York Times* military expert Hanson Baldwin, who urges that in the post-Vietnam era we be prepared to "escalate technologically rather than with manpower," as "bolster governments under attack and secure them against creeping Communism." Such escalation, he suggests, might involve the use ". . . of small nuclear devices for *defensive* purposes" (June 9, 1968). Particularly interesting is the concept of "defensive purposes"—as we bolster a weak government against creeping Communism. As far as I know, ours is the only country where the Minister of War and the leading military expert of the press have spoken in such terms—as it is the only country guilty of international violence on anything like the scale of Vietnam.

Probably the typical figure of the new society is Robert McNamara—a man who showed how to do with superb efficiency that which should not be done at all. McNamara's views of social organization are most illuminating. "Vital decision-making," he says, "must remain at the top." Ultimate control must be vested in the hands of management, which is, "in the end, the most creative of all the arts—for its medium is human talent itself." This is apparently a divine imperative: "God is clearly democratic. He distributes brain power universally. But He quite justifiably expects us to do something efficient and constructive with that priceless gift. That is what management is all about." No doubt it is the same divine imperative that leads us to construct and manage an integrated world economy—"no idealistic pipe-dream" according to George Ball—"but a hard-headed prediction; it is a role into which we are being pushed by the imperatives of our own technology." The major instrument is the multinational corporation, which Ball describes as "a distinctly American development. Through such corporations," he says, "it has become possible for the first time to use the world's resources with maximum efficiency. . . . But there must be greater unification of the world economy to give full play to the benefits of multinational corporations," this distinctly American development. It is not difficult to guess to whom these "benefits" will accrue.

The Cold War has provided the psychological environment, and guaranteed the financial resources, to enable us to enter into the construction of this integrated world system. On the domestic scene, this has meant a tendency towards centralization of control in economic institutions and political life. The government has taken on the task of providing a public subsidy for a significant part of the industrial system—its technologically most advanced segment. It has also become the "employer of last resort" for the nation's engineers, most of whom work in projects funded by the Defense department, NASA, and the AEC. Jerome Wiesner once pointed out that "the armaments industry has provided a sort of automatic stabilizer for the whole economy." I will omit statistical details. One can go on and on to outline what has aptly been called a kind of "socialism" for the rich and powerful and for segments of the technical intelligentsia.

At the same time, the role of Congress, particularly in the area of foreign policy, has diminished virtually to zero. The House Armed Services Committee described the role of Congress as "that of a sometimes querulous but essentially kindly uncle who complains while furiously puffing on his pipe, but who finally, as everyone expects, gives in and hands over the allowance." Senator Vandenberg, twenty years ago, expressed his fear that the Chief Executive would become "the number one war lord of the earth." That has since occurred. The clearest example of all of this was the decision to escalate the Vietnam war in 1965. It now appears that that decision was taken in 1964, perhaps as early as the summer. You recall, of course, the rhetoric of the fall, 1964, election campaign. This one incident reveals with perfect clarity the role of the public in decisions about peace and war.

Defoliation and Morality

To the system the technical intelligentsia make a very definite contribution, not only by the design of technology and the implementation of policy, but also at an ideological level—in protecting policy from criticism by investing it with the aura of science. Weapons cultists bemoan the "flimsy premises involving public world opinion" that stifle innovation. Pacification is "computerized"; its police state measures are described as "experiments with population and resources control methods." *Science* magazine publishes technical studies of defoliation—studies which are unexceptionable, except that they overlook the fact that there is a civilization of human beings living in those millions of acres of defoliated land—individuals who have not been asked whether they are amused by the experiments that we have undertaken to carry out with their lives. And applied social scientists decry the "anti-intellectual" attitudes of those who insist on "moral considerations" or concern for such sentimental matters as our treaty obligations, when any serious scientist understands that only technical pragmatic considerations of cost and utility are relevant to policy formation. Of course, it is only those intellectuals who conform who achieve the exalted status of responsible thinkers. When George Kennan wrote his famous article advocating containment in 1947, he was lauded as a serious and responsible scholar. When in 1949 he began to express his views that Russia did not intend to attack the West, that we should try to neutralize Germany rather than rearm it as part of NATO, he became an irresponsible mystic. As Dean Acheson then put it; "Mr. Kennan has never, in my judgment, grasped the realities of power relationships but takes a rather mystical attitude toward them." Had his "mysticism" been heeded, Central Europe—and the whole world—might have been a safer and more healthy place today.

It is in this context that we must consider such matters as the ABM. To a large extent, the issue has been discussed as a technical one: will it work, etc. Such discussion is perhaps somewhat beside the point for two reasons. First, the ABM may be even more dangerous if it does work than if it does not. Hubert Humphrey recently pointed out that if the ABM "does achieve an effective

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Interview with Howard Moody, by L. I. Stell—Part II

EMERGING NEW LIFE STYLES FOR CITY MAN AND CITY CHURCH

The Rev. Howard Moody, minister of Judson Memorial Church in New York's Greenwich Village, often talks about the adult oppression of youth, America's greatest source of hope from his vantage point in the youngest corner of New York City (See TEMPO, 9/15/69). Also observable from Greenwich Village is the way the Church sees and ministers to the needs of city man, everyman. Mr. Moody, pastor of Judson for 13 years (American Baptist and United Church of Christ), sharpened his view of the Church in committee meetings (of the World Council of Churches, the National Council and the Protestant Council of N.Y.C.) as well as the human rights movements of Selma, Jackson, Birmingham, Brownsville-Ocean Hill, and his own Village. (He helped make it legal to sing in Washington Square Park, which fronts Judson, as well as reform Village politics.) In an informal NCC survey of denomination church executives, Moody was named most often as the personification of church renewal. Nowadays he spends more time face to face with people bedeviled by problems of life in the inner city than in working out the necessary logistics for solving social problems. From the front line then, Moody, former faculty member of the New School for Social Research and author of THE FOURTH MAN, speaks some good news for the city.

Part II of his interview with TEMPO associate editor L. I. Stell, picks up with more of his views on young people and moves from there to ideas on church and family life today and tomorrow.

You've said that young people are your hope for the future. Does this mean you've given up on the church—particularly in the city where more and more of young people live?

I'd have to admit that most of the source of my hope is the young. But I'm not one to predict the death of the church. The church is not going to die, though its old forms may become useless, for the most part. Judson is a parish church, and I don't think we're dying. But what's going to happen in the future is that alongside of traditional and normal type churches that we've known and experienced, are going to grow up new communities, gatherings of people. These new groups are going to be the church. They will not have the credentials of the church — traditional credentials — but are going to be the church in its most interesting and cutting forms.

What do you see these communities centering around?

There will be many forms of them, no doubt. One variety we already have many of are the communes, started by hippies and by kids. All kinds of communes are springing up. For instance, there are communes that are purely economic, cultural or political. The most widely publicized are the few where drugs are central. In them committed people live together in an extension of the family existence. Actually, here at Judson, in our runaway residence we've been experimenting with substitute family order, in which a number of adults take the place of parents. Usually we find that when a child has had to relate only to one parent (we don't have many runaways from two-parent families) if he can't make it with that one parent, he can't make it at all. But what if he had a choice of adults from which to choose; substitute parents, adults to whom he could relate? A good illustration of communal child raising is in Bettelheim's new book, *Children Of The Dream*, which is a study of the Israeli kibbutz. Here in America — we've got to experiment too. The business of the individual family being the Basic Fundamental Unit of Society is crap. In the future, individual families will be too interrelated to be just basic fundamental units by themselves. How much longer can we take care of our own, and if our own are taken care of, then not worry about the rest of those people down the street, or in Vietnam or anywhere else? Even the Christian church in part of its own life, in its clubiness, encourages the selfish ingrown life of many families.

Could you say we've turned families into little monasteries?

We've turned away from the world to the family, for a place to find meaning. But the kids are running away from family institutions and its extension, educational institutions. The two basic institutions in our society kids are running away from. Both have failed in many instances. These communes may be one way of bringing us back into community.

Won't these new communities be a return to an old form, the clan, where grandparents and cousins gathered to offer variety and authority?

They were communes with the same surname, where everybody had responsibility for everyone else's children. This is another basic Biblical concept that's been distorted. Other forms of these communities are going to be artistic like the Living Theatre. Incidentally, the Living Theatre is ideological, and when it became ideological, in a sense it forsook art. It's not a community, it's a church! With a whole doctrinaire thing that you have to believe in order to be part of it. Here at Judson we have multiple communities around us which overlap and intersect, and we feed into each other's lives. Many of our theatre people have moved into our liturgical life for example and fed that hope. Conversely, the church has influenced the theatre. Around artistic concerns, around political issues communities will grow. They may change and come and go. I'm looking forward to new forms of demonstrations. Imagination and creativity are going to replace marching and sitting in. One of the best illustrations of this new activity is the Yippie demonstration at Con Edison. They took a huge—monster—vacuum cleaner, filled it with soot from the street and blew it into the Con Edison office building. Right in the front door went all this soot that Con Edison had dropped on the city. The effect was fantastic. The Con Edison people were mad, but most of the world outside of that Con Edison building—it didn't matter where they stood politically or socially—thought those kids were right. Con Edison deserved it. When more of the artists who make happenings, get hold of social protest, no telling what sacred cows will be slaughtered. Another productive demonstration was the Love-in and the Be-in. Everybody was so up-tight and put down the pot-smoking, the exhibitionism. They failed to see in it something basically human about people trusting their feelings for a while; strangers talking to one another. We put those kids down too quick. In the Be-In and Love-In there was something the church always said it was, pretended it was. Be-Ins and Love-Ins were far more effective than Billy Graham ever was or will be. The Be-In brought people close together from all different races, backgrounds; people who were square, hippie, young and old. They did it together. I'm sad it didn't come out of the church. The Be-In was a modern ritual, acting out the trust in society which we desperately need. The church has new places to move in this world that it hasn't yet dreamt of. It could be a vehicle. It has certain kind of status—sometimes it's bad, sometimes it's good; it has a certain respectability, buildings and people. It could use these to civilize the world and the city we live in. But it's played such a minor role! In New York City we were actually torn apart last fall by the Black/Jewish crisis. Part of it was phony, but the fact of the matter is when our city was actually being ripped apart by the feeling during the school strike, the churches were completely impotent to do anything or say anything that made any difference at all to our communal, our city life. That's sad. That's really sad.

Many people's conscious or unconscious reaction would be that it's sad you stay around to put up with the constant crisis of city life. You take your fine old buildings and they'll take grassy suburban "monasteries."

I'm not unaware that the city is a city of death as well as a city of life. It has tremendous difficulties and survival is becoming a real question. But it's the only place I'd want to raise my children.

Most people feel just the opposite . . .

I know. The one reason why people won't live in the city is because of children — i.e., better schools, green grass, and all that stuff. I want my children to be exposed to the fantastic heritage of the city—that is, *people* of every possible looks and language, ethnic and cultural backgrounds—to be thrown with them, to see them on the streets. I want them to know all kinds of people, people down and out, people up and out; know all colors of people, all races and the different kinds of languages when you hear them. This is the way the world is. Living a homogeneous culture, seeing your own people and kind is a modern version of the myth of the king trying to keep his prince from the knowledge of death, "don't let them know about such things." But you have to know. When I go out of the city to speak and people say "your children go to school?" I say, "yes, they go to school, public school." Then they feel so sorry for me. But I pity them, I pity their children because I know they weren't exposed to a variety of people. They won't learn early in life to tolerate differences, which is one of the world's big hangups. Many adults are afraid, insecure or paranoid over people who act, talk or look different from them. City children are spared that kind of ignorance.

Yet the WASPS aren't yet returning from commuterland. The facts are that many city sanctuaries stand near empty—yours being an exception. Should these facilities, as more and more black clergymen are suggesting, be given to the black communities?

We could afford to give some churches to the black people. A lot of them we are holding up by one hand, feeding money into and knowing they are dead. We could give the property over to blacks — not just for churches, but for community centers, nurseries or for whatever they want to use them. They are valuable as stakes, beginnings of what blacks will someday have. But I don't believe the church should leave the city. If it can't live in the city it can't live anywhere. It can't adapt and be part of and understand the values and the new styles of life being experimented with by human beings in our culture.

(Continued on page 8)

EMERGING NEW LIFE STYLES

Continued from Previous Page

What are some of the styles of life, for instance, that you think the church itself should try?

One assumption I make on this is that there are always some projects that we want to do, but can't do until we raise money for them. Yet lack of money can never be an excuse for preventing a community from exploring what it wants to do. Money is never a final obstacle. There is one particular area, which presents no money obstacle, where the church in the city has a tremendous contribution to make. It's what I call civic ritual and ceremony. The city is full of ceremonies that are being performed all over, day and night. These ceremonies are generally civic ceremonies, in the sense that they are celebrations of something that has happened—an opening, an initiation, or a new attempt to do something. Either the mayor or one of his hirelings usually speaks, the sanitation band plays. They are the most deadly rituals in all the world. They mouth the same kind of stuff, the politicans make the same kinds of stupid speeches. What fantastic opportunities for new kinds of communication, for music and new drama. We have a fountain outside of our church in Washington Square Park. The drama, sheer drama of that fountain and of what happens all around it every day—a lot of it inconsequential—is echoed in every block in every neighborhood in the city. The church which is that institution in society which is bathed in ritual, originated rituals and ceremonies, should help the city to celebrate, help the city to know how to dedicate parks for instance. One of the things I loved about flower children—and most of them are gone now—were those great Love-ins and Be-ins that they had in Central Park. I tell you that they had a hold of something there in the midst of this city life about being human, about acting humanity out to other people, and not being strangers any more, and not afraid of each other, not afraid to sing with each other or touch each other or look at each other or say hello to each other which we are desperately afraid to do in our city these days, anywhere outside of official situations. I'm sad that the church, that the Christian community did not give them our profession, give them what we talk about in terms of community, give them what we talk about in terms of forgiveness, openness and acceptance — all a part of our preaching and our Gospel. But where did it operate outside of our own block? Where did it influence and touch and permeate this city? Those Be-ins and Love-ins were attempts, be it perhaps sometimes inadequate and distorted—at saying, "Look, we don't have to live like we live—we can be friends, there can be joy and happiness in living together. We have great pleasures like the park—Central Park."

The church in the city has the locale for the humanizing of life. It is tremendously important. And we've just missed this whole area. We haven't used our sacred spaces in behalf of the community for celebrations of all kinds. One of the great problems of the city — as I said before — is not really in the last analysis money. We desperately need money to run the city. We are equally as desperate for imagination. We don't have imagination to do what has to be done. Let me illustrate this with one block I know well in New York City. It is in the midst of a slum, where all the typical ghettoized poor live. Among them are some artists, whom I call the voluntary poor: people who choose not to live a middle-class existence. Around them are terrible slum tenements and you walk into their apartments and see fantastic beauty almost like in some other world. What people have done to decorate those places, the imagination, the creativity! We could utilize these creative people in our society, for example, to work with their neighbors to change the entire insides of the tenements, or redecorate the outside of ugly buildings. It isn't always the crummy garbage can we've got to clean up. We need to let the city be redeemed and remade with creativity and imagination. Look, for example, at how few block parties we have in this city. Yet block parties are wonderful. They close off streets so that people who live across the street and who never saw each other can all come together. We

have very few, but whenever they happen, they are very exciting. People come to know each other. Strangers become friends. It's weird.

But what is the alternative, what's the twentieth century America's alternative to the Fourth of July picnic? You've got to think about that a little bit. One time, we at Judson, took Easter, our most precious inside celebration and risked to take it outside to Washington Square Park. We opened it at five o'clock in the morning to everybody, to all the night people in the village who might gather around to see the acts that took place in that fountain in the park.

How was the celebration?

It was fascinating. Five hundred people, mostly night people stopped in the park although there wasn't any publicity. Possibly not everybody understood or knew what it meant to us or what we hoped it might mean to the world, to them. But later on some kids from the East Village were talking to a minister over there "about the crazy sunrise service in the park." He asked if it was a religious service. They said, "No, no I don't think so, but it was a celebration of life."

I wish it had been better. There are so many things, which if we'd run the risk and have the imagination, that we could do for the city, for our communities, for our neighborhoods. The church is not seen as anything very important because it's not really engaged where life bites, where it hurts — and so people don't really think it matters.

Are you saying the possibility of new life comes from going outside to celebrate, rather than developing the inner life as the underground church does?

I have my questions about the inward and about the underground church as a prototype or as a new form of the church. However, I've learned by now that we're not to put down anything that attempts to renew and revitalize and means something to people in terms of coming together. The public or outward form, and the inward form or underground form both have their place. But until the underground church comes into contact and engagement with the total world situation in which we exist—under which it exists—it will have missed its full meaning. For instance, I know a guy in the village who wanted to start an intellectual church. That's what village people really wanted, he thought. They were tired of all the religion business and wanted intellectual discussion—to listen to great views and read great books. It lasted about six months. The problem was that whenever they got hold of a problem which was really gutsy, a bloody life and death issue, they had to skirt it. What do you do with the junkies, with these people who are depending on you? Intellectual bull sessions no matter how interesting they are, are not the final reasons for being—not even in small groups. So, although I'm thankful for every new form of the church that comes about, I feel that finally it has to be public, it has to at least welcome people, it has to be open. I think we used to feel that renewal of the church—and this was post World War II, World Council theology, that renewal of the church came basically and primarily through the sifting of the wheat from the tares. When you sifted enough, you got the real Christians together and they would make the church. I see now that that was a mistake. That's not the only way to view the church. As a matter of fact, belief and unbelief, faith and unfaith, commitment and lukewarmness run down the middle of every one of us. It is not those people over there who are believers and non-believers or these here that are committed and not committed. That's not the way it is, that's the way we like to think it is in this world. That's the way we like to think it is and that's why we're able to talk about the church in this sort of high flown way that we usually do. Theologically high flown — as if it is some sort of separate institution sociologically. But it's really not. These differences run down the middle of all of us.

But I bet there were more meaningful conversations at Riverside Church the following week than they've had in years. And I really—I'm not talking just about Riverside, but I think it would be true of most churches, that all of a sudden they would be coming to grips and discussing vitally and arguing back and forth and yelling at each other about the thing that really mattered. ■

(Next issue: Moody on some controversial human differences

WASHINGTON COMMENT

WELFARE: THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

by David M. Ackerman

ON August 14, 1935, President Roosevelt signed into Law H.R. 7260—the Social Security Act. In so doing he established a national system of old-age insurance, a state system of employment insurance, and a Federal-State system of aid to the elderly, the blind, and to dependent children. Though in 1935 the Social Security Act represented a radical departure from American tradition, the responsibility of government to provide security against economic misfortunes for its people has since been accepted by both major parties and is now an integral part of popular conception of the responsibilities of government.

Yet for several years it has been increasingly evident that not all is well with our economic security system, particularly with the system of categorical aid to the elderly, the blind, dependent children, and the permanently and totally disabled (added in 1950). Mitchell Ginsberg, the head of New York City's Human Resources Administration, has observed that "The welfare system is designed to save money instead of people and tragically ends up doing neither." In 1967, the Advisory Council on Public Welfare appointed by President Johnson concluded that "public welfare . . . is caught between overwhelming needs and inadequate resources. . . ." In 1968, the Kerner Commission found that "our present system of public assistance contributes materially to the tensions and social disorganization that have led to civil disorder."

There are now approximately 10.2 million persons on the public welfare rolls. Most of these —6.5 million—are in the aid to families with dependent children category (AFDC). Costs are approaching a rate of $10 billion annually. The number of recipients and the level of costs are increasing at a rate of over 11 per cent a year, largely due to increases in the AFDC category.

Yet the revolution in caring for the basic economic needs of Americans set in motion by Roosevelt stands incomplete. The total number of recipients is less than 39 per cent of the 26 million persons estimated to have incomes below the present poverty line of $3,500 a year for a family of four, and less than 26 per cent of those below a more realistic poverty line of $4,500.

Payments vary (in the AFDC program) from a miniscule $9.85 per person per month in Mississippi to a more generous $66.20 per person per month in New Jersey, yet states are increasingly hard-pressed to find enough funds. Procedures for determining and redetermining eligibility are onerous, demeaning, and time-consuming. Regulations in most states encourage the breakup of families by refusing to give aid to families with both parents at home, and foster dependency by discouraging efforts at self-help. Social services that could help a family break out of the cycle of poverty (such as family planning, day care, job placement, budget counseling) are often lacking entirely or are underfunded and understaffed.

Few people knowledgeable about the present system, therefore, have troubled themselves to dispute President Nixon's assertion in his speech of August 8 that "America's welfare system is a failure that grows worse every day." Most have found in his message on welfare a refreshing candor and an openness to change. The discussion now centers around the adequacy of his proposals and what changes can be made.

The President's Proposals

The President would scrap entirely the present AFDC program and replace it with a new family assistance plan. Under the new plan, the states would continue to be the administrators of the program, and the cost of financing would continue to be shared by the states and the Federal Government. For the first time, however, it would set a *nationally uniform eligibility* standard, based primarily on economic need, and would establish a *minimum payment level* for all recipients. For the first time also, it would provide help to families headed by an employed father or working mother, and would, by a graduated scale of *work incentives* make it worthwhile for recipients, who are able, to find employment.

Under the plan, all families whose income is less than $3,920 a year (for a family of four) would be eligible to receive some aid. To maintain eligibility, all recipients (except mothers with pre-school children) would have to register for and accept a job or job training, provided that suitable employment, transportation, and day-care facilities are available.

Those families without any income would receive at least the basic Federal minimum payment of $1,600; the states could supplement this payment if they desire and, indeed, would be required to maintain the existing level of benefits to those now receiving payments. (The President had to include this requirement because the minimum payment level he suggests is less than that now provided in 30 of the states.)

As an incentive to work, recipient families would be able to earn up to $60 a month without any reduction in the welfare payment. All earnings over that amount would see the payment reduced by $.50 for every $1.00 earned. (For instance, a family that earned $720 a year would receive the full minimum payment of $1,600, but a family that earned $1,500 a year would have its welfare payment reduced to $1,110.) Recipients under the family assistance plan, however, would no longer be eligible for food stamps—a potentially serious drawback.

For the other welfare categories of aid to the blind, the disabled, and the elderly, the President suggests that a minimum payment level of $65 per month be established, with the Federal government paying 100 per cent of the first $50, 50 per cent of the next $15, and 25 per cent of any supplement a state chooses to add.

Thumbs Up, Or Down?

The President's proposal has much to commend it. It would end the present financial incentive to desertion. It would encourage rather than discourage efforts at self-help. It would replace the present patchwork of eligibility standards and eliminate the burdensome investigations of eligibility. It would accept as a Federal responsibility a minimum welfare payment.

Nevertheless, there are some serious questions that can be raised. Most serious is the charge levelled by the National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition that elimination of food stamps for participants in the family assistance plan, while the minimum Federal payment level is only $1,600, will result *not* in an increase in the purchasing power of most of those now in the AFDC program, but a decrease. The Council on August 11 produced figures which demonstrated that the benefits now available to participants in the AFDC program, plus the bonus available to them through the Food Stamp program, results in a total level of benefits greater than what they would receive under the family assistance plan. Only in six Southern states, the Council charged, would recipients be better off; in 44 states they would be worse off.

Only last May the President made a grandiloquent statement that "the moment is at hand to put an end to hunger in America itself for all time," and proposed an expanded and reformed food stamp program to accomplish the job. His welfare proposals seem to undercut that commitment. Dr. Jean Mayer, a White House advisor on hunger, has said that this is not so, that food stamps will be phased out only when the minimum level of assistance has been raised enough to assure that the poor need to spend no more than 30 per cent of their income on food. But since an adequate diet for a family of four costs $1,500 a year (according to the Department of Agriculture), this would require a minimum Federal payment of $5,000 before food stamps would be phased out. It is difficult to imagine this level being reached in the near future. In short, the Administration does not seem to know its own mind on this issue. Consequently, it seems advisable to wait and read the fine print of the Administration's welfare bill (not yet introduced as of this writing) before withdrawing the alarm.

This controversy also points to the fact that the minimum payment level proposed by the President is barely enough for an adequate diet, let alone for other necessities such as rent, clothing, utilities, and medical care. The minimum payment level of $1,600 would be higher than that now in effect in 20 states, but lower than the payment level in the other 30 states. It would be less than half of the Government's own poverty line of $3,500, and little more than a third of a more realistic poverty line of $4,500.

Fiscal necessity is cited as the reason to keep the payment level low now, and critics are assured that the level can be raised later as funds become available. But past experience gives little confidence that this will be true. It ought to be raised at the onset. The same is true of the payments level suggested for the other aid programs.

Other concerns include the fear that the training and work requirement of the President's welfare package could be used by local administrators to discriminate against minority groups or to force people into marginal jobs; the exclusion of single adults that are not old or handicapped, and of childless couples, from any of the Federally assisted welfare programs; the questionable ability of the states to provide meaningful job training and work opportunities; the lack of an option for mothers of school-age children not to work; and the failure of the plan to provide much relief for those states and localities that up to now have supported the higher levels of welfare payments.

Nevertheless, the President's plan has assured that the nation will give its first thorough review to its economic security system in more than a generation. Whether the myths that obscure our present system can be penetrated, whether people's needs can be clearly seen, whether a more viable, more humane system can be constructed, remains to be seen. But serious dialogue has begun. And in our political system that alone is no small accomplishment. ■

it says here . . .

DR. CALDERONE DEPLORES TODAY'S 'RAW SEX'

INDIANAPOLIS — Teaching about sex in the schools is needed to counteract the "raw sex all around us," Dr. Mary S. Calderone told members of the General Board of the National Council of Churches which met here Sept. 11 and 12.

Director of the Sex Information and Education Council in the United States (SIECUS), a group which has come under fire from the Right Wing, she denied that sexual experimentation is encouraged by the group, as has been charged.

SIECUS is a voluntary health organization, Dr. Calderone explained, which has no program of sex education in the schools. It does provide basic background information for those who want it.

Dr. Calderone deplored the "deliberately concocted lies in the name of Christianity" circulating about the organization, and rapped the John Birch Society and Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade as the principal attackers.

"If parents teach only in terms of negatives — and we know how the young repudiate negatives in this day — then the school must teach positives," she said.

Answering questions from the floor, Dr. Calderone replied to quotes attributed to her as being in favor of pre-marital sex by reading what she has actually said, which meant the exact opposite.

BLACK BAPTIST LEADER DENOUNCES MILITANTS

KANSAS CITY, MO. — The leader of the 6.3 million-member National Baptist Convention, the largest all-black denomination in the country, denounced the Black Manifesto, calling it "the same old Red manifesto painted black", before the 14,000 delegates to the convention assembly which ended here on Sept. 14.

The Rev. Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, who has headed the Convention for the past 17 years, was re-elected by acclamation.

Stating that he was vigorously opposed to the action taken by the General Board of the National Council of Churches in Indianapolis which adopted recommendations to provide $500,000 for black community development, Dr. Jackson told a reporter that his church body was "not about to spend a dime for reparations."

The week-long meeting ended with a series of resolutions committing the National Baptists to the concept of racial integration and disavowing separatism.

NCC SEEN EFFECTIVE IN CHANGING VIETNAM POLICY

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Proposals for ending the war in Vietnam, urged for many months by the nation's churches and the National Council of Churches, were seen here as becoming U.S. policy.

Dr. Robert Bilheimer, director of the NCC Department of International Affairs, listed these as deescalation of military action; negotiation and not a military victory as the objective; an end to the bombing; and formation of a more inclusive government in South Vietnam.

Of special concern now, said Dr. Bilheimer, is the nation-wide public education program in cooperation with the Roman Catholc Church, to educate people on peace and influence national priorities in helping the developing nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

SEATTLE CLERGY MEET ON BLACK LABOR DISPUTE

SEATTLE, WASH. — Grave concern for the well-being of the entire Seattle community was expressed here by a group of clergymen called together by the Council of Churches of Greater Seattle and the Washington State Council of Churches in the face of a rankling labor dispute.

The church leaders were briefed by the staff of the State Board Against Discrimination and Federal officers in an effort to understand the background to the dispute centering in the Central Contractors Association, the Seattle Building Construction and Trades Council and the Associated General Contractors.

Controversial newspaper ads opposing job training programs for minority groups compared to the apprenticeship tradition were challenged by the churchmen.

The charge was made that trainee programs will "lower the average building and construction worker's skill." This, they said, is "wholly unsubstantiated and unfounded."

The group quoted findings made by the State anti-discrimination board which "make clear that all qualified people are not welcome in some union halls" as some of the ads proclaimed, the statement continued.

Claims that the County and City had agreed to "pay back the contractors for any losses or damages resulting from trainee programs" were also scotched by the ministers who declared: "Quite to the contrary, both have made it clear that they refuse liability, and your tax money is not pledged."

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast — The All Africa Conference of Churches, made up of a majority of Protestant denominations on the continent, held its second assembly at Abidjan, the Ivory Coast. During the assembly, Roman Catholic Archbishop J. K. Amissah of Cape Coast, Ghana, (upper left) called for joint study by Roman Catholics and member Churches of AACC in numerous areas of thought and action; (upper right) Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, right, was greeted by Samuel Amissah of Ghana, General Secretary of AACC; (lower left) leaders of the assembly answer questions of participants, from left, Jean Fischer, organizing secretary for the assembly, K. Lenoir, mayor of Treichville, near Abidjan, who welcomed participants, Samuel Amissah, General Secretary of AACC, and Aaron Tolen of the World Student Christian Federation in French-speaking Africa; (lower right) some 550 participants gather for the opening worship service.

ROBERT POWELL HEADS NEW SCHOLARSHIP COMMITTEE

NEW YORK, N.Y. — A new Committee on Ecumenical Fellows and Theological Education has been organized by the Division of Overseas Ministries of the National Council of Churches.

Heading the new group is the Rev. Robert C. E. Powell, a member of the Union of Black Clergy and Laity of The Episcopal Church. His office will coordinate denominational scholarships with those of the World Council of Churches for students from churches in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Fr. Powell will also edit and publish newsletters for circulation among 400 overseas seminaries, highlighting notable experiments and studies in theological education in this country.

MAYOR EVERS WARNS AGAINST SEPARATISM

SAN ANTONIO — (RNS) — Charles Evers, the first black to be elected mayor of a racially mixed town in the South, said here that Negro separatism is "a joke" which the black man seeking progress should avoid.

Mr. Evers, who was elected mayor of Fayette, Miss., last November, told a predominantly Negro audience at the Antioch Baptist Church here that they should borrow a page of history from their Irish, Italian and Jewish brothers instead of following spokesmen for black separatism.

"Let's not resort to rioting," Mr. Evers said, "and let's not be fooled by separatism because it's a joke."

Mr. Evers, whose brother, Medgar, was assassinated, and whose own life was recently threatened, said Negro separtism would only be a retreat to a dreary past when blacks were separate but hardly equal.

"You know what that was," he recalled. "It was the welfare rolls that we've been on for years and blue jeans and sometimes no shoes. We had no power, we had no money, we were living in broken-down homes — that was our separatism."

Charging that the Nixon Administration is not going to help the poor and the minorities, Mr. Evers said: "In this country, we've got to find blacks and browns and whites who believe in justice, equality and restraint. We must start being heard."

DOMINICAN NUN JOINS MIGRANT MINISTRY

SEATTLE — (RNS) — A Dominican nun who said, "I've been a migrant most of my life," has become the first Roman Catholic on the staff of the Washington State Council of Churches — as coordinator of migrant ministries.

She is Sister Carolyn Minnick, appointed to the Council staff by the Rev. Everett Jensen, general secretary. Sister Carolyn said her father was variously a mechanic, lumber worker and fruit picker as he sought to support his family in pre-World War II days and, as a consequence, the family moved often.

WAR AND WASTE

(Continued from page 6)

missile screen, it could release policy-makers from the restraints imposed by enemy second-strike capacity"—No small consideration, in a country as devoted to international violence as ours. Secondly, the motivation for the ABM is largely political and economic, not technical at all. Insofar as the ABM program serves as a subsidy to the electronics industry, it makes no great difference whether it will work or not. At the meetings of the American Economic Association last year, Walter Adams observed that the current version of the ABM "has been estimated to involve 28 private contractors, with plants located in 42 states . . . and 182 Congressional districts. Given the political reality of such situations and the economic power of the constituencies involved, there is little hope that an interaction of special interest groups will somehow cancel each other out and that there will emerge some compromise which serves the public interest." And if the ABM is discarded, some equivalent monstrosity will no doubt take its place—until some radical change in ordering of national priorities occurs.

It is fashionable to decry such talk as naive and simplistic. It is useful to observe that those who manipulate the process and stand directly to gain from it are much less coy about the matter. Samuel Downer, Vice-President of LTV Aerospace explains why "the postwar world must be bolstered with military order." He says: "It's basic. Its selling appeal is defense of the home. This is one of the greatest appeals the politicians have to adjusting the system. If you're President and you need a central factor in the economy, and you have to sell this factor, you can't sell Harlem and Watts, but you can sell self-preservation, and a new environment. We're going to increase defense budgets as long as these Russians are ahead of us. The American people understand this."

I have mentioned a number of tendencies in American society, tendencies which, if extrapolated, lead to a garrison state dominating a world empire. These, however, are tendencies. There is no law of nature that guarantees that they will persist. A good deal depends on our conscious choices. The scientists who are called upon to construct the ABM need not do so; the social scientists who are invited to preside over the management of some helpless society—perhaps our own—can refuse. They can organize and encourage others to join them in this refusal. They can also help to create the mass politics that provides the only real hope for restraining, and ultimately dispelling the nightmare that they are now helping to create.

They should not underestimate the difficulty of this course. They will find some allies. Let me read you, for example, a few recent remarks by Senator Mark Hatfield: "The universities, by becoming inferior contracted members of the defense establishment, can only increase their participation as the intellectual advocates and architects of the war machine. It is my contention that efforts to examine the debilitating effects of the defense establishment, not only upon society as a whole, but also upon the university itself, are steps towards the reintroduction of human ideals into what is now policy formed mainly by economic considerations."

Well-spoken words. But such allies will be few. And it is reasonable to suppose that if there is any measurable success at organizing scientists in opposition to war and waste, there will be strong opposition to this effort. Effective political action that strikes at deeply-entrenched interests can be expected to lead to attempts at repression. How serious these will be, how well they can be resisted, this we cannot predict—as we cannot predict the success that might be achieved at organizing popular forces to reintroduce "human ideals into what is now policy formed mainly by economic considerations"—in Senator Hatfield's words. There is no point in speculation about such matters. Rather, there is an urgent and desperate necessity for serious commitment, and determined action. ■

Dr. Chomsky, Professor of Modern Languages and Linguistics at M.I.T., is a frequent and eloquent critic of current U.S. foreign policy. His most recent book is American Power and The New Mandarins (Pantheon, $7.95). His article was adapted from a speech given at a recent meeting of scientists at M.I.T.

NCC RESPONDS TO BLACK MANIFESTO—continued from page 4

the churches to recognize that the present crisis in our society is one which demands not only the utmost response from the voluntary sector but also massive government involvement at national, state and local levels. To this end we challenge the churches, using their cooperative resources in Washington and in the states, and expanding these as required, to examine their moral responsibility and to adopt procedures which will enable their moral force to be felt in all the chambers of government which must become responsive to demanding needs in such areas as public welfare, housing, education, job training, urban development and foreign economic aid.

4. Consultation

Consideration has been given to holding a national consultation in the area of economic development of minority groups and, particularly, of Blacks. The committee has taken note of the plans of the National Committee of Black Churchmen to hold a series of regional conferences on this subject and it has urged the member denominations to provide the National Committee of Black Churchmen with the kind of financial support that will enable it to hold these conferences as soon as possible. Decision as to the desirability of the National Council of Churches taking the initiative in convening a national consultation should be held in abeyance until we have the benefit of the results of the regional conferences.

5. Realignment of National Council of Churches Program Priorities

The National Council of Churches should explore immediately new ways to realign operational and program priorities to meet more substantially the objectives of the Crisis in the Nation Program. The specific procedure for undertaking this reexamination should be developed by the General Secretary with particular consideration accorded the following principles:

a. The analysis be conducted for the Program Boards of the Division of Christian Life and Mission, Division of Overseas Ministries, Division of Christian Unity, and the Division of Christian Education, as well as for the General Planning and Program Committee, the General Communication and Interpretation Committee, the General Personnel Committee and the General Administration and Finance Committee, and for the Executive Committee for those operations under the direct jurisdiction of the General Secretary.

b. Each analysis should be conducted by a team from the cognate constituency. At least half of the membership of each team should be persons from minority groups. Staff services will be provided by the appropriate units. The unit-by-unit analysis should embrace the role of minority groups in the decision-making processes, including use of funds, composition of personnel, and program activity.

c. Specific consideration should be given to the following series of program recommendations among others:

i. The membership of the churches need education so they understand the dimensions of the present crisis, particularly the virus of white racism and other issues involved in the Manifesto. This will require church school studies programs, youth work, leadership development, adult programs, etc. It will include also development of programs to relate to militant student groups. It will include dealing with the present crisis in education.

ii. Recognizing the power and influence of the public media, a broadbased, sustained, long-term program should be developed to set for the issues, dimensions, and urgency of the present crisis. This will be a major task; units with responsibility for the media should make this a priority of highest order.

iii. Given the international implications of the national situation and the deep involvement of churches in public and religious activities abroad, the intimate connection between poverty, race and development at home, and poverty, race and development abroad should be stressed. This should be done in a variety of ways, including the National Council of Churches-Roman Catholic Joint Program on World Development, and the World Council of Churches. Special attention should be given to the Southern Africa situation, including the investment and other policies of the churches.

iv. The experience and expertise of the churches in overseas relief, in financing and developing programs in hunger, literacy, family planning, etc., and fund-raising for this purpose should be called upon and made available for programs on the domestic scene.

v. Given the personnel resources in many areas (publishing, fund-raising, business management, etc.) a skills bank might be developed to which minority groups could turn for help in dealing with their problems (for example, developing a publication center).

d. The General Planning and Program Committee should coordinate the work of the unit teams as necessary.

e. Top priority should be given to these analyses but with realistic schedules established for completion of work.

6. The National Council of Churches pledges its determination to continue consultations with representatives of the Black Economic Development Conference and with other minority groups which are seeking ways by which civic and economic justice for deprived peoples can be attained and assigns responsibility to the Committee of 16 which will be continued for this purpose. ■

INDIANAPOLIS

(Continued from page 3)

of Churches, it sketches a basis for church mission in the next decade.

A resolution opposing proposed Federal legislation on tax reform as it applies to foundations was adopted by the Board. It charged that the present proposals "would have the effect of inhibiting contributions to constructive non-profit undertakings (colleges, hospitals, churches, etc.) which serve the nation's good."

It agreed that the NCC should promote a film on the life of Martin Luther King Jr., done by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and also agreed to permit Mr. Keene Larson, an independent grape grower, to speak to the Board at its November meeting on the issue of the unionization of grape pickers.

And, finally, in a "statement of concern," the church leaders deplored Soviet reversal of the program of humanization, democratization and liberalization in Czechoslovakia. ■

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

REVIEWING: "THE LEARNING TREE"

Produced and Directed by Gordon Parks

WHAT *The Learning Tree* has going for it, and against it, is that it is yet another Negro "first." Like Jackie Robinson, Thurgood Marshall and James Meredith. So most of us shade dogooders *want The Learning Tree* to blossom. It is the first major Hollywood movie to be produced by a Negro, Gordon Parks, the master photographer. Parks' photos have appeared frequently in *Life* and his collection, *The Photographer as Poet* was recently published by Viking Press. *The Learning Tree* is based on Parks' autobiography and focuses on the year he was fifteen in the mid-1920's, growing up in a small Kansas town. But that's not all. In a kind of cinematic decathlon Parks also manages to write the screenplay, direct the movie and, would you belive, compose the musical score. That's taking on a lot. The last time I remember anybody doing so many things in one movie was Charlie Chaplin in *Limelight* (in addition, Charlie acted in that one).

Luckily for Parks he enlisted one of the industry's best talents to photograph his film, Burnett Guffey who did *Bonnie and Clyde*. This was a particularly inspired choice when you remember that a large part of *Bonnie and Clyde's* potency stemmed from its invocation of the 1930's American Southwest. Guffey can conjure up a sense of place and time; he does it again, superbly, in *The Learning Tree*. But does the film as a whole make it?

It comes close. But in my view it just missed. I am not sure why, but I have two theories. Since they sound mutually contradictory I will simply state them and appeal to the principle of paradox or dialectic.

Theory No. 1: *Parks tries to do too much.* In one year this lad lives through three murders (that we see), a cyclone, a court house suicide, a girl friend who gets pregnant by someone else, the death of his mother and his own near-murder by a boyhood friend. Also he is seduced by an older woman. That was a year that was. Makes my boyhood seem awfully tame by comparison. Another way to put the same theory is that Parks, who reportedly got a budget of three million dollars for this movie from Warner Brothers-Seven Arts was just a little too anxious not to miss. Who wouldn't be? Like a young preacher belting out his first sermon or a freshman writing the perennial frosh theme on "Who I Am and Why I Came to State," Parks had to get everything in. Naturally his young hero, Newt (played very well by Kyle Johnson), has to have a run-in with a really mean, fat, peckerwood sheriff, has to fall in love, experience a humiliating rebuff at a Jim Crow ice-cream parlor, struggle with the meaning of God and death and being a Christian, blow his top at a racist teacher and stare in contempt at an inept liberal principal, square off against the scorching anger of a "bad nigger" crony, and so on. Admittedly Parks' swift piling on of episodes from one emotional crisis to another harnesses your attention, but so does a train roaring past at 80 mph. The trouble is that just as you begin to focus on something another crisis clatters into sight, and before you know it the caboose comets by, and it's over.

At certain points in the film Parks demonstrates that he really is capable of a somewhat deeper probing. Each time he puts Newt on the screen with his blind uncle something memorable happens. And we are also spared the maudlin glop that usually putrefies scenes with blind people. The scene at the carnival in which a fast-talking barker cons Newt and his friends into fighting each other in a ring also carries an impact. Without overstatement it dramatizes how white society turns black rage on other blacks — or at least how it *used* to. Not one to flee from perilous places, Parks also includes a death bed scene: the passing of Newt's saintly white-haired mother. But since as a character she is just too stereotypical, I just couldn't feel that sad about her passing. Sorry. The following scene which shows Newt creeping up to his mother's coffin is much more effective. As Shakespeare and the Greeks knew, people don't always have to die right on camera. Next time Parks makes a movie — soon I hope — maybe he will have enough confidence in his immense story-telling and moviemaking talent to leave a few more things out.

Theory No. 2: *Parks didn't do enough.* Here is black and white America in the 1920's. So? What about the 1960's? Granted there are still bad white cops, judges, teachers, principals and others like that. Racism has probably not diminished since the 1920's, although we may be more aware of it. But racism's new forms are more subtle, complex and perverse. Like the icky, oozing blob in the vintage horror movies, it can find a way to wreak its havoc even when it has to leap legal moats and seep under judicial barriers. Who will take on a movie describing "The Thing" today? Not schools that discourage blacks from going to college, but prep schools and colleges that accept just enough blacks to lobotomize them without being changed themselves. Peckerwood sheriffs? Who will try to do a movie about the torments of a black cop? Tomming black preachers? Who will be courageous enough to tell the real story of the indispensable leadership black preachers have given to their people, the terrible temptations they have faced, and sometimes given in to, the current rediscovery of the black religious experience by youthful militants in towering Afros and bone beads? Who will probe the sickest form of white racism, the condescending unwillingness to differ or criticize candidly where blacks are involved?

Could Gordon Parks himself take on this assignment? There is ample evidence in *The Learning Tree* that he *could*. But he has not done it yet. In *The Learning Tree* Parks tells it like it *was*, and maybe a little like it still is. Now who will tell it like it *is*, and maybe like it should be? Maybe Parks will, with the same sharpness and feeling his photos always had and some segments of this movie do too. I hope he will. We need it. ■

LETTER FROM A CHICAGO JAIL by Jesse Jackson

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of "Operation Bread Basket" in Chicago, was among five men arrested there recently for leadership roles in a demonstration in behalf of equal employment opportunities in the construction industry — notoriously deaf to such pleas in the past.

From a hospital bed in city jail, Mr. Jackson has transmitted an open letter on the why's of the demonstration and the situation that led to it. TEMPO prints the letter here in full.

Rev. Jesse Jackson uses a police microphone to try to quiet demonstrators at Chicago where 600 met to protest discrimination in construction industry hiring practices.

WE are seeking meaningful participation in the American economy . . . not just a minimum wage but a livable wage. It is significant that a period of despair and hopelessness, characterized by the slogan, "burn, baby, burn," has been transformed into a period of hope with new possibilities characterized by the slogan, "build, baby, build," "earn while you learn."

We do not seek to take white jobs. But neither do we intend to allow whites to keep black jobs while we are passively quiet and docile, there will be no more rest and tranquility until our just pleas are heeded. Many of the whites are employed upon the prerogatives of discrimination and exclusionary procedures. We realize that our protest creates a counterprotest. We seek jobs. The whites seek to maintain their jobs. It is understandable that they would want to remain employed. It should be just as understandable that we seek jobs which offer security, protection, opportunity, food, clothing, shelter, education and the necessities of life. Both groups are frightened that they may be deprived of these necessities. White insecurity is expressed by an exclusion of the out-group and a ratio of trained workers that allows the law of supply and demand to enable them to bargain for higher wages. Black insecurity is expressed by direct challenge to the in-group's exclusive hold upon public policy. Blacks are saying we need to declare a state of emergency because of unemployment and underemployment. We need to create a crisis to deal with the emergency. We need training programs. We'll march, protest, break injunctions, boycott and use other forms of creative protest in order to be heard, recognized, respected and allowed to participate.

Ironically, both groups are right. But each group is hardly able to see beyond achieving security for itself. Both think that the elimination of each other is the solution. The real solution is the expansion of the economy to the extent that it can absorb or employ both whites and blacks.

Every American deserves a job or an income. A government is responsible for the welfare of its people or it forces its people to say farewell to it. People develop disloyalty and disinterest in a government that will not rise to the occasion of providing basic opportunities for its people to survive.

Chicago, the scene of historic labor battles and organization, where the 8-hour day was initiated, can be the scene of another creative adjustment in men's search for liberation beyond the throes of poverty, ignorance and disease.

The labor fight we are engaged in now threatens to further divide the poor black and just recently removed poor white into greater racial polarity, with intensified racial antagonisms. Each group develops programs of race glorification of chauvinism locking up their jobs, schools, sons, daughters, families and churches. This division of the races and the pending fight between the poor must be avoided. This horizontal fight between the have-nots must shift into a vertical fight — if there is to be a fight — between the have-nots and the haves.

These fights between poor blacks and poor whites will inevitably occur if our economy maintains its present collision course. Everyone has a stake in this not occurring. But as long as there is surplus on one hand, and starvation on the other, this gap will create tension in our nation.

Our economy has the economic elasticity and capacity. Hopefully it will develop the moral capacity to adjust its priorities and make the dream of full employment a reality. ■

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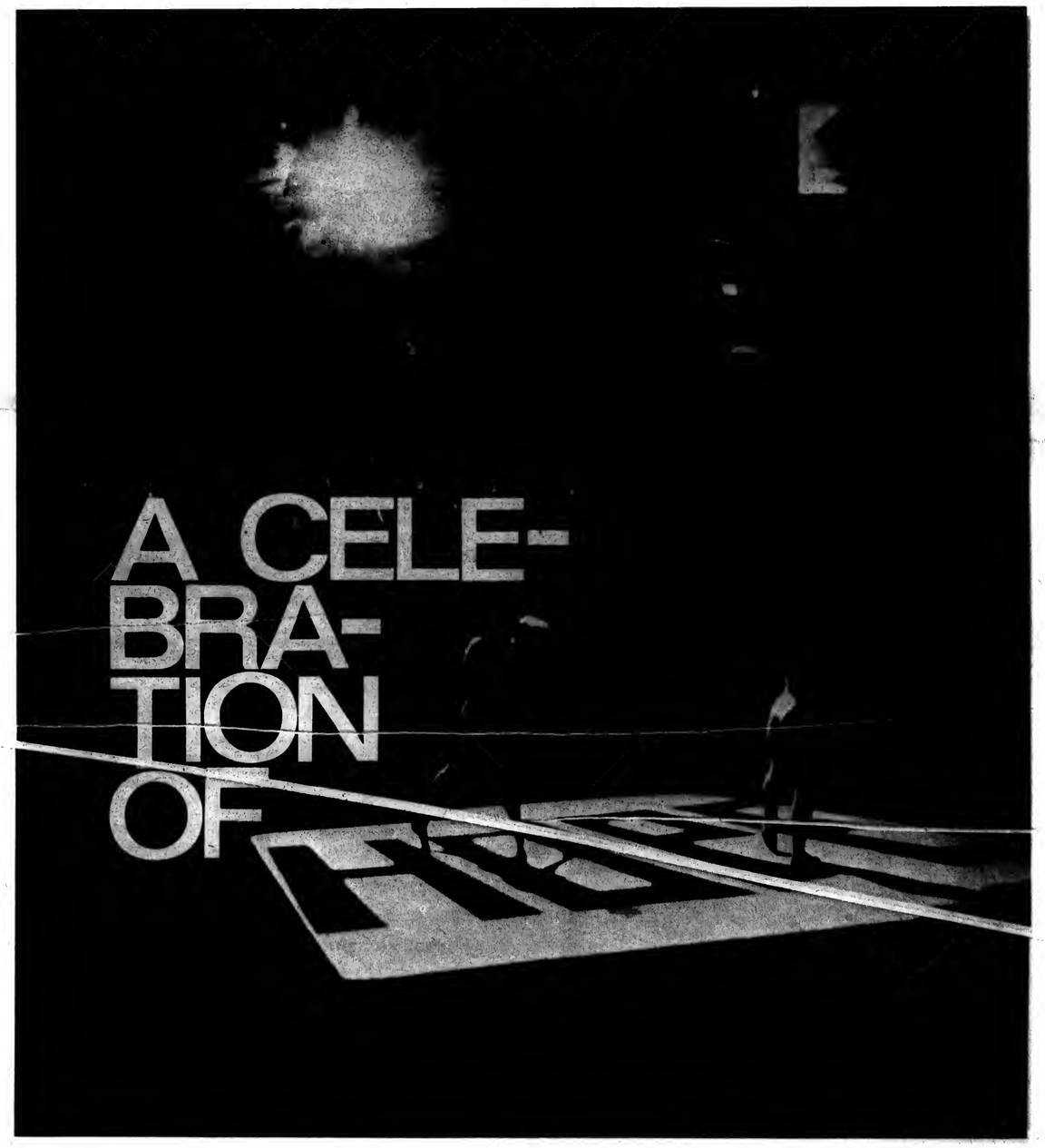

TEMPOsitions . . .

THE "CRISIS" IN LITURGY

by James F. Colaianni

"LET go, Father, let go!" This was one young layman's rejoinder to a middle-aged Roman Catholic priest during a recent liberal-conservative debate of sorts on "Liturgy." To which the clergyman replied: "But if I 'let go' as you suggest, I'll fall into the same secular trap you are in. I'm not willing to leave out many of the things you reject out-of-hand." When Father was then asked to describe these abandoned values a great conversational lull ensued. Precisely what he had in mind was never revealed. A modest example, I think, of where we are in our present "liturgical crisis."

Let me explain, first by admitting that I have heard others respond to this challenging question with more than silence. What the young man lacks, it is said, is a true sense of worship. His prayers are misdirected. His notion of Christian liturgical expression is a sellout to the secular city. To which he would reply, "God Incarnate is real; any notion of worship as an exercise in wafting extrinsic glory to a philosophical abstraction is most basically a denial of the Incarnation. Is it not the burden of our Gospel that if we do not catch our human glimpse of God in the here-and-now, in our human relationships, we have lost our Christian way of relating to God?" For him, the "God the father" image is discovered in the flesh-and-blood of a kind, benevolent, compassionate, forgiving, loving human being. For him, the Christ-figure—Son—emerges most vividly in the spat-upon he encounters and embraces; for him the Spirit is not set apart from human events, but revealed in them. And when he says, "Let go, Father," he means "Let go of a theology that took its cues from a non-Christian culture; let go of a theology of worship that for clear, historical reasons, misread the New Testament God-man revelation." The Church of Jesus Christ, he would say, is the totality of man, the human condition moving toward the condition of universal brotherhood. And it is the mission of the lowercase church (the Christian church, if you will) to proclaim this as the foundation of all hope for discovery of life's meaning and purpose, human worthwhileness, fulfillment, union with God—and all those other (endless) ways we have of saying the same thing.

In terms of practical, day-to-day, life-style, father and the young man are outstanding Christian witnesses. Both can be counted "in" on the liberation movement; both are men of compassion who work hard at the business of identifying with the disenchanted, the oppressed, the "sinners," the poor, the homeless, the sick, sore and disabled. Both have experienced the Christian martyrdom of sorts that goes with it. And both would regard communal, liturgical witness to Christian commitment as a deep-felt need—as *the* vehicle through which the tradition is preserved and handed down from one generation to the next. Yet, here is where they part company (and part company they do).

For one, the Christian liturgical assembly represents a regularly scheduled withdrawal from the reality of God Incarnate—a time for incensing the "out there someplace" God (the "spiritual" God). For the other, authentic Christian liturgy is the celebration of a shared commitment to a life-style rooted in a Gospel of human reconciliation. For one, the "social question" is a weekly concern. For the other, a seven-day-a-week concern. For one, abstract prayers for peace are a proper part of Christian liturgy; concrete discussion is not. For the other, given his definition of prayer—my awareness in God's presence of what I am and what I ought to do—such prayers are ornamental.

Most Christians, I suspect, would regard one Gospel statement on God as an acceptable working definition: God is love. Father would have us continue to assemble liturgically to express our love for love. But, holds our young man, "I can't love love. But I can love human beings. And I am willing to accept Jesus' teaching that, given what I am, I can express love (of God) in no other way." And that is precisely what our liturgies should be about. It is this Gospel that is proclaimed. It is this Gospel to which we respond in community. It is our infidelity to this Gospel which is the burden of our communal self-accusation. And it is this Gospel's call to repentance to which we regularly—communally—rededicate ourselves. Repent! The call to openness. The ongoing effort to cast off all vestiges of egoism, pride and self-service; the call to reconciliation; the call from our brother in distress which we cannot put aside (even for one day a week); the call of the poor, the disenchanted, the hopeless; the call from those overburdened by a system of exploitation and discrimination; the call from the young who seek liberation from a system weak in Christian values; the call from the young who are coerced into giving up their lives in defense of a ruling class or an inequitable economic system; the call from the Black Panther Party, from SNCC, from SCLC, from SDS, from those who have deeply experienced the need for radical change, including those who are convinced that violence represents the only means of achieving it; the call from a human condition on the brink of annihilation.

Liturgy is a time for stock-taking, a time for sharing and shoring up hope in the Christian way, a time for reflection on the values which direct our lives, a time for putting misplaced priorities in order, a time for celebrating the Christ event as our one, true hope.

For this writer, the business of liturgical re-

Continued on page 11

THIS ISSUE

Celebration of Man's Hope was the inspired theme of Liturgy Week — a major religious event marked by an interreligious convocation held in Milwaukee late in August under auspices of the Liturgical Conference. This issue of TEMPO reports on major highlights of this significant event, beginning with an editorial commentary on liturgical renewal by James F. Colaianni, Executive Director of the Liturgical Conference. On the opposite page, associate editor L. I. Stell gives his impressions of some of the convocation's experimental events. On other pages will be found some of the memorable things that were said about hope in a day and time often described as approaching the hopeless.

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause, Dorothy Rozenbrink, L. I. Stell

ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler

PROMOTION: David Poindexter

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull

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IMPERFECT IN ORIGINAL

Reporting on A Liturgical Event in Milwaukee

THE ROAD SHOW OF HOPE

by L. I. Stell

A rock Mass, the finale of a meeting in the Milwaukee Arena (an oval normally reserved for hockey, basketball and circuses) made such spontaneous combustion that it will soon be firing up campuses across the country.

A "road show" performance of the Mass, as the U.S. Liturgical Conference staff term their new creation, will be the major concern of the Conference for the rest of the school year. Next summer the Conference, until recently a primarily Roman Catholic group unofficially seeking a contemporary liturgy, will hold another ecumenical assembly, as it did this August 25-28. But meanwhile, throbbing electric piano, guitars and drums will be a more permanent form—perhaps even an LP—of the central theme of the Milwaukee meeting: the Celebration of Man's Hope.

One reason for the enthusiastic reception of the Mass was the unity brought about by the thundering amplified rhythms. The over-30's among the 3,500 attending the conference found themselves dancing and laughing like the youthful minority around them. "At last the Church has a celebration to offer youth," said one middle-aged minister as he stomped his foot and clapped.

The strongest vibrations that many of the participants carried away came from the last triumphant song of the Mass. As the crowd recessed —actually remained milling rhythmically around the pulsing amplifiers of the 8-member band near the portable altar — a striking black vocalist, Minnie Riperton, repeated the haunting intonation:

Neither man's fault nor the world this mystery,
Freedom is its name, and glory is its semblance
Now seen darkly, soon in God's clear light . . .
From the beginning all creation shared this aim;
Groaning in one great act of giving birth,
Man groaning for a freedom yet to come.

Then the people chorused:

THE WHOLE CREATION HOPES
THE WHOLE CREATION WAITS
THE WHOLE CREATION STRUGGLES
FOR GOD TO REVEAL HIS SONS

On and on, over and over the Rotary Connection played—transforming, activating tired feet and minds which had been undergoing an obstacle course even in joy.

According to several in the small gathering of Protestants afloat in the "new reformation" sea of Roman Catholics, it was not only moving and happy for them to find themselves sharing bread and wine beside a genuine Roman Catholic Cardinal, but it was upsetting. What next after the walls that divide us fall?

The earlier activities in the week helped prepare people for the closing celebration. They glimpsed beneath the beerfoamy gloss of Milwaukee by visiting specific action projects engaged in sawing away at the city's bars of poverty, racism and passiveness. As folk singer Oscar Brand put it in lyrics especially written for the Conference:

"The leaves turned to paper, the grass turned to dust
The air's mostly smog and the water is rust,
The rich get the money, the poor get the kids,
A surefire blueprint for a town on the skids . . .
Milwaukee, Milwaukee, you've come very far,
Now where do you go from wherever you are?"

And there were speeches. Former U.S. Senator Wayne Morse implored the churches of America to wage a "religious crusade" against the continuation of the Vietnam War.

Rabbi Abraham Heschel, acknowledged the need for change in an institution that would protect a Bishop Defregger, former Nazi officer, and not a Bishop Shannon, promising member of the U.S. hierarchy, who recently resigned because of conservative pressure against his questioning of the War, Papal authority and the pill ban. Yet he pleaded that reformers not throw out positive traditions of the Church, such as reserving time for daily prayer.

Protestants, in charge of many of the Conference's main events, were also candid in their presentation of the realities of hope (see speeches of Brown and Young elsewhere in this issue). The most controversial of their offerings was the multi-media Celebration of Man's Hope co-produced by Dr. Roger Ortmayer, Executive Director of the National Council of Churches' Department of Church and Culture, and Edgar Summerlin, composer. In the show participants and performers danced, sang, vibrated, shouted and jumped. Object of the two-hour presentation was to launch the week's endeavors at opening options "for a new global culture and human style of life." Thirty-six projectors, a seven-piece jazz group, a vocalist and 80-member chorus threw images of sound and light around and on participants. Directions on the screen and from dancers in leotards among the assembly guided the response of voice and movement. Poetry ("It takes life to make life/that is the wonder of life/the glory of life/Life gives life/And that is true: Life is lively") and a Parable about Sourdough Bread (1000 loaves were shared) unified the flashing images and music.

Left: Vocalist Unutmaz and saxophonist Summerlin duet at the beginning of the Milwaukee Celebration. Right: The Rotary Connection premieres a rock Mass, ending the meeting with a thundering expression of Man's Hope.

Comments in reaction varied and not always along generation gap lines: "The church is finally catching on that life is like this — with images coming at you from everywhere. . . ." "It's great fun but it didn't have a message . . ." "It showed creation in all its chaos from the womb to Christ's tomb. . . ." "It's people around you that make the environment, not these abstract images that don't involve you. . . ." "Maybe in this way we can warm up our church spaces, which now are like expressways—almost totally separating us from other people. . . ." "Her (vocalist Rosemary Unutmaz) clear voice, improvising on what the passion texts mean to her, interweaving with the saxophone (Summerlin's) was extraordinary, a preface for a modern Gregorian chant."

Though it lost money on the Milwaukee meeting and is losing financial support from waning diocesan favor, membership is up, now 9,500, in the 30-year-old Liturgical Conference. Starting with a sniff of freedom from Vatican II, the group has escalated its search for relevance. It was only in 1965 that a throng gathered to sing "A Mighty Fortress is Our God" for the first time with official blessing. Blessings are now withheld, except by Protestants. This year a loosely-knit Protestant group called the Ecumenical Conference on Christian Worship took the occasion to disband, so as not to compete with the Liturgical Conference.

One nun with long service to the church summed up her strongest reaction to the Conference this way: "It's funny, rock can't be experienced through reading newspapers, watching TV or listening to records. I learned that you have to be there to feel its intensity and seemliness for the church—it involves the whole body, the whole person." ■

The U.S. Liturgical Conference joins the rock recording group The Rotary Connection in a search for relevant worship and life style.

Where Do Chaplains And Church Programs Fit Into The Scene?

RELIGION ON THE CAMPUS: 1969-1970

by Religious News Service

THE question of whether college and university campuses will remain "quiet" or become "disruptive" with the opening of fall terms is becoming an annual concern. And wondering how they fit into the scene are chaplains and those responsible for campus ministries.

Attempts to reassess the presence of religious groups at institutions of higher education, and revamp their programs, are scarcely new. Greater attention to these efforts has, however, paralleled the surge of revolutionary ferment among students.

Campus ministries traditionally fall into four types: 1) chaplaincy staffs financed by administrations at church-related schools, 2) denominational or ecumenical organizations recognized by institutions but financially and structurally autonomous, 3) official chaplains at private schools who coordinate religious activities and cooperate with independent groups, and 4) local churches serving campuses.

Among the church-backed programs, which may have on or off campus facilities and be at church, state or private schools, are the Roman Catholic Newman Clubs, United Methodist Wesley Foundations, Presbyterian Westminster Fellowships, Lutheran Student Associations, "Y" groups and the United Ministries in Higher Education. These organizations, usually with their own clergy-directors, have a wide range of worship, study and recreational activities.

Student participation in inherited programs has steadily declined in recent years, according to officials in the Catholic Church and in Protestant denominations. Decreases in numbers (or percentages) are evident despite increasing ecumenism and approaches hopefully attuned to the concerns, problems and philosophies of contemporary youth.

Dilemmas arising as the churches relate or attempt to relate on campuses run through the whole spectrum of campus types. Perhaps the more dramatic situations are at large cosmopolitan institutions. Some examples are in order.

What Happened at Columbia

Columbia University in New York City is private, with an Episcopal heritage from Colonial days. For the past 112 years a University Chaplain was named from the ranks of the Episcopal clergy. The chaplain conducted weekly services in the university chapel.

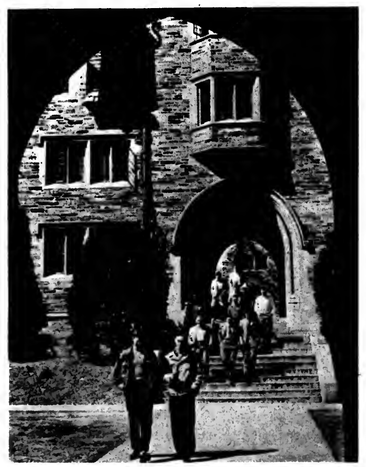
In recent times, Jewish, Protestant, Roman Catholic and Orthodox religious advisors were provided by outside agencies, officially appointed by the Columbia trustees and generally coordinated by the chaplain's office. Other groups could name advisors, but no official standing was given to them.

In the 1969 summer, this plan came to an end and it was explained that the move was made to "work out a more ecumenical operation more in tune with the times." Feeling it should not sponsor denominational activities, the university discontinued its chaplaincy. A Center for Religion and Life was founded and invitations were extended to religious groups to provide or secure advisors. Worship facilities were made available.

This did not mean, however, that Columbia was downgrading religion. A report, compiled over three years, said the school should continue to offer hospitality to denominations but "university funds and facilities set apart for religious life should be used primarily to strengthen and to develop programs and resources of a non-sectarian nature."

An ecumenical atmosphere, a priority of administrators at numerous schools, has long been fostered by the campus ministry personnel of the churches. Nine Protestant denominations are moving toward unification in the United Ministries in Higher Education. Despite the death of the national-level University Christian Movement, local UCM's involve students and faculty from all Christian confessions.

A desire for ecumenicity does not fully explain why a university such as Columbia would phase out its established chaplaincy. The Rev.



John Cannon, the last Columbia chaplain, said that men of the cloth on campuses are often a hindrance in efforts to get students to deal with and resolve moral questions. The clergymen, he said, remind youths of the representatives of their own churches who have been repudiated in many cases.

Freedom from Control

Another factor is growing student insistence on a religious set-up free of administration control. Although religious advisors at Columbia were not officially appointed during the year before the restructure, the dismissal of two counselors—one Protestant and the other Jewish—by funding agencies was blamed by some on administrators and trustees. The two men had been actively involved in the 1968 spring upheaval at Columbia. When the new plan was announced, a radical Jewish Union rehired Rabbi A. Bruce Goldman as its advisor.

Student dissent toward an administration-controlled chaplaincy was also reported from United Methodist-affiliated American University in Washington, D.C. The dissatisfaction was partly over dismissal of a clergyman felt by the chief chaplain to neglect all but the activist students. A study of the whole set-up—an official denominational chaplaincy staff with advisors from four other confessions—was scheduled.

Another dimension of the complex religion-on-campus scene was suggested by San Francisco State College, closed for a major part of the 1968-69 academic year in a student-faculty-administration hassle over demands from black militants.

Demonstrated there was the tension which can develop between campus pastors and school officials or between the clergy and the off-campus community, including church members.

Most of the campus work of the major Christian churches in the city is related to the San Francisco Campus Christian Center, Inc. The facility at San Francisco State is Ecumenical House. The staff offered the local center—they called it a safety valve—for dialogue and confrontation aimed at solution. It caught flak from both the school and the community, especially when clergy questioned the wisdom of dismissing a faculty member.

Campus ministers' disputes with college officials and sometimes with their own directors (the latter was not the case in San Francisco) have grown increasingly common. Dismissal of chaplains or advisors by church authorities are frequent as is pressure from schools to have particularly activist campus clergy replaced.

Such tensions are often non-personal and non-specific, arising rather out of the stream of changes flowing through campuses and society generally. In explaining its intention, the San Francisco Ecumenical House said it had only sought "to act as agents of reconciliation." Many both in and out of the church do not understand this.

Cultural Alienation

At the basis of conflicts and potential conflicts between the student generation and the administrative echelons—an arena in which the modern campus minister must operate—seems to be the alienation of many students from the inherited culture.

Myron B. Bloy, Jr., executive director of the ecumenical Church Society for College Work, headquartered in Cambridge, Mass., wrote in the anthology, "The Religious Situation, 1969," that present-day student alienation is not of a kind which can be treated as an aberration from the accepted. Students—and not only SDS types—are participants in a "'counter-culture' which is fundamentally challenging the western cultural tradition," according to Mr. Bloy.

This means that traditional religious concepts and practices are questioned, along with established chaplaincies, a point which Chaplain Cannon, formerly of Columbia, has stressed. Campus clergymen, explained Mr. Bloy, are finding it necessary to rethink self-definitions, approaches and programs. As this restudy takes place, misunderstandings and disputes with university and church officials are almost inevitable.

Mr. Bloy agreed with writer Paul Goodman who has observed that chaplains—particularly the more liberal ones—are themselves "bewildered" because none of the theological frameworks or approaches has slowed down "the catastrophic crisis of dehumanization."

In the student revolt against "dehumanization," identified as the target by many spokesmen, Mr. Bloy, Mr. Goodman and others advise chaplains to investigate the meaning of the word "commitment" and not judge their work entirely by programmatic yardsticks.

Student interest in religion is well attested to by the growth of departments of religious studies in state and secular private institutions. The interest in Eastern mysticism is another indication of this.

Mr. Bloy saw the role of the contemporary chaplain as bringing to "public, symbolic consciousness the quest of the counter culture for sacred commitments." The chaplain, he said, can be a symbol of hope and encouragement to persons on a quest for the religious, although his own commitment may seem alien to students.

Conclusions not far from Mr. Bloy's were reached recently at a National Conference on the Campus Ministry at Notre Dame University. The ecumenical gathering was sponsored by the National Newman Apostolate and the National Catholic Educational Association.

Speakers insisted that students are more religious now than they were before, but that the traditional ministry-vision does not fill students' needs. A lack of understanding between campus ministers who are trying to make contact with students, and church laymen critical of the new was also cited. There were even proposals to disband existing chaplaincies.

A Danforth Foundation study cited at Notre Dame found students intensely interested in ethical questions, in relating knowledge to new skills and in experimentation to recast social institutions. Dr. Harold Viehman of the United Presbyterian Church's Division of Higher Education doubted that churches are prepared to meet the challenge of youth "in relating to the moral judgments bound up in the ambiguities and complexities of modern society."

Since students are showing readiness for this task, said Dr. Viehman, "our own readiness as churchmen is being tested." And as another fall term is with us, Mr. Bloy succinctly sums up the challenge: "The task of imagination we face is immense." ■

"The Revolutionary Power in The Gospel May Well Be Our Final, Only Hope . . ."

Hope In The Quest For Economic Justice

by Andrew Young

The Liturgical Week program at Milwaukee, reported on the previous page, was marked by a number of significant addresses, among them one by Andrew J. Young, Executive Vice-President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. A condensation of his presentation follows.

YOU called on a pretty hopeless brother to talk about signs of hope in the quest for a more equitable distribution of wealth and the world's resources. The more I began to reflect on what's really going on in this world—frankly, the more discouraged I got. But I've been looking for just those few little candles and sparkles of light in the midst of what seems to be a very dark situation. And while I have no particular hope at present, for some strange reson beyond my earthly hope, beyond my understanding and my own resources, there is somehow a confidence and a hope that comes from God which makes it possible to go on.

Quickly, let me see if I can get you just about as discouraged as I am. In 1950, the poor were 60 per cent of the world's population and received 13.2 per cent of the world's income. In 1964, the poor were down to 11.1 per cent of income. In 1950, the rich were 40 per cent—receiving 86.8 per cent of the world's income. In 1964, they control even more—88.9 per cent. Whether you look at home or abroad the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. It's enough to make you ask the question—Is the earth really the Lord's and the fullness thereof? Because when I look around the world it seems as though it belongs to the Rockefellers and not to the people of God.

The statistics that I just called off could be multiplied and reaffirmed in terms of the birth rate, in terms of health services, in terms of educational opportunities — almost any category you want to choose. All of us as Americans have to think of ourselves as the rich of the world when we're looking at the world situation.

But black folks still seem to be living in a different era from most Americans. We're reentering the 1870's rather than the 1970's. You know, we were almost free once. After the Civil War we did get the right to vote. We took over County Court Houses across the south, half of the state legislature in South Carolina. We did have a senator in Mississippi who was black. Yet in a matter of ten short years we were run out of politics — almost the same way we're being run out now. The civil rights act passed in 1875 was better, on its face, than the civil rights act passed in 1964.

Stacking the Court

But a Supreme Court appointed by a Republican administration declared the act unconstitutional. There was a deal made in the 1870's between the rich Republicans and the racists of the South. The racists in the South got control of the politics and the niggers, and Republicans in the north got control of the money. That same kind of deal Nixon and Thurmond made last August. The South once again appoints the likes of Justice Haynsworth to the Supreme Court—shifting a balance of 5-4 that probably gave us blacks the only possible governmental chance for survival, because we could never count on the executive branch or the Congress very much. This stacking of the courts gives the South a new political power, protection of its racism by the Federal judiciary.

What you see here and around the world is a destruction of the forces of reason. The great statesman that united Nigeria and gave it its vision of being the greatest nation in Africa was assassinated. Colonels took over, men who, whatever their nationality, are notoriously devoid of statesmanship. (If there is anything worse than the generals, it is the colonels.) So tribal conflicts, which one suspects were instigated by oil interests, will keep a nation divided into Nigeria and Biafra and a people confused and, once confused, thereby controlled, thereby poor.

tion against nation. It's really rich against poor. It's really government not by national government but international policy determined by American corporations and their puppets. In a high-class way we're milking the economies of these other countries. In fact stealing from them the God-given resources that they possess. The American investments in Africa have brought a 23 per cent return. In Asia a 36 per cent return. In Latin America a 12 per cent return. And yet when I pick up Fortune magazine and look at the profits of the 500 top corporations in terms of the American operation very few if any of them reach 10 per cent.

The Communist Fizzle

There was once a hope that international communism would liberate the poor, bridge the gap between the haves and the have-nots. Yet all over Latin America, Communist parties are in fact working against revolution and radical social change. Those who have come, rather naively, to hope in Marxism and Leninism find themselves rudely awakened by the fact that even communism is enjoying a status of wealth. Communism wants to avoid not only war with the United States—but the risk of having to share the resources of the Communist world with any more Cubas.

Where do we go? Where is there any hope? I'd like to hope in the students, but I've seen two generations of students cop out over the civil rights movement. The students of the '60's—some 20,000 strong went to jail across the South, committed to patterns of radical direct action— as soon as those poverty program jobs came along traded their overalls for attache cases and went along with the Man. They, too, got hooked on a consumer economy and once you get in debt—once you get a charge account, put a down payment on an automobile or on a house, you can forget it. The giant consumer economy has even created a kind of consumer slavery amongst the affluent that makes them as controllable as the poor are controllable.

But every now and then there is a little candle in the garden. And I've seen one or two of those candles in the last few months. God knows how long they'll burn. The irony of this whole thing is that America, from top to bottom, is not as corrupt, vicious, murderous as its systems and its institutions would make it seem. Our government and corporations are being dominated by a few people who let greed and ignorance run their lives, who have so little vision that they can't see around the corner, much less the turn of the next decade. I've seen for the first time the possibility of an attack upon that power elite, which keeps us and most of the world confused and enslaved.

The Southern Picture

Mendel Rivers in South Carolina is one of the men who dominate our congressional committees, who sees to it that half of our Federal budget by virtue of congressional seniority goes into

foolishness and destructiveness. Yet it dawned on me that Mendel Rivers is elected from a congressional district that is 45 per cent black. If those black voters ever decide to vote, you may not have a revolution in America but you'll have a qualitative structural reform of the Congress which might liberate a good portion of that $80 billion war budget. If we could just liberate $20 billion of it a year we could probably, with our present technological capability, wipe out poverty here — and make a good start in becoming brothers to the Third World.

We could also un-elect Richard Russell from my home state of Georgia, who sends tremendous military contracts to Lockheed in Atlanta. You remember they recently got a $3.1 billion contract to build 120 C58 transports—and then all of a sudden the cost grew to $5 billion in some unexplained way. Also remember that the poor people in Mississippi and in the child's development group of Mississippi had their government

(Continued on page 11)

"Whether We Like It or Not, This Is Not a Time of Upbuilding, But of Tearing Down . . .!"

by Robert McAfee Brown

Theologian Robert McAfee Brown was the opening keynoter at Liturgical Week's Celebration of Hope, at Milwaukee late last August. Professor of Religion at Stanford University, Dr. Brown has been so well received by students that for the last three years he has been selected by popular vote of the seniors to address them at Commencement time. What follows is substantially the full text of his address.)

ET me direct your attention to a great Christian of our era, whose life and thought and death say a great deal about a backdrop of hope for our time. This is the German Lutheran, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who was killed by the Gestapo after two years in prison for his part in the plot against Hitler's life. I turn to him not as one extolling the Bonhoeffer cult, not as one who is a death-of-God theologian, and particularly not as one who believes that Bonhoeffer can be made into a death-of-God theologian, a piece of theological sleight-of-hand I deplore. Rather, I turn to Bonhoeffer because there is a strain in his writings that is peculiarly *a propos* of the theme "The Celebration of Man's Hope."

Actually, it is not so much *to* Bonhoeffer we go as *through* Bonhoeffer to another individual who lived in troubled times and who, in the midst of the destruction of all he saw around him, was nevertheless able to hope. It is because he could hope that Bonhoeffer was able to hope, and it is because Bonhoeffer was able to hope that perhaps we can also. This lonely individual was the prophet Jeremiah, and the portion of his writings on which I want to concentrate is a short chapter, Jeremiah 45, the portion of Scripture to which Bonhoeffer refers most frequently in his *Letters and Papers from Prison*, and the one from which he drew most sustenance.

Typical of his use of this passage is the following excerpt from "Thoughts on the Baptism of D.W.R.", Bonhoeffer's godson, written in May 1944, but it could surely have been penned in America in 1969:

"We have learned that it is impossible to plan even for one day ahead, that all our work may be destroyed overnight, and that our life, compared with our parents', has become formless and fragmentary. Despite everything, however, I can only say that I should have chosen not to live in any other age than our own, though it is so regardless of our external fortunes. Never have we realized, as we do today, how the world lies under the wrath and grace of God. . . . If the Creator destroys his own handiwork, what right have we to lament over the destruction of ours?"

The context of Jeremiah 45, shows the prophet to have been in hot water for some time, and Baruch, his secretary or helper, has just about had it. Baruch is naturally disturbed when attempts are made on the life of Jeremiah, and when they are both subjected to whatever is the Jewish equivalent of being ridden out of town on a rail. Finally, he sends up the lament that forms the first step in our sequence: "Woe is me! for the Lord has added sorrow to my pain: I am weary with my groaning, and I find no rest." (45:3)

WHO of us, if he is honest, can deny that this is the mood in which we live most of the time these days? If hope is a word for our day, it must be a word that senses the depths of discouragement, if not despair, that are the hallmark of our common experience.

Does not the person with black skin feel this? Does not the white liberal (that most odious of all creatures), beset from both left and right and gradually squeezed dry of vitality and initiative, feel this? Can the priest or pastor, whose parish council or board has just told him to cool it on Vietnam or racism or the ghetto, fail to identify with Baruch? Does not even the non-militant black feel despair when he reads about the new Nixon appointee to the Supreme Court? Does not the 18-year-old confronting the draft feel desolation when he hears his President refer to the war in Vietnam as "one of America's finest hours"?

But even at this low point let us note that it always seems to be in the context of a low point, against this sort of backdrop, that hope is born. Jurgen Moltmann reminds us, "The believer is not set at the high noon of life, but at the dawn of a new day at the point where night and day, things passing and things to come, grapple with each other." (Theology of Hope, p. 31) And Paul prefaces one of his most triumphant and hopeful passages, the beginning of Second Corinthians, with a description of the grave affliction he experienced in Asia. "I was utterly, unbearably crushed that I despaired of life itself. Why, I felt that I had received the sentence of death. . . ."

Only on these unsentimental terms, are we candidates for hope.

How do Baruch and Jeremiah become "candidates for hope"? Not in any very obvious way, particularly at first. Baruch gets his reply, in three parts, the first of them surprising, the second discouraging, and the third at least minimally hopeful. Let's follow that sequence.

The first *surprising* part of the response, had a very special meaning for Bonhoeffer, and can have a similar meaning for us. For to Baruch's complaint that things are tough, Yahweh replies, "Behold, what I have built I am breaking down, and what I have planted I am plucking up—that is, the whole land." (45.4) The surprising word Baruch gets through Jeremiah is that Jahweh himself is going through a time of tribulation, that his own plans for his earth are having to be drastically altered, that man has so despoiled crea-

tion, has let it get so out of hand and so far astray from its original purposes, that it must be broken down before it can be lifted up again.

Clearly it grieves Yahweh that it has come to this. To Baruch, therefore, he can only say in effect, "You are having a hard time seeing your dreams die? Well, so am I. I had a different dream for my world and my children. But that dream cannot, for the moment, be realized. So just as your plans are being destroyed, so are mine. Before they can be resumed, there must be a breaking down."

THOSE were the terms in which Bonhoeffer saw what was happening in Europe in the 1940's. Evil had become so rampant, and the hopes and plans of God for his children so distorted, that before there could be further creativity, there must be destruction. God himself was having to participate in it, the Bonhoeffer, to do the bidding of God, must share in that time of destructiveness, namely help to bring about the end of Hitler.

Are we entitled to put any other reading on our own era? The more I reflect upon the times through which we are living, the more I am convinced that Jeremiah's time and Bonhoeffer's time and our own time are remarkably similar. It is our lot to be cast in a particularly painful period of world history, painful to God as well as to us, and through it all God is striving to work out his purposes, weaving into his designs the terrible mistakes we make.

Yet from the beginning Baruch makes the important discovery that he is not alone in his tribulation. God himself enters into it and shares it. We see in this passage some parallel of what Christian imagery has tried to evoke in the picture of the crucifixion; namely, that God identifies with all that is most devastating in his own creation, that he does not exempt himself from the suffering that is the lot of his children, that God too experiences the pain of dreams deferred and rudely challenged. From all of which Bonhoeffer draws a strange but powerful kind of consolation: *"If the Creator destroys his own handiwork, what right have we to lament over the destruction of ours?"*

After that surprising word, Jahweh speaks a further word to Baruch, and this time it is a discouraging word. Having reminded Baruch that he, Yahweh, experiences weariness and pain, he then goes on, "And do you seek great things for yourself? seek them not; for, behold, I am bringing evil upon all flesh." (45:5a)

Talk about a letdown! Yahweh answers Baruch's plea for a respite with the words, "You think things are tough now? Just wait. They will get worse. The time of plucking up, of breaking down, of destroying and overthrowing, is not yet over."

This, too, is a theme Jeremiah has expressed elsewhere. Earlier in the book we find the interesting but discouraging question, "If you have raced with men on foot, and they have wearied you, how will you compete with horses?" (12:5) For which we can write infinite variations. One could be, "Having trouble with racial unrest in the States? Wait till you confront the Third World." The word for Americans in our era is just this word of Yahweh to Baruch—that we are not about at the end of the dark tunnel, that a release from our troubles is not just around the corner, and that tough times will not only continue but get tougher. Any notion that universities are about to return to placid untroubled existence is clearly fatuous. Any lingering hope that if we can just escape from the dilemma of Vietnam we'll have our foreign policy in good shape is unrealistic in the extreme.

WHETHER we like it or not, this is not the time of upbuilding but of tearing down, and the process is not yet complete. Tearing down racist mentalities; uprooting notions of white supremacy in international affairs; tearing down exploitive economic systems; uprooting the notion of business as usual; tearing down antiquated ecclesiastical structures; uprooting priorities that insist that the moon's dust is more important than the earth's people—this kind of attitude describes Jeremiah's Palestine, Bonhoeffer's Europe, our America.

That's the discouraging word, and a very discouraging word it is, indeed. (Let me add, parenthetically, that a time of tearing down can be accomplished by ballots as well as bullets, and by politics as well as persecutions. Let us keep our options as wide as possible.)

There is a final word in the sequence, a hopeful one. It is the word that kept Bonhoeffer going in the midst of otherwise totally discouraging circumstances, and it provides the beginning of a stance of hope, once we face our situation with all the stern realism that the rest of the chapter demands. After reminding Baruch not to seek great things for himself, Yahweh goes on, "But I will give you your life as a prize of war in all places to which you may go." (45:5b)

There is some difficulty with the translation of this verse, as the commentators make clear, but at least this much is being said to Baruch, that whatever happens to him, or wherever he is sent, his life will be spared. As John Bright says: "One suspects that it (the "prize of war" imagery) originated in the army. Victorious soldiers customarily brought home the booty they had seized; one can imagine that a soldier, returning after a defeat from which he had barely escaped alive, might, when asked where his share of the booty was, have replied ironically that his life was all the booty that he could bring away. . . ." (*Jeremiah*, Anchor Bible series, p. 185)

Perhaps that sounds like "cold comfort," as Bright, indeed, remarks. But one cannot over-estimate its importance to Bonhoeffer, and the passage is crucial in understanding how he maintained hope in the midst of the despair of prison life. Throughout most of his letters, Bonhoeffer expresses hope and confidence that he will soon be released, that his life will be spared, given him as a prize of war in all places to which he might go.

One has to point out that Bonhoeffer was wrong. His life was not spared. But one also has to point out, that for the latter portion of his imprisonment, Bonhoeffer knew that his life would not be spared. Yet his genuine serenity was never greater than after he knew the jig was up. He writes on the day after the plot failed:

"It is only by living completely in this world that one learns to have faith. One must completely abandon any attempt to make something of oneself. . . . By this-worldliness I mean living unreservedly in life's duties, problems, successes and failures, experiences and perplexities. In so doing we throw ourselves completely into the arms of God, taking seriously, not our own sufferings, but those of God in the world—watching with Christ in Gethsemane. That, I think, is faith, that is metanoia (repentance); and that is how one becomes a man and a Christian. (cf. Jeremiah 45). How can success make us arrogant, or failure lead us astray, when we share in God's sufferings through a life of this kind?"

WHAT is being said to us through Yahweh's promise to Baruch, and through Bonhoeffer's own appropriation of that promise, even if in the literal sense it was denied him, is this: *You have a future.* You can bank on that. Things are going to get tougher, yes, but you can be there to respond to whatever happens. You are not left by yourself in that tough future, because what you are going through God, too, is going through, and he is there also. The final word isn't bleakness but promise.

Recall a sequence from early in the book of Jeremiah on how God was working: "To pluck up and to break down, and to destroy, and to overthrow, to build, and to plant." To build and to plant! That too will come. You may not be around then, and for you it may be only to live during the period of destruction. But even during the destruction, you will have your life as a prize of war. You will be there as long as you are needed, until your particular contribution has been made. Maybe your own contribution will be to fail, in such a way that someone else does not. But for even that you can be grateful. There is an unexpected confirmation of this attitude in the writings of Erich Fromm, who in his new book on *The Revolution of Hope* comments, "To hope means to be ready at every moment for that which is not yet born, and yet not become desperate if there is no birth in our lifetime." (p. 9)

But I'm not willing to stop at that point, and in other portions of his life Jeremiah wasn't either. When things finally did go to pieces, and the Jews were deported to Babylon where they had no reason to hope for anything at all in the future, Jeremiah wrote a remarkable letter, preserved now in the 29th chapter of the book. My own awareness of the poignancy and relevance of this letter came to me almost a decade ago when I spent a week in East Berlin, behind the Iron Curtain, just before the wall went up. I was at a conference of East German Christians who were consigned to live under a very anti-Christian regime, and for whom at that time there were always reasonable possibilities of escape into West Germany through Berlin. But the ones we were meeting with had decided to stay, in the midst of a situation at least as bleak as that of the Jews in Babylon in Jeremiah's time. And as I tried to discover why they did, I found them referring again and again to Jeremiah 29. What could the Jews do in a hostile environment thousands of miles from home? Jeremiah writes to them:

"Build houses and live in them; plant gardens and eat their produce; take wives and have sons and daughters. . . . Seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile, and pray to the Lord on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare." (29:6-8)

Grim words to a Jew in Babylon, or to a Christian in East Germany. And yet, strangely hopeful words as well, to us as well as to them. For they say that we can affirm, even during a destructive time. We can—we must—not only cry, but also laugh; not only be long-faced but also joyful; not only take grimly realistic glances at the future but also celebrate the present; not

only fear, but also love—even in a time of tearing down. Jeremiah made his own symbolic gesture: just at the time when the future was bleakest, and his own life was in jeopardy, he bought a piece of real estate in his old home town. By that act he was affirming that there was a future, that one is never entitled simply to throw in the sponge, but continues to plan and build.

In the letter we are considering, Jeremiah goes on to promise the exiles that in seventy years Yahweh will visit them. And although seventy years is considerably longer than the remaining life-expectancy of those to whom the letter was addressed, they are to live in the light of that promise. He concludes with the words, "For I know the plans I have for you, says the Lord, plans for welfare and not for evil, to give you a future and a hope." (29:11)

That is the ultimate word that emerges for us. It would be a curiously sentimental hope if it were not heard against the backdrop for hope that Jeremiah has already sketched. It must be heard with all that we hear in the sequence preceding it. Baruch's lament, "Woe is me," and Yahweh's three-fold response, "What I have built up I am breaking. . . . Seek not great things for yourself. . . . But I will give you life. . . ." As we live through the destruction that is a part of our lifetimes, whether of our nation, or our church, or our own protected futures, we can do so believing that out of it all will come what Jeremiah calls "a future and a hope," and we can align ourselves with those movements and tendencies most indicative, even now, of the direction of that future and that hope.

BRAVE words! But I must go on to indicate how, for me, liturgy pulls these ideas together and gives them an immediacy that might otherwise be lost.

We need to recall the roots of the word. *Leitourgia* simply combines the Greek words *laos* and *ergos*, "People" and "work", and thus means simply "The people's work," "the work that people do" wherever they are. And it is a linguistic tragedy of the first order that the word liturgy *has come by us to be associated exclusively with "the work that people do . . ." in church.* Liturgy is whatever we do wherever we are. Liturgy is playing centerfield in Candlestick Park, praying in a darkened chapel, negotiating on behalf of farm workers, receiving communion, making love, writing examinations, correcting examinations, consoling the sick, fulfilling jury duty, singing praise, washing diapers, checking footnotes, reading Holy Scripture, reading *Playboy*. Liturgy, properly understood, describes the wholeness, the oneness, the indissolubility of all life. So if it can be improperly understood as an escape, it can also be properly understood as what ties life together and makes it all of a piece.

The point at which the two liturgies, the two kinds of work—what we do before the altar of human service and before the altar of the Lord—are inextricably joined, is the Eucharist. For no matter how carefully we try to insulate ourselves from the world outside—by thick church walls that hush the sound of traffic, or stained glass windows that obscure factory smokestacks, or the social mores that dictate that we wear "Sunday clothes" rather than ordinary clothes to church—we really can't maintain that kind of evasion when we come to the Lord's table. For here God's presence is not communicated through so-called "spiritual" media, but through the very most earthly stuff of our human existence—food and drink, bread and wine, the staples of our common everyday life.

Yes, the bread stands for Christ, but it is bread that also stands for farming, tractors, trucks, granaries, railroads, parity, distribution centers, supermarkets, farm subsidies, congressional bills. It takes all that to get us bread, and it is *through* all that, not despite it, but through it, that Christ confronts us. Only by means of the so-called secular are we confronted by the so-called sacred, and thereby shown, at the very heart of our faith, that the distinction is invalid.

THE Eucharist then becomes the vehicle of hope for the Christian, not a retreat from life. It is the dramatized description of life that is truly understood. We do not have a cheap hope fashioned out of what Mark Twain once scornfully referred to as "the calm confidence of a Christian with four aces," for the Eucharist reminds us that the body we remember was a broken body, that the life to which we are called of which blood is the symbol, is a life poured out, poured out not in a holy place, but on the city dump heap, poured out not on behalf of a "religious principle" but on behalf of the destitute of this world, in events that were all tied up with treachery by a close friend, a stacked trial, a cruel death. There, strangely, is the source of our hope, our entrance ticket into a future of hope, standing with Baruch, Jeremiah, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Dan Berrigan, Bill Coffin, James Groppi, Cesar Chavez, and a host of witnesses, whose lives tell us that even out of the worst that we can do to them, God can fashion his best for them, and for us. ■

"For The Soul, Home Is Where Prayer Is"

by Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel

One of the most moving moments of Liturgical Week in Milwaukee was the occasion of the address by Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel, distinguished Jewish theologian, scholar, teacher and author. With the following excerpts, TEMPO hopes that readers will capture much of the wisdom and beauty of his thoughts on the renewing power of prayer.

PUBLIC worship is an act of the highest importance. However, it tends in our day to become a spectacle, in which the congregation remains passive, inert spectators. But prayer is action, it requires complete mobilization of heart, mind, and soul. What is the worth of attending public worship when mind and soul are not involved? Renewal of liturgy involves renewal of prayer.

There is, in addition, a malady indigenous, or congenital, to liturgy.

Liturgy as an act of prayer is an outcome and distillation of the inner life. Although its purpose is to exalt the life which engenders it, it harbors a tendency to follow a direction and rhythm of its own, independent of and divorced from the energies of life which brought prayer into being. At the beginning, liturgy is intimately related to the life which calls it into being. But as liturgy unfolds, it enters a state of stubborn disconnection, even into a state of opposition. Liturgy is bound to become rigid, to stand by itself, and to take on a measure of imperviousness. It tends to become timeless, transpersonal, liturgy for the sake of liturgy. Personal presence is replaced by mere attendance; instead of erecting a sanctuary of time in the realm of the soul, it attracts masses of people to a sanctuary in the realm of space.

I PLEAD for primacy of prayer in our inner existence. The test of authentic theology is the degree to which it reflects and enhances the power of prayer, the way of worship . . . God is hiding, and man is defying. Every moment God is creating and self-concealing.

Prayer is disclosing or at least preventing irreversible concealing. God is ensconced in mystery, hidden in the depths. Prayer is pleading with God to come out of the depths.

Prayer as an episode, as a cursory incident, will not establish a home in the land of oblivion. Prayer must pervade as a climate of living, and all our acts must be carried out as variations on the theme of prayer. A deed of charity, an act of kindness, a ritual moment, it is prayer in the form of a deed.

All things have a home, the bird has a nest, the fox has a hole, the bee has a hive. A soul without prayer is a soul without a home. Weary, sobbing, the soul after roving, roaming through a world pestered with aimlessness, falsehoods, absurdities, seeks a moment in which to gather up its scattered trivialized life, in which to divest itself of enforced pretensions and camouflage, in which to simplify complexities, in which to call for help without being a coward — such a home is prayer. Continuity, permanence, intimacy, authenticity, earnestness are its attributes. For the soul, home is where prayer is.

Everybody must build his own home; everybody must guard the independence and the privacy of his prayers. It is the source of security for the integrity of conscience, for whatever inkling we attain of eternity.

At home I have a father who judges and cares, who has regard for me, and when I fail and go astray, misses me. I will never give up my home.

What is a soul without prayer? A soul runaway or a soul evicted from its own home.

How marvellous is my home. I enter as a suppliant and emerge as a witness; I enter as a stranger and emerge as next of kin. I may enter spiritually shapeless, inwardly disfigured, and emerge wholly changed. It is in moments of prayer that my image is forged, that my striving is fashioned.

To understand the world you must love your home. It is difficult to perceive luminosity anywhere, if there is no light in my own home. It is in the light of prayer's radiance that I find my way even in the dark. It is prayer that illumines my way.

PRAYER serves many aims. It serves to save the inward life from oblivion. It serves to alleviate anguish. It serves to partake of God's mysterious grace and guidance. Yet, ultimately prayer must not be experienced as an act for the sake of something else. We pray in order to pray.

Prayer is a perspective from which to be hold, from which to respond to, the challenges we face. Man in prayer does not seek to impose his will upon God; he seeks to impose God's will and mercy upon himself.

To pray is to open a door, where both God and soul may enter. Prayer is arrival, for Him and for us. To pray is to overcome distance, to shatter screens, to render straight obliquities, to heal the break between God and the world. A dreadful oblivion prevails in the world. The world has forgotten what it means to be human. The gap is widening, the abyss is within the self.

Though often I do not know how to pray, I can say: Redeem us from the agony of not knowing what to strive for, from the agony of not knowing how my inner life is falling apart.

A candle of the Lord is the soul of man, but the soul can become a holocaust, a fury, a range.

The only cure is to discover that over and above the anonymous stillness in the world there is a Name and a waiting.

Many young people suffer from a fear of the self. They do not feel at home in their own selves. The inner life is a place of dereliction, a no man's land, inconsolate, weird. The self has become a place to run away from. The use of narcotic drugs is a search for a home.

Human distress, wretchedness, agony, is a signal of a universal distress. It is a sign of human misery, it also proclaims a divine predicament. God's mercy is too great to permit the innocent to suffer. There are forces that interfere with God's mercy, with God's power.

I pray because God, the Shekinah, is an outcast, I pray because God is in exile, because we all conspire to blur all signs of this presence in the present or in the past. I pray because I refuse to despair, because extreme denials and defiance are refuted in the confrontation of my own presumption and the mystery all around me. I pray because I am unable to pray.

And suddenly I am forced to do what I seem unable to do. Even callousness to the mystery is not immortal. There are moments when the clamor of all sirens dies, presumption is depleted, and even the bricks in the walls are waiting for a song.

The door is closed, the key is lost. Yet the new sadness of my soul is about to open the door.

Some souls are born with a scar, others are endowed with anesthesia. Satisfaction with the world is base and the basic callousness. The remedy to absurdity is still to be revealed. The irreconcilable opposites which agonize human existence are the outcry, the prayer. Every one of us is a cantor, everyone of us is called to intone a song, to put into prayer the anguish of all.

God is in captivity in this world, in the oblivion of our lives. God is in search of man, in search of a home in the soul and deeds of man. God is not at home in our world. Our task is to hallow time, to enable Him to enter our moments, to be at home in our time, in what we do with time. . . .

THE hour calls for a revision of fundamental religious concerns. The wall of separation between the sacred and the secular has become a wall of separation between the conscience and God. In the Pentateuch, the relation of man to things of space, to money, to property is a fundamental religious problem. In the affluent society sins committed with money may be as grievous as sins committed with our tongue. We will give account for what we have done.

Religion as an establishment must remain separated from the government. Yet prayer as a voice of mercy, as a cry for justice, as a plea for gentleness, must not be kept apart. Let the spirit of prayer dominate the world. Let the spirit of prayer interfere in the affairs of man. Prayer is private, a service of the heart, but let concern and compassion, born out of prayer, dominate public life.

THE predicament of prayer is that not only do we not know how to pray; we do not know what to pray for.

We have lost the ability to be shocked.

The malignity of our situation is increasing rapidly, spreading furiously, the magnitude of evil, surpassing our ability to be shocked. The human soul is too limited to experience dismay in proportion to what has happened in Auschwitz, in Hiroshima, for example.

It is with shame and anguish that I recall that it was possible for a Roman Catholic Church adjoining the extermination camp in Auschwitz to offer communion to the officers of the camp, to people who day after day drove thousands of people to be killed in the gas-chambers.

PRAYER is meaningless unless it is subversive, unless it seeks to overthrow and to ruin the pyramids of callousness, hatred, opportunism, falsehoods.

The liturgical movement must become a revolutionary movement, seeking to overthrow the forces that continue to destroy the promise, the hope, the vision.

Dark is the world to me, for all its cities and stars. If not for my faith that God in His silence still listens to a cry, who could stand such agony?

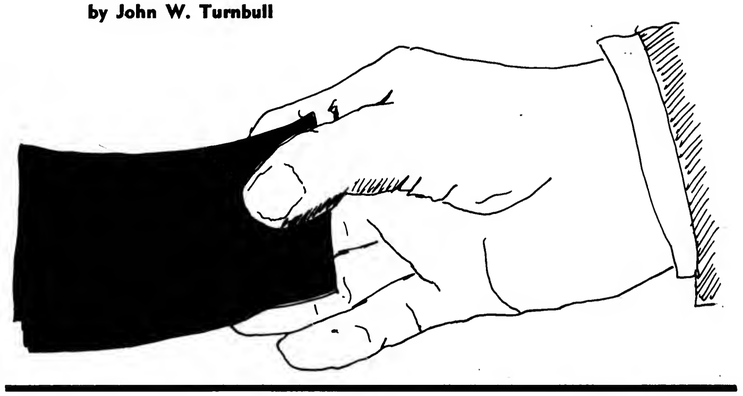
The strength of faith is in silence, and in words that hibernate and wait. Uttered faith must

(Continued on page 11)

WASHINGTON COMMENT

TAX REFORM THIS YEAR?

by John W. Turnbull



THE Senate Finance Committee is presently holding hearings on the Tax Reform Act of 1969, overwhelmingly approved (394-30) by the House on August 7. The Committee is under orders from the Senate Democratic leadership to report a bill out by October 31, and the official hope is to have what has been called the most comprehensive tax reform bill in history enacted by the end of the year.

But the measure is not sailing as smoothly as its proponents had hoped. The main difficulties are two.

Partisan Battles

First, the Administration, represented by Treasury Secretary David Kennedy's testimony on September 4, is advocating significant changes in the House-passed bill, one of whose major effects would be to shave $9.5 billion off the tax savings for individuals which the House version would provide. The Administration's stance threatens to bring to life again the partisan battles which earlier in the year had jeopardized the whole movement toward reform. Although officially committed, like the Democratic Congressional leadership, to passage of a bill this year, the Administration is apparently quietly agreeing with some Senate Republicans who think the Democrats are pushing too fast.

In this connection it must be remembered that the proportions of the House vote were deceptive for at least a couple of reasons. First, the bill was reported to the floor under a rule which permitted no amendments; a member therefore had to vote simply Yea or Nay on the whole package, a circumstance which obscured the many particular reservations which various members might have about the measure.

This situation will of course not prevail in the Senate, where the free-wheeling rules of debate and amendment make it impossible for any bill to sail through unscathed, or indeed to sail through at all, unless major differences have been pretty well reconciled in advance. (In the House, the only substantial bloc of members whose principles or whatever were strong enough to move them to vote against the whole bill were from the oil-producing states adversely affected by the reduction in the oil-depletion allowance: 23 of the 30 negative votes were cast by members from Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana.)

Second, House passage was the direct result of a bargain on the surtax extension between the Administration and Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee. It does not now appear that the Senate leadership has any comparable bargaining counter to enlist Administration backing. (Nor, it might be added, does it have a spokesman on this issue who has the political clout of Mr. Mills.)

Public Pressure

The smooth passage of the bill is also put in doubt by a second circumstance: the force of public opinion favoring tax reform, and especially reduction for low- and middle-income taxpayers, is, for the moment at least, being felt less strongly than the various pressures for change in the details of the bill. Witnesses before the Senate Finance Committee will number well in the hundreds before its hearings have finished; the testimony presented on just one recent day filled 350 pages. Whatever the Finance Committee finally reports out will certainly contain important differences from the House version and doubtless be amended still further on the floor; and whatever passes will then still have to run the gauntlet of a Senate-House conference, final passage by both houses, and Presidential approval. At every stage along the way there is ample opportunity for the loss of the momentum behind the bill, the eroding away of its impact, and the consolidation of various elements of opposition to it.

On September 19, the Finance Committee voted to split off the provision repealing the seven per cent investment tax credit for businesses from the rest of the measure and send it to the floor separately. This move is regarded as weakening the chances for quick passage of the whole bill, and is illustrative of the danger that interest in buying the whole package may be diminished by the separate availability of smaller parts of it.

In short, tax reform is very much alive and perhaps even well enough to survive the ministrations of all the doctors attending it. But the glowing reports that were being issued in August should now be read with a somewhat more critical eye.

Taxes and Social Policy

To most of U.S. average taxpayers, most of the time, tax policy looks like a giant conspiracy by the Government to relieve us of as much of our money as possible for its own nefarious purposes. It is, of course, perfectly true that American citizens are now being taxed at rates that would have driven our forebears to insurrection or worse, and the most attractive feature of the present tax reform is its promise to relieve some of that burden, particularly from those least able to bear it, and to plug the loopholes through which others have been able to avoid bearing their equitable share.

Nevertheless, taxation is not simply a matter of give-and-take between the Internal Revenue Service and John Q. Citizen; it is also a means, and an increasingly powerful one, by which society allocates its resources, encourages some activities and discourages others, embodies its ideas of fairness and importance. The Irish Parliament, for example, is now seriously considering a measure which would encourage the growth of the arts by exempting writers and other creative artists from any taxes on the income from their books, paintings, musical compositions, and the like.

The provisions of the tax bill respecting tax-exempt organizations and charitable contributions are being examined with respect to their broad social effect as well as in relation to the interests of the individuals and organizations most directly involved. As written, for example, the regulations governing tax-exempt private foundations would serve not only to prevent their use as illegitimate tax shelters but also to inhibit their activities in some of their most useful areas of operation. Thus the NCC (in a resolution adopted by the General Board on September 12 and testimony offered on September 17) has joined with other organizations in opposing provisions of the bill that would restrict the activities of foundations in supporting non-partisan voter registration drives and in conducting studies which might influence legislation. The bill's language on these points is so difficult to interpret, and the penalties assessed for its violation so severe, that as written it could result not just in the correction of acknowledged abuses, but in the withdrawal of foundations from a wide variety of activities in the fear that they might be running afoul of the restrictions.

So also the tax treatment of an individual's contributions to churches and other charitable organizations has been criticized by the NCC and others as not only closing loopholes, especially for persons with large incomes, but also substantially reducing the incentive to private philanthropy.

An Understandable Law

A final — indeed perhaps almost the first — desideratum of any tax law is that it should be simple enough so that, in the words of the General Board resolution, "it is no longer a mystery known only to the experts, but a plain formula understandable to the average citizen." Our tax law suffers enormously on this score by comparison with almost any other in the world, and the 1969 reforms do not improve the situation notably. The Byzantine complexities of tax law benefit no one except the tax lawyers who make their living from its exegesis, and result in costs to the individual or corporate taxpayer, both in time and in hard cash, that effectively add considerably to his already heavy tax burden.

Next to the high cost of food, Americans list high taxes as the most severe pressure on their pocketbooks. The reform of the tax structure, particularly if it brings noticeable tax relief to a substantial number of people, will be of great political advantage to whoever can claim credit for it. That fact, of course, makes it an especially tricky political issue. The pressures and counter-pressures that such an issue generates are perhaps just beginning to be felt, and their final resolution will largely determine what, if any, tax reform we get this year—or any other. ■

it says here . . .

JUSTICE DEPT. STUDYING CHICAGO PRESBYTERY VINDICATION OF FRY

CHICAGO — Senator John McClellan (D.-Ark.) stated on Sept. 22 that the U.S. Justice Department is "giving its attention" to a 227-page report from the Presbytery of Chicago which exonerates the Rev. John Fry of charges brought against him in testimony last year before the Senate Investigating Subcommittee of which the senator is chairman.

Mr. Fry, minister of First Presbyterian Church here, who worked with the Blackstone Rangers, a black youth organization, testified in favor of continuing OEO funds for such work, although his own projects with the Rangers had been funded through private sources.

Charges made before the McClellan Committee by a former Blackstone Ranger, Mrs. Annabelle Martin, and Capt. Edward Buckney, head of the Gang Intelligence Unit of the Chicago Police Department, included incidents of immoral, illegal and improper conduct in connection with Mr. Fry's work with the Rangers.

On Sept. 16, the Chicago Presbytery adopted as its own the findings of its special investigating committee report vindicating Mr. Fry, as well as church staff member Ann Schwalbach and Charles LaPaglia of the McClellan committee's charges. Their investigation represented a year-long study of a nine-member committee, appointed by the Presbytery, chaired by Dr. Lloyd M. Cooke, an officer of Union Carbide Corp., a Presbyterian layman.

More than 26 witnesses were called and affadavits obtained from 26 other witnesses. All testimony was tape-recorded and a complete transcript of the proceedings made by a court reporter. This material was then forwarded to Sen. McClellan.

In a recent editorial, the Chicago **Daily News** declared that the community should apologize to Mr. Fry for scorning his work with the Rangers, and asked that a Federal Grand Jury probe the testimony before the McClellan committee for perjury.

Despite all the publicity, First Presbyterian Church has continued to make its facilities available to the black youth group.

JOINT CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT FEDERATION SEEN POSSIBLE

INDIANAPOLIS — The possible creation of a joint Roman Catholic-Protestant national federation of churches is progressing on a new front, the Rev. David Bowman, S.J., declared in an interview during the recent meeting of the National Council's General Board in this city.

The first Roman Catholic priest to be named a fulltime member of the Council has been assigned by General Secretary Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy as his personal deputy to encourage Catholic membership in local and state Councils of Churches.

The first such action was taken by the Texas Council of Churches which, with the Texas Catholic Conference, formed the new Texas Conference of Churches last February. Other councils having combined membership are New Mexico, Nevada and Arizona, although they have no shared organization.

A grassroots movement, said Father Bowman, would stimulate similar action at the top level. He predicted that a common council could be created in about five years.

A joint committee of the NCC and the U.S. Catholic hierarchy will meet again on Oct. 24 in New York City, when the "state of the question" of joint membership will be on the agenda.

Recently, the fifth Roman Catholic clergyman joined the NCC staff. He is the Rev. Richard W. Rousseau, S.J., an assistant in the Department of Faith and Order.

CAIRO, ILL. LEADERS ASK CHURCH HELP

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The Rev. Charles Koen, director of the recently organized United Front to Save Cairo, and the Rev. Charles Koen, a member, told a press conference here that the situation in that Illinois city, where both sides are armed, threatens to break out in open racial warfare.

From the day last March when white vigilantes fired into a housing project in the Negro section of the city, tension between whites and blacks has been mounting, they said, to the point where appeals from several quarters have been made to Governor Richard C. Ogilvie to declare martial law. One such appeal was sent by the Department of Social Justice of the National Council of Churches.

Accompanying the two Cairo spokesmen was Miss Joyce Gilkey, a 23-year-old girl who is recovering from gunshot wounds in her head and hand. No arrests have been made in her case to date.

Seeking funds from the churches to provide legal services for those arrested in Cairo and in Springfield, the capital, Mr. Koen noted that incidents occur daily (and nightly) in which neither the police nor the FBI make any attempt to protect the black community.

In a city of some 9,000 people, where more than 44 per cent of whites and blacks exist on less than $3,000 a year, the causes of the economic "warfare" between the two must be alleviated before any hope of peace can come to Cairo, Mr. Koen told the press.

CHURCH WOMEN HEAR U.N. LEADER

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. — Miss Angie Brooks of Liberia, president of the U.N. General Assembly, is shown as she addressed the executive committee of Church Women United at United Nations headquarters. Looking on is Mrs. James M. Dobley of Cincinnati, president of the women's organization.

N.Y. CHURCH PLANS FOUNDATION TO AID MINORITIES AND POOR

NEW YORK, N.Y. — (RNS) — A Protestant congregation which shares the building of a neighboring Roman Catholic church has been asked to use its savings to establish a foundation benefitting the poor and minority groups.

Trustees of the Broadway United Church of Christ have called on the church to allocate up to $1.5 million for a foundation controlled entirely by members of minority groups.

The only influence the church would have in the foundation would be the selection of nine directors who would thereafter organize and administer the foundation. As the proposed plan now stands, the board of directors would be composed of "representatives of the groups to be served — poor persons, minority and youth groups." No member of the Broadway Church would be able to serve on the board.

The historic Protestant church voted last year not to spend further money on repairs and maintenance of its building, which no longer met the needs of the congregation. The nearby Catholic Church of St. Paul the Apostle offered its facilities to Broadway and has refused payment for their use.

FLEMMING SAYS NCC WILL ALWAYS BE CONTROVERSIAL

ST. LOUIS — If the National Council of Churches does the job it should be doing, it will always be a controversial organization, Dr. Arthur S. Flemming told members of six suburban churches here who had invited him to explain the Council's work.

"Some people will approve what the Council does and says and others will not like its actions and pronouncements," the National Council president told the group. "But Christianity will be strengthened because the NCC exists and speaks out."

Now president of Macalester College, Dr. Flemming served in the Eisenhower Administration as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

The speaker urged the churches to regard NCC policy statements as the basis for thorough discussion of the significant issues they deal with, rather than as statements binding upon the denominations and local churches.

Stating that the Council speaks out on many social issues and problems, including the Vietnam War, Dr. Flemming said that its basic purpose is evangelism in the broadest sense because "evangelism and social action are two aspects of the Christian Gospel and cannot be separated in any healthy presentation of the Gospel."

HOPE IN THE QUEST

(Continued from page 5)

Headstart contract revoked because of so-called fiscal irresponsibility. The $2 billion the Lockheed branch of the military establishment overspent on **one contract** was greater than the total amount of the poverty program in the United States from coast to coast.

People criticize the Southern Christian Leadership Conference by saying we're a southern organization; that we're afraid of the north and can't do anything in the cities. But we know where the problem in America lies and it still lies in the southeast. If you could ever get Lockheed to make subways and rapid transit systems instead of bombers you could solve most of the problems in the city. The main reason you can't get them to do that is because of the military mentality of those southern senators that dominate our Congress.

Unseating the "Unseatable"

We've seen that we can defeat this mentality. In Green County, Alabama, just a few weeks ago, black people showed the potential of taking over a county government. My prayer and my hope is that the 500 black nurses who recently won a strike in Mendel Rivers' district will devote the next two years of their lives trying to unseat him. You know we've never had a city anywhere in America where 500 people were committed to two years of consistent political activity. We can't give up on the system until we have at least fought it a little bit. These nurses finally saw the possibility of their own power in their own neighborhood. They watched the governor of the state of South Carolina go from being an oppressor (with his 1,500 National Guards) to a clown. Because they didn't curse the guard or throw bricks, but sang to them "who's making love to your old lady while you been out messing with us," refusing to hate, with their laughs and even love for their oppressors, for **one hundred and twenty days** they found a capacity for soul power they know to be revolutionary. They may make a revolution in the congressional district that will affect the status of the poor around the world.

We were able to get some enlightenment into brother Roger Blough of United States Steel, but only after we literally brought the economy of Birmingham to a halt. Frederick Douglass said a long time ago that this is a struggle to save black men's bodies and white men's souls. When the white poor and the black begin to really rear up and refuse to cooperate with the continued exploitation of the poor here and around the world —when they bring the economy to a sweeping halt, even for a minute—it's amazing how quick folk get religion.

The Lights Ahead

Perhaps there are many many candles—lit up people—but I know that their lives are as much in jeopardy as was Martin Luther King, or Bobby Kennedy or Tom Mboya. There has to be some political and economic action to keep them alive. We as a people in the eye of the dragon have to find a way to give them the kind of support that they need in order to survive.

Yet these are not the things that are concerning us. We've [illegible] developed a mood of rebellion—a mood of being hip and with it and swinging. Our whole concept of revolution and social change is something rather avant garde. We are much more concerned about radical images than relevant images. We rebel against the church more strongly than we rebel against the Fascist government. We rebel against the very liberties that we reaffirm and celebrate.

There's no need talking with Latin-American peasants, or black peasants for that matter, about any kind of Marxist idology or student revolutionary concept. If they don't understand the revolutionary content within the Gospel, they'll never understand anything. Even if you don't believe in it politically, just a sensible anthropology would be able to tell you that when you're dealing with the poor in the western hemisphere, it's a waste of time to fight the church—people's folk religion.

Soon one day—and I've heard that they're doing it already across Latin America—good, humble, poor Catholic women are going down to the town square with their madonnas—just like Cesar Chavez marched down California highways—reaffirming their faith in action. Literally celebrating their hope and their faith in God on the streets. This says that there's a revolutionary power in the Gospel which may well be our final and our only hope. Perhaps amid all of this darkness a chain of candles might come together that might light our way from one step to the next and lead us through this dark period to that day when the world's resources will be more adequately redistributed. ■

HOPE THROUGH RENEWAL

(Continued from page 8)

come out as surplus of silence, as the fruit of lived faith, of enduring intimacy.

PRAYER will not come about by default. It requires education, training, reflection, contemplation. It is not enough to join others; it is necessary to build a sanctuary within, brick by brick, instants of meditation, moments of devotion. This is particularly true at an age when overwhelming forces seem to conspire at destroying our ability to pray.

The relentless pursuit of our interests makes us oblivious of reality itself. Nothing we experience has value in itself; nothing counts unless it can be turned to our advantage, into a means for serving our self-interests.

The beginning of prayer is praise. The power of worship is song. First we sing, then we understand. First we praise, then we believe. Praise and song open eyes to the grandeur of reality that transcends the self. Song restores the soul; praise repairs spiritual deficiency.

While it is true that being human is gained and verified in relations between man and man, depth and authenticity of existence are disclosed in moments of worship.

Worship is more than paying homage. To worship is to join the cosmos in praising God. The whole cosmos, every living being sings, the Psalmists insist. Neither joy nor sorrow but song is the ground-plan of being. It is the quintessence of life. To praise is to call forth the promise and presence of the divine. We live for the sake of a song. We praise for the privilege of being.

"CHOOSE LIFE!" is the great legacy of the Hebrew Bible, and the cult of life is affirmed in contemporary theology. However, life is not a thing, static and final. Life means living, and in living you have to choose a road, direction, goals. Pragmatists who believed that life itself can provide us with the criteria for truth overlook the fact that inherent in life are also forces of suicide and destruction.

Just to be is a blessing. Just to live is holy. And yet, being alive is no answer to the problems of living. To be or not to be is **not** the question. The vital question is: how to be and how not to be?

The tendency to forget this vital question is the tragic disease of contemporary man, a disease that may prove fatal, that may end in disaster. To pray is **passionately** to recollect the perpetual urgency of this vital question.

Religious commitment is not just an ingredient of the social order, an adjunct or reinforcement of existence, but rather the heart and core of being human, its exultation, its verification being manifest in the social order, in daily deeds.

Religious existence is living in solidarity with God. Yet to maintain such solidarity involves knowing how to cross an abyss. Vested interests are more numerous than locusts, and of solidity of character there is only a smattering. Too much devotion is really too little. It is grave self-deception to assume that our destiny is to be just human. In order to be human, one must be more than human.

A person must never stand still. He must always rise, he must always climb. Be stronger than you are.

Well-trodden ways lead into swamps. There are no easy ways, there are no simple solutions. What comes easy is not worth a straw. It is a tragic error to assume that the world is flat, that our direction is horizontal. The way is always vertical. It is either up or down; we either climb or fall.

THE tragedy of our time is that we have moved out of the dimension of the holy, that we have abandoned the intimacy in which relationship to God can be patiently, honestly, persistently nourished. Intimate inner life is forsaken. Yet the soul can never remain a vacuum. It is either a vessel for grace or it is occupied by demons.

At first men sought mutual understanding by taking counsel with one another, but now we understand one another less and less. There is a gap between the generations. It will soon widen to be an abyss. The only bridge is to pray together, to consult God before seeking council with one another.

Prayer brings down the wall which we have erected between man and man, between man and God.

WE of this generation are afflicted with a severe case of dulling or loss of vision. Is it the result of our own intoxication or is it the result God's deliberate concealment of visible lights?

Spiritual memory of many people is empty, words are diluted, incentives exhausted, inspirations drained.

Is God to be blamed for all this?

Is it not man who has driven them out of our hearts and minds?

This is an age of spiritual blackout, a blackout of God. We have entered not only the dark night of the soul, but also the dark night of society. Together with our efforts to cure the ills of society, we must try to seek out a strong and deep truth of a living God theology in the midst of the Blackout.

For the darkness is neither final nor complete. Our power is [illegible] in waiting for the end of darkness, for the defeat of evil, and our power is also in coming upon single, isolated sparks and occasional ways, upon moments full of God's grace and radiance.

We are called to bring together the sparks to preserve and to keep alive in our lives the single moments of radiance, to defy absurdity and despair and to wait for God to say again: Let there be light. And there will be light. ■

'CRISIS' IN LITURGY

(Continued from page 2)

newal is a serious matter. Too serious in its implications to be guided by sentimentality, nostalgia, fire-and-brimstone theology or an other-age oriented bureaucracy. "Let go, Father."

Mr. Colainni, a Catholic layman, is Executive Director of the U.S. Liturgical Conference whose annual meeting is reported on elsewhere in this issue.

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IMPERFECT IN ORIGINAL

REVIEWING: "PARANOIA" with Carroll Baker and Lou Castel

SOMETIMES seeing a bad movie can be as worthwhile in its own way as seeing a good one. I don't mean a mediocre movie. I mean one that's *really* bad, by anybody's standards. Take *Paranoia* for example. Here is an Eastmancolor catastrophe that surely falls off the bottom of even the most tolerant reviewer's ten worst list. It is so awful you alternate between being sure it is all a put on and being sure it really is as terrible as it appears. In the end it seems clear, alas, that everybody involved in the movie, including Carroll Baker, really meant it.

Remember Carroll? We first saw her in a crib, spread out in colossal proportions over theatre marquees a decade ago, when she starred as *Baby Doll*, the thumb-sucking, retarded wife of a Southern planter. Now Carroll reclines in sunny Italy where, as she told a *New York Times* interviewer not long ago, the standards and work schedules are not as taxing. After *Paranoia* we can almost believe it, despite Fellini, Antonioni and the rest. Here is a hastily tacked together mishmash of ideas, images and techniques from a dozen recent films. An imp of double *deja vu* flutters over everything. Here are the pills from *Valley of the Dolls;* the story from *Hush, Hush Sweet Charlotte;* the shower scenes from a peck of recent losers (including feet clutching each other in the soap suds.) As for the predictable psychedelic scene in a mod-lit discotheque, it could have been lifted bodily from any one of twenty recent leering expose's of youth gone wild. Maybe it was. The violence is fairly restrained in comparison with our recent American gore flicks, but then the Italians are really not too good at that sort of thing, at least recently. Maybe they got their fill of it during the epoch of the Borgias. Still, so as

Harvey Cox

not to disappoint that segment of the balcony, we do watch one of Carroll's captor-paramours whip her with a belt and another toss her off a balcony.

Oh yes, the story. Well, you see, this beeootiful, black-clad blonde chick from America comes to Italy, see, because her billionaire husband has just died (cut in available color footage of Appian Way, Tiber, Rome skyline, jets landing, etc.) She has this soft-spoken, kindly Italian lawyer who puts her up at a lavish Italian villa staffed by a skinny, hard-eyed domestic right out of *Rebecca*. She's very lonely of course, because her dear husband has just died, and she drinks quite a bit of *J and B* from huge tumblers. Into her ennui comes an American college student, and later his "sister". They move in, teach Carroll all about the mod life, drop handfuls of pills in her booze and finally reduce her to an emaciated, trembling, screaming nut. They drive her mad, you see, so that they and the kindly lawyer, with whom they turn out to be in cahoots, can get her money. Their crazification program for Carroll includes keeping her bottle from her, spacing her out on drugs, blackmailing her with photos they have shot of her in severely compromising poses, playing the stereo *very loud,* getting her into bed with both of them, and transforming her villa into a Coney Island horror house (with the providential assistance of thunder and lighting storms that slam doors, swoosh curtains and touch off eerie effects designed to speed Carroll's collapse and eventual suicide). When poor, distracted, flipped-out Baby Doll Baker finally climbs out on the roof to take her last plunge, we almost feel relieved. At least, after several feeble and unsuccessful escape attempts, she has finally eluded her tormentors, and ours.

Paranoia would be bad enough if that was all one could say against it. Unfortunately it is also ineptly made. The English dubbing of the Italian actors is out of phase. The photography is sterile. The score sounds as though it was spun out by an aspiring Mantovani who wants to sound like Nino Rota: much organ, strings, rock, and of course spooky music during the scarey scenes and watch-out-get-ready music when something scarey is *going* to happen. To complete the editing we get the room going round and round whenever Carroll is about to faint (which happens quite a bit), and quick cuts from the visiting chick's eyes to cat's eyes. Sound familiar?

From the opening scenes of *Paranoia* we have the strange feeling that all of these people are acting oddly. They seem phoney somehow. At the end, of course, we find out that they all *are* phoney. The lawyer is not really trying to help Carroll settle her estate, he's trying to snatch it. The young visitors are not really trying to cheer her up, they're trying to destroy her. Even the dour domestic may have been in on the conspiracy: we never know. The trouble is that most people won't wait until the end to discover one of the reasons, among others, why these folks are all so out of focus. They'll leave first.

Or will they? The thing that really disturbs me about *Paranoia* is that I did sit through it, all of it. Admittedly I did not choose to go see it. It was the flip side of a double feature, and I wanted to see the first one. But I did stay. Why? Maybe because sex scenes and scarey scenes can still tittilate and terrify, at least to some extent, even when they are badly done. They have the power to stimulate and suck us in even when we are rightly disgusted with the moviemaker for his transparent pandering and annoyed at ourselves for letting it happen. Take the "erotic whirlpool" for which *Paronoia* is advertised. I was waiting, but it never whirled. Despite all the bare breasts and bottoms there was only one, very short, genuinely erotic scene in the film. In it the two perverse young guests are trying to lure Carroll away from the phone by kissing and caressing her: Sex used in a blatantly manipulative way, the moment where the cruelty, eroticism, sickness and destructiveness of the film all focus at once. Upon reflecting on it I am puzzled and disturbed that I found that scene intriguing, which is why I say bad movies can be worthwhile once in a while, if only to tell us things we might not really like to know about ourselves.

The implications are not wholly pleasant. We are told today, rightly I think, that we have been trained away from trusting our own feelings, that we are out of touch with ourselves. We are told to feel, emote, let it all hang out. On every hand we see what bills itself as a renaissance of feeling and emotional sensibility. Fine. But what happens when the entertainment media traffic on these newly released feelings and end up by trivializing them? What happens when we feel tricked, used, exploited, and worst of all, we know we have *allowed* ourselves to be taken in? Perhaps the answer is that the all-pervading fear, lust, and hatred — as well as the positive emotions that lurk in all of us — are more vulnerable and fragile than we ever thought. Without tradition, ritual, compassion and yes, even discipline, our present badly needed rebirth of feeling could be a disaster. Thanks, Baby Doll. You taught me something in spite of it all. ■

"THE GATHERING STORM . . ."

by Harold E. Fey

R. Jeffrey K. Hadden, a sociologist of Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, has spent the last five years surveying Protestant beliefs, opinions and attitudes. Some of the results now appear in a book, "The Gathering Storm in the Churches" (Doubleday, $5.95).

This storm, he predicts will be as tumultuous as anything that has happened since the Reformation. His description of the reasons for it "shook up" this reviewer more effectively than did any of the shockers of recent years. To me, the death of God agitation was a tempest in a professorial teapot compared to the impact of Hadden's book.

Professor Hadden's studies of changes in Protestant beliefs show a widening gap between clergy and laity. This gap seriously handicaps the churches in carrying out their mission. For example, he points out that the main-line churches have been led into seeking greater unity through the Consultation on Church Union and more social justice through assisting Negroes gain full civil rights.

But differences over issues of faith impair the churches' capacity to carry out these important and difficult undertakings. Professor Hadden, who believes in church union and social justice, and commends the churches for seeking them, believes that lack of consensus on basic theological points will produce catastrophic dissensions and eventual failure. He warns that signals for the gathering storm are already evident and the cloud on the horizon is already bigger than a man's hand.

The author's prescription is for more knowledge and participation. Laymen must seek to learn more about current changes in theological discussion and develop greater tolerance concerning social issues. Clergy will have to develop skills in teaching most of them do not possess.

It is the author's opinion that Protestant clergy are generally not well-schooled in the inwardness of social issues, so they cannot convince laymen they have competence for leadership in dealing with these issues. He is also not impressed with the knowledge many ministers have of their own field: theology.

While it is possible to pick flaws in both the diagnosis and the prescription made by this learned doctor, his book should be carefully studied. He could just be sufficiently right so that the little flaws in his argument will be forgotten when the demonstration is complete that his main points are essentially correct. ■

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In Pace With The Changing Church

November 1, 1969

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THE CHURCH IN A HUNGRY WORLD

ONE of the foremost dimensions of the modern world is the problem of hunger and the prospect of mass starvation. The church must define its mission, at least in part, in terms of this reality. The church is called to face with utter realism the fact of hunger in our world.

Mission begins with solidarity with the world and its peoples. Many of those who stand in gravest peril are those who have the least capacity for self-defense or survival. No one speaks for them!

The church, so identified historically with the developed world of the West and so potentially strong there, must stand with those who "hunger." It must lift its voice in the presentation of the just claims of all humanity to the goods of this earth.

It must oppose an approach to the problem which would convert men into statistics and deal with them only as the "masses," without regard to the birthright of each human being who has been made in the image of God. It must keep the discussion of the problem of food and people from becoming a matter of food and bodies, or food and mouths. It must insist that food be seen within the context of personal and human values, and not just as a tool or weapon of international politics.

It must insist that human reproduction is not just human breeding which can be manipulated for political, economic, or ideological ends. This mission of the church is to stand forthrightly for the full dignity and humanity of mankind, to speak openly in the defense of the defenseless, to affirm God's love for all men and each one in particular.

THE church is also called to fulfill a prophetic mission of awakening the world to the seriousness of the situation. . . . The church needs to participate in the task of confrontation in order that the issues of moral responsibility can be clearly focused.

The church has within its own hands a number of resources for direct involvement and action. Vast resources and organizations have emerged primarily in programs of relief. In the face of the magnitude of this problem we have described, the church must now seek to rechannel these resources into programs that are relevant to the dual problem of food production and population control. Both of these emphases must be properly interpreted.

It must be clear to all that Christians do not seek to feed the hungry in order to perpetuate unjust and inhuman social systems—but that all men may live, and live abundantly. It must be clear to all that Christians do not encourage family planning and population control as a means of perpetuating positions of privilege and of dissipating the threats which emerge from rapid population growth among the underprivileged. It is imperative that direct Christian action in these two spheres be accompanied with a forthright declaration of principles of social justice and human dignity. . . .

The resources which are available for direct action by the church are hopelessly inadequate to deal effectively with the problems which confronts us. This means that the church must be an active agent for persuasion and insistence for the adoption of desirable programs and policies by nations and international organizations.

THE church must also accept a major role in preparing the general public for the kind of sacrifices which will be called for if the needs of the underdeveloped world are to be met. This is of particular importance at the present time because of the problems of monetary stability and balance of trade which threaten national security and encourage the tendency to base all policies and programs of immediate national self-interest.

The church also has a responsibility for helping to resolve the complex and very serious ethical issues related to this issue. The following would seem to call for special attention: the meaning of stewardship of national resources, the adequacy of national self-interest as a basis for national policy, the right of individual and personal decision on the use of conception-control measures, the morality of policies which deliberately limit food production in a time when human beings are starving, and the legitimacy of using food and human survival as an international political weapon.

The magnitude and complexity of the people-food problem confronts the church with many unanswered questions—questions to which traditional ethical teachings do not speak, and questions on which the church itself has not worked diligently enough. One might say that the church "must do its home work" in many areas if it is to fulfill this part of its mission as in any sense "the conscience of the world".

FINALLY, the church cannot fulfill its role "for such a time as this" unless it is willing to reasses its own life and resources, and to really be "the church for others." Whatever objectives and goals the church may set, must be set in terms of the world, recognized as God's creation and that for which Christ died. . . . The church, as an institution, must be willing to do what it asks others to do: to respond to present and future world needs through the giving of itself.

Dr. Liggett is President of the United Missionary Society, Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ).

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CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull
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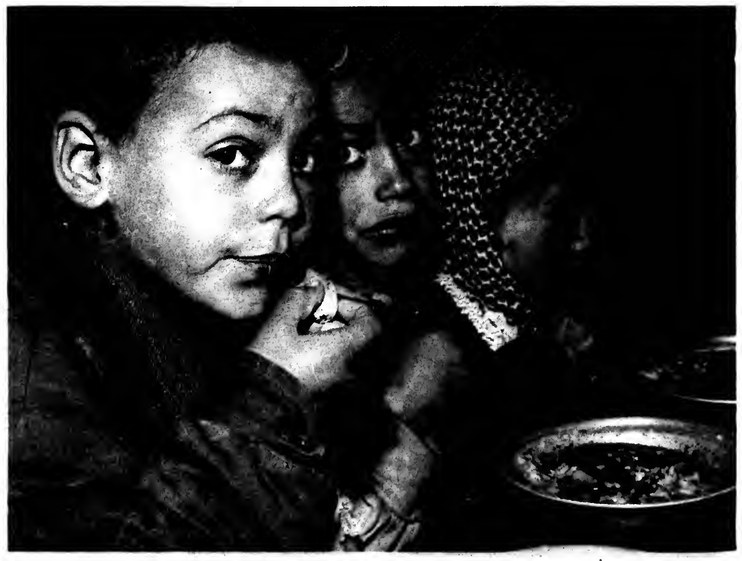
There Is Barely Enough Time to Avert Wholesale Starvation

THE RACE AGAINST FAMINE

by Robert S. McNamara

At its mid-September business meeting in Indianapolis, the General Board of the National Council of Churches issued a call to a Conference on Population Awareness, to be held under NCC auspices in Washington next spring. Some of the reasons underlying the urgency of such a church-sponsored conference are here outlined by former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara—a Presbyterian—who is now president of the World Bank.



WE are faced with a problem that arose out of the recent past; that already plagues man in the present; and that will diminish, if not destroy, much of his future—should he fail to face up to it, and solve it.

It is the tangled problem of excessive population growth.

It is an issue that is so hypersensitive—giving rise to such diverse opinion—that there is an understandable tendency simply to avoid argument, turn one's attention to less complicated matters, and hope that the problem will somehow disappear. What may disappear is the opportunity to find a solution that is rational and humane.

The bluntest fact of all is that the need for development is desperate. Two-thirds of mankind —more than 2 billion individuals—remain entrapped in a cruel web of circumstances that severely limits their right to the necessities of life.

They are caught in the grip of hunger and malnutrition; high illiteracy; inadequate education; shrinking opportunity; and corrosive poverty.

The gap between the rich and poor nations is no longer merely a gap: It is a chasm. On one side are nations of the West that enjoy per capita incomes in the $3,000 range. On the other are nations in Asia and Africa that struggle to survive on less than $100.

To put it simply: the greatest single obstacle to the economic and social advancement of the majority of the peoples in the underdeveloped world is rampant population growth.

A child born today, living on into his 70s, would know a world of 15 billion. His grandson would share the planet with 60 billion.

In six and a half centuries from now—the same insignificant period of time separating us from the poet Dante — there would be one human being standing on every square foot of land on earth: a fantasy of horror that even the inferno could not match.

Such projections will not come to pass because events will not permit them to come to pass.

What is not so certain is precisely what those events will be. They can only be: mass starvation, political chaos—or population planning.

Is it feasible? It is. Is it simple? It is not. One half of humanity is hungering at this very moment. There is less food per person on the planet today than there was 30 years ago in the midst of a worldwide depression.

THOUSANDS WILL DIE TODAY—as they die every day—of that hunger. They will either simply starve to death, or they will die because their diet is so inadequate that it cannot protect them from some easily preventable disease.

Most of those thousands—individuals whose intrinsic right to a decent life is as great as yours or mine—are children. They are not mere statistics. They are human beings. And they are dying, now, at this very moment, while we are speaking.

Millions of other children, suffering the same malnutrition do not die. They live languidly on —stunted in their bodies, and crippled in their minds.

The human brain reaches 90 per cent of its normal structural development in the first four years of life. We now know that during that critical period of growth, the brain is highly vulnerable to nutritional deficiencies; deficiencies that can cause as much as 25 per cent impairment of normal mental ability. Even a deterioration of 10 per cent is sufficient to cause a serious handicap to productive life. This is irreversible brain damage.

What is particularly tragic in all of this is that when such mentally deprived children reach adulthood, they are likely to repeat the whole depressing sequence in their own families. They perpetuate mental deficiency, not through genetic inheritance, but simply because, as parents, they are ill-equipped mentally to understand and, hence, to avoid the very nutritional deprivations in their own children that they themselves suffered.

Current birth rates throughout the emerging world are seriously crippling developmental efforts. It is imperative to understand why. The intractable reason is that these governments must divert an inordinately high proportion of their limited national savings away from productive investment simply in order to maintain the current low level of existence.

More and more classrooms must be built; more and more teachers must be provided; more and more vocational training facilities must be established. But despite all this effort, both the quantity and quality of education will inevitably decline. It simply cannot keep pace with the mounting waves of children. Thus, one of the prime movers of all human development—education—is sacrificed.

What is true at the national level is repeated with even greater poignancy on the personal family level.

In five countries of western Europe, it is estimated that there are as many illegal abortions as live births. In India, the estimate is that each month a quarter of a million women undergo illegal abortion.

THERE IS A VAGUE AND MURKY MYTHOLOGY that befogs the (population) issue. There is, to begin with, the generalized assumption that somehow "more people means more wealth."

In the underdeveloped world, because rapid population growth tends seriously to retard growth in per capita income, the developing nation soon discovers that its economic vigor is diminished rather than enhanced by the phenomenon of high fertility. The hoped-for internal market becomes a mere mass of discontented indigents without purchasing power but with all the frustrations of potential consumers whose expectations cannot be met.

A still more prevalent myth is the misapprehension that official programs of family planning in a developing country are wholly unnecessary since the very process of development itself automatically leads to lowered birth rates. The experience of Europe is cited as persuasive proof of this theory.

The historical fact is that conditions in Europe during its initial developmental period were far more favorable to lower rates of population growth. The birth rates were much lower than they are in the underdeveloped world today, the death rates had not yet drastically fallen and, by the time public health measures had accomplished that, the infrastructure of industrialization was already in place.

Even in spite of all these advantages, it required some 70 years for Europe to reduce its birth rates to present levels. Today the average birth rate for developing countries is 40 to 45 per 1,000 of population. To get this rate down to the 17 to 20 per 1,000 that is common in contemporary Europe, would require a reduction in the developing world of some 50 million births a year.

Indeed, even with family planning, no such promising results are feasible in less than two or three decades. What is imperative is the establishment of family planning on a scale that will stave off total economic and political disintegration.

Nor need anyone be deterred from appropriate action by the pernicious, if pervasive, myth that the white Western world's assistance in family-planning efforts among the non-white nations of the developing areas is a surreptitious plot to keep the whites in a racial ascendancy. The myth is absurd on purely demographic grounds, as well as on many others. Non-white peoples on the planet massively outnumber

(Continued on page 12)

The Bob Miller Story, as Told by Himself

A MINISTER IN THE MAYOR'S CHAIR

by Robert I. Miller

Mayor and Mrs. Robert Miller talk over civic matters with Episcopal Bishop Robert Appleyard, of Pittsburgh, Pa.

IN JANUARY, 1968 I was inaugurated mayor of Englewood, N.J., and with my running-mates elected to the City Council formed the first administration of our party in the city's history. How did a minister come to be in such a position?

I guess it all began in 1951. That year I graduated from the Union Theological Seminary in New York and went to the First Presbyterian Church of Englewood as assistant minister and director of Christian education.

Through the influence of my upbringing I had become a member of a political party and, though I had not been active, I usually voted for its candidates. I soon discovered that most of the people in the Englewood church were also members of "that" party, though a few were identified with the "other" party.

(I don't use the names of the parties here, because I don't think that is the important point. In a different city the problems of one-party control could lead people to the same kind of action I later concluded was necessary in Englewood, but with the roles of the two parties reversed.)

As an assistant minister I was still somewhat in a cocoon, kept busy with church activities and finding no particular way to move out into other aspects of community life. But one of the grand women in that church invited me to become a member of the Board of the Urban League. And there for the next four years I received my education about Englewood.

Segregated Schools

I worked with the Urban League particularly in two areas: housing and education. As late as 1954, Englewood had two junior high schools, one black and one white, and an elementary school 99 per cent black, with all the black teachers assigned to the black schools. The Urban League was concerned about that and was trying to do something about it.

One of the Urban League presidents during that period was Charles C. Parlin, Methodist layman and later one of the presidents of the World Council of Churches. I have told him since that it was really at his knees that I learned about Englewood.

Another step in my education occurred when an American Legion Auxiliary invited Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, the great Negro churchwoman and educator, to speak. The Board of Education gave a permit for use of a school auditorium, but rumors started going around that she had Communist ties, and the permit was revoked. The Urban League, under Mr. Parlin's leadership, moved in and proved that the rumors were false, and she was later invited again to speak in that same auditorium.

I was away from Englewood from 1955 to 1959, working in another parish, but I then joined the staff of the alumni office at Union Seminary and wound up living in Englewood again. This time I was not attending so many church meetings and therefore had more time for community activities. The same year I moved back I went to my first political club meeting—the club of the party out of power in Englewood. They were discussing the Master Plan for Englewood's future development, and I was interested to see what things looked like ahead.

Cool Reception

But, as it so often happens when a visitor goes to a church, the "minister" didn't speak to me, nobody was very friendly. I wasn't asked to join and nobody made any later contact with me. As I became more and more concerned about some of the community's problems, however, I came to the conclusion that a changing of the guard was needed and that I should work with the "out" group to help bring about that change.

So in 1961 I went to a candidate's night at the same club to hear the party's Congressional candidate and some candidates for local office. With the Congressional candidate and his wife and entourage, the local candidates, the club officers and others attending, including myself, attendance totalled 16. I decided maybe this wasn't the group that was going to take over Englewood right away.

But things did begin to move. For me the next step was being asked to help with a human relations workshop. They were searching for discussion leaders, and somebody at the church gave them my name. From this I was asked to be moderator of a later workshop, then to work with a steering committee to form a human relations council, then to be chairman of the council.

Now I had to ask myself whether I was just going to talk about human relations or whether I would do something. Through the local CORE chapter, I was asked to participate in a test of discrimination in restaurants on Highway 40, the route through Maryland then used by people traveling between New York and Washington. I made the decision to go.

I realized very soon, though, that I didn't need to go somewhere else to get involved in action. Things were happening in Englewood — sit ins, boycotts over school integration, hearings before city boards. And in those situations I would appear before the City Council or the Board of Education on behalf of the Human Relations Council.

Wrath and Anger

I got more and more disturbed about conditions in my community. I was asked to speak to a church group about that time, and I found a text from Jeremiah to express my feelings: "This city has aroused my wrath and anger" (32:31).

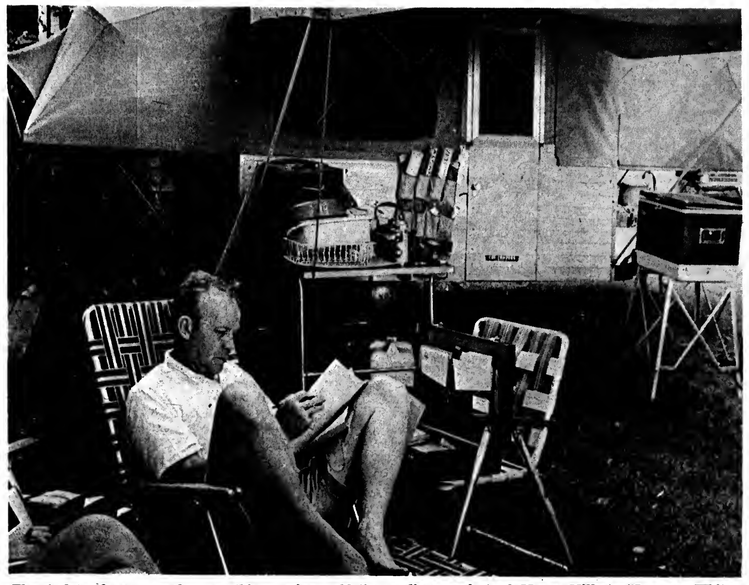
From the public exposure of my work with the Human Relations Council, the "out" party invited me to run for Councilman-at-Large on their ticket in 1963. After the election, I had the honor of being the most successful losing candidate the party had had, losing by only 400 out of 10,000 votes.

My personal commitment to change was deepened the next January when I received an invitation to go with a group of clergy to Hattiesburg, Miss., for a Freedom Day devoted to voter registration. That was a week to change men's lives. I came back with the knowledge that the old patterns would not suffice — not for the nation, not for Englewood, not for Bob Miller.

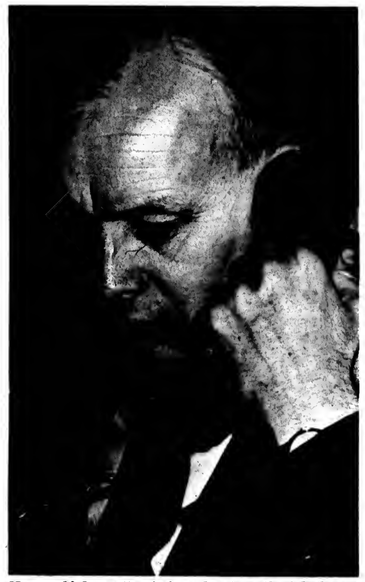
Another text from Jeremiah became important for me, and I used it for another talk to a church group: "Build houses and live in them; plant gardens and eat their products . . . But seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile, and pray to the Lord on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare" (29:5, 7). Trying to change the life of my community changed my life. I was forced to examine my values and find out what I really stood for.

A Narrow Loss

At the same time I came to realize that groups like the Human Relations Council were good and made an important contribution, but that decisions were made at City Hall. Therefore, when the 1965 election came around I didn't have to be talked into running. When we counted the votes on election night, I had won the Councilman-at-Large post by nine votes. Unfortunately, the absentee ballot hadn't been counted. Two hundred people had voted absentee, and my opponent got 150 of them.



There's lots of paper work — on this occasion amid the cooling comfort of Mayor Miller's "Summer White House."



Many a kinky matter is ironed out on the telephone.

The narrow loss didn't discourage us but motivated us to continue working—on registration, on organization, on all the other things that politics requires. In the next election, in 1967, I led the ticket, running for Mayor, and that time I won by over 100 votes, and our party gained control of the five-man City Council.

What is the job like? It hasn't been all problems. I'm particularly concerned about young people, and though they have given me some of my greatest heartaches, they have also given me some of my greatest joys. I was summoned to the main shopping center at 1 a.m. one Sunday morning to find that 50 or 60 teenagers had gone on a rampage breaking about 30 store windows and causing other damage. And we have had similar things since, such as youngsters going into a parking lot and breaking all the car radio aerials. At such times I feel these young people are trying desperately to tell us something, if we'll only listen.

But then there was Student Government Day. When Walter Toombs, our black student mayor, asked for an appointment to discuss plans for the day, I thought the two of us would have a quiet discussion in my office, but I found he brought his entire cabinet.

"The first thing I want to say," Walter announced, "is that there's not going to be any Student Government Day." I saw his Cabinet was as shocked as I was, until after a pause he added, "unless you take us seriously."

Listening Without Pampering

If there's anything I see in the high schools, colleges and seminaries today, it's the student generation saying, "Won't you please take us seriously?" Which doesn't mean to give in, to pamper, to answer every demand, but to take them seriously and listen to what they have to say.

I have not been able to solve all problems in Englewood, of course. For one thing, Englewood has what is known as the weak mayor system—referring not to the mayor's salary of $100 per year but to the arrangement whereby the mayor has no vote in the City Council except in case of a tie. So he doesn't play a big role in passing legislation.

But the mayor does have two major responsibilities: serving as Commissioner of Police and appointing the Board of Education. I supervise the police chief and his 65 men, and so far I have appointed three of the five Board of Education members.

As mayor I also serve as chairman of the five-man Board of School Estimate, which prepares the school budget, and appoints two members of the City Council to serve on the Board. (The Board of Education appoints the other two.) This gives the mayor a predominant voice in the school budget, even though the budget is later submitted to the City Council. I do not believe in political interference in education but I do believe in putting all the resources needed into public education, even though it has meant a sizable tax rise for Englewood.

As mayor I also serve on the Planning Board and the Library Board and work with other miscellaneous committees, including those of the party. So it means that I'm out most evenings and weekends.

Speaking to a civic group

Christians in Public Affairs

Through my experience I have come to the conviction that Christian people can do some important things to help those who work in public life. I would plead for three things:

First, a supportive community, not alone for political leaders but for those involved in any aspect of community life. Perhaps we're moving a little toward this, but I don't think we're moving quickly enough. Everyone needs a supportive community to help him in what he feels called to do, but I think there is a special opportunity with people in government.

Second, discussion of issues from a Christian perspective. I used to hope that ministers would be continually preaching on social issues and church boards be continually passing resolutions. But I now think there is a more productive way. That is for the church to gather people together as Christians to stand under the Gospel and help each other decide what they should do about controversial issues.

Third, I would call upon church people to fulfill the basic ministry of meeting human needs. Where the church can help most is with our housing problems, with our unemployment, with our narcotic addicts, with our hard-core alcoholics —not to reach out in a political way but just in a ministry of compassion to help those in need.

Englewood, like other cities, has divisions. I was troubled about Memorial Day because different groups in our city could not agree on how to observe it, and so we had two observances. As a Christian and an idealist and wanting unity, I felt it was a shame for a community to have that kind of division. Yet, as I sat in a City Council meeting from 8 p.m. till 1:15 a.m. one evening, I recalled a quotation from President Kennedy's American University address: "If we cannot end now all our differences, at least we can help make the world safe for diversity."

I think maybe that is the pattern ahead for Englewood and maybe all our communities. We may never have that kind of oneness we would like. But if we can respect each other's convictions and co-exist, perhaps we will have a kind of oneness even through that diversity. ■

Not solely dependent for support on the $100 he receives annually for duties as Englewood's Mayor, Mr. Miller devotes full working daytimes to Union Theological Seminary as its Director of Alumni Affairs.

In Cairo, Ill., White Vigilante Terror Is The Answer to Black Aspirations

A DEEPLY TROUBLED TOWN

by Robert C. Chapman

Left: In the night, vigilantes shoot at cars entering Pyramid Court. Above: Vigilante victim Joyce Gilkey narrowly missed death from a bullet that missed the brain by a fraction of an inch. Another struck her in the hand. At left is community worker George Bell, of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice which has given important aid to the embattled black community.

WHEN the lengthening shadows of dusk have run their course and given way to night, you dare not drive your car into Pyramid Courts —at least, not with your headlights on. In order safely to approach and enter Pyramid Courts after sunset, what a sane man does is allow a resident to meet him and take over the wheel. The resident, being a veteran of all the nights of terror, douses the headlights as he approaches that low-income complex. He does this, not for fear of his neighbors in the Courts, but because the United Citizens for Community Action (a white vigilante group, formerly known as the "White Hats") has made darkness a period of open season on the black citizens who live in Pyramid. Lights betray you, and vigilantes, hiding in the bushes, in remnants of burned-down buildings, in box-cars on the levee, might shoot you. They have wantonly taken target practice on the Courts' black residents before. They did it on March 31st; on June 19th: on September 15th and 16th; and on October 5th—all in 1969.

Pyramid Courts is an all-black housing development in Cairo, Illinois. Cairo, Illinois, is an American city. Incredible? Let him who doubts this make the trip himself, after darkness has fallen, headlights beaming. If the vigilantes do not get you, the chances are high that some apprehensive resident of the Courts, peering through a crack in his shuttered and blanketed window, will himself shoot you. For he knows that only fool or foe would enter with headlights gleaming. Same difference; for, inside the Courts, the effect of the lights is to show up black pedestrians who might, perchance, be in the streets. A resident drives your car because 1) he knows what to do with the lights 2) he knows the turn of the streets inside Pyramid, and 3) residents will recognize him when he alights—but not you.

Visit Pyramid Courts, Cairo, Illinois, after dark, if you want a soul-chilling taste—State-side —of what our boys in Vietnam must endure each night.

The United Front of Cairo, which is an organization of all of the black church and secular organizations in town, has petitioned the local police, the city council, the mayor, the state police and Governor Ogilvie, for protection. Not only do the local police and state police fail to protect them, but it is the claim of the residents of Pyramid Courts that personnel on both of those forces have been participants in the shooting sprees on the Courts. In the face of the fact that they, as well as FBI observers, have been present during some of these macabre festivities, it is difficult preemptorily to dismiss this allegation. For no vigilante has yet been arrested.

High calibre, automatic weaponry has been trained on the Courts. The steel-jacketed bullets have bored holes through ¼-inch metal in the Courts, and torn the brick-facing of many of the homes—but the Federal Agents searched for weapons, not in the white, but in the black community!

Governor Ogilvie has been petitioned by the black residents of Cairo as well as by various concerned churchmen—including this writer—to declare marshal Law in Cairo. This is the request of his black citizens of Cairo whose lives are endangered nightly by the lawless bands of marauding whites. Marshal Law, although it would work some hardships on the blacks, would at least keep their would-be murderers off of the streets at night. The daylight hours could be used for discussions involving white leaders, black leaders, the mayor, the city council and the Governor. The purpose of such discussions would be to negotiate a mutual agreement for peace, after which the basic problems of Cairo, which are economic, could be tackled. But the Governor refuses this kind of protection on the grounds that there is not sufficient grounds for summoning forth the Guard. Beyond all doubt, if the blacks, in either frustration or anger, were to fire-bomb a few down-town stores, and break a few shop windows, the Honorable Mr. Ogilvie would find immediate sufficient cause for unleashing the white Guard on the "lawless" blacks. Justice seems to mean: "Protect white-owned property; to hell with black lives!"

Father Chapman, whose report appears on this page, examines a bullet hole in a steel window frame of a Pyramid Court apartment.

A sixteen-year-old black boy was shot through the thigh, at home, in Pyramid Courts. A twenty-two-year-old black woman was shot in the head the bullet entering and exiting a mere ¼-inch above the brain—at home, in Pyramid Courts.

Staff of the Illinois Council of Churches, and clergymen and nuns, white and black, from various parts of Illinois, have attempted to plead the case of Cairo's United Front. In attempting to confront the Governor, many have been arrested.

The most useful weapon in hands of the Front is a boycott of the stores in the down-town district. The success of the boycott is not unrelated to the fury of the whites and the violence they unleash upon Cairo. At one point, the city council passed an ordinance which prohibited any walking by two or more persons! This was a desperation move to stop the weekly picketing of the stores. When persons were arrested under the new ordinance, attorneys for the Front quickly secured a restraining order against its enforcement. The obedience of the mayor, the chief of police, and the city attorney to the order brought the wrath of the vigilantes upon their heads, and the mayor and his colleagues all resigned.

The United Front has presented a proposal for the economic development of Cairo to the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) to the ghetto investment offices of the major denominations. Cairo's basic difficulty is poverty. The churches can do much to reconcile the forces of desperation which are tearing at the heart of that community, if they will, together, pick-up pieces of the proposal to form the whole, and fund the community. The hour is late. The need is critical.

In the interim, which, pray God, shall be brief, all concerned Christians should communicate with Governor Richard Ogilvie, and firmly request that he offer the full protection of life to the citizens of Pyramid Courts. For, as Cairo goes, so, too, could go America. ■

Father Chapman, as Director for Racial Justice, National Council of Churches, has been working closely with the leaders of the embattled black community of Cairo since the violence first erupted last March.

Part III of an Interview

by L. I. Stell

HOWARD MOODY SPEAKS OUT ON ABORTION, OBSCENITY AND POLITICS

(What follows is Part III of an interview by Associate Editor L. I. Stell with the Rev. Howard Moody, Minister of Judson Memorial Church, Greenwich Village, New York City. During his thirteen years at Judson, Mr. Moody has instituted a number of remarkably successful experiments in ministering to the predominantly young members of his inner city parish. And from his vantage point he has developed a number of cogent and stimulating opinions about the problems that beset urban Americans today. This concludes the series, the previous segments of which appeared in TEMPO of September 15 and October 1.)

During your thirteen years as pastor at Judson your provocative public statements and activities have often centered around these issues: politics, obscenity and, lately, abortion. To take your most current concern first, why are you convinced that abortion is an issue that churchmen—among other concerned human beings—should be involved with?

Abortion is one of those social underground problems that is kept in the other world so that we don't see it. It's a problem of immense social dimensions. We have guesses about it, we make up figures about it, but we don't know how big it really is because it is suppressed. Everything that took place was on the Q.T. I found out from my involvement that it is probably larger in dimension than any of the past guestimates have indicated—ranging from the thousands of women seeking and finding abortions to those not able to seek them because of the pressure of society to bear the child no matter what the consequences. It's a tremendous social problem and one avoided by the church. The church talks about family planning, but isn't it permissible to talk about the failure of family planning? What does the church say then—what does it do? It's kind of like pre-marital sex. The church likes to talk about pre-marital sex, an awful lot. But as it talks, about 80 percent of the kids have already had it. After you talk about family planning and pre-marital sex and precautions have failed, then what do you do? You hear, "Well, I'm sorry we're not going to do anything." We have washed our hands of it, because it's illegal.

Similar to non-discussion about alternatives to the draft, the unquestioning obedience to the call to war, any war?

That's right. Like going to war, the woman has to go though abortion all alone. But our pastoral responsibilites require us to go with her. We can't refuse once she says "I've go to do this and for these reasons, please help me." Mostly the church says to her, "Well, I'm sorry about that. Good luck and when you get back let me know—drop around for prayers." It seems to me that that's the worst kind of cop-out. It is our pastoral responsibility to be with her all the way, no matter what she decides. If she decides to have her baby, go all the way with her and be with her all the way. The church has to lend its respectability and good name to a lot of questionable policies.

Some people might press you on this and ask if the same line of reasoning couldn't justify murdering somebody?

Oh no, it wouldn't. Abortion is not murder. Obviously the laws regarding murder in our society are right in so far as they try to protect human beings from violence by human beings. Men don't realize the extent of violence done against a woman because they don't have babies. Yet men make the laws, and men enforce the laws and prevent them from being easily changed. But they desperately need to change this one. It's an inhuman law, a vile law.

Exactly what are you recommending as you travel from city to city helping people set up abortion consultation groups like you own?

Mainly two things. One, work to change the law as it exists at the present time and eventually repeal these laws so that a woman can be free; secondly, in the meantime, minister to immediate suffering by helping women achieve their purpose in regard to problem pregnancies — whatever that choice may be. I recommend that we do this, even if it means helping her to get a safe and secure abortion. A side effect of organizing clergy consultations on problem pregnancies is to mass the evidence which helps change the law. You run the risk that you may be breaking the law, but it's like laws in every time and place. There are some that we have to run the risk of breaking in order that they may be changed.

HOWARD MOODY SPEAKS OUT–

Obscenity is another controversial issue here in the Village which has come in conflict with local and national laws and mores. What are your reflections on the nudity/obscenity controversy centering around the play "Che" *and the movie* "I Am Curious (Yellow)?"

At this point maybe I can get you to print the remark about Hugh Hefner's Playboy Clubs that I've made so often and nobody has ever had the guts to print. When we talk about obscenity we are really talking about the whole Playboy mentality in America. Actually the Playboy Club is like a whorehouse without a second floor. It's all looks, all tease and no reality. There is nothing like, reality there—for example, you can't even slap a gal on the fanny as she walks by and learn that there is something there of substance. No, they're all three dimensional pictures to be looked at, drooled over but not really to have. It's this whole mentality, this commercialized exploitation of eroticism that the movie makers, the younger generation put down beautifully. And thank the Lord that they do. Out in Grinnell College in Iowa a couple of months ago was a beautiful illustration of this. Some kids banded together and decided that they were going to confront the Playboy representative when he came to the campus to explain Playboy philosophy. They decided that they were going to confront him with how evil his magazine's exploitation of women was. These were probably feminists or liberated women types, and they decided that the best way to do that was to take off all their clothes—every stitch—to confront him with real nudity. Then they would ask him to do the same and they'd sit down and talk over this whole subject. It caused a real furor—arrests were made and all the rest. And that's in the heartland of the Mid-West — not in Greenwich Village. Things are happening all over the country with regard to this kind of commercialized eroticism.

But the Village is, of course, a relatively free place in this regard, and it's here the kids are really going to expose the adults. They know we can watch violence on television and, in a certain sense, go along with it and enjoy it unconsciously. But they know that nudity wherever it happens in front of our eyes upsets us tremendously. We bring the cops in immediately. Kids know this and flaunt it. They say, "You think nudity on stage in front of everybody is obscene? But you look at obscenity every day and say this is a necessity or a national priority." Nudity then is a form of rebellion, which is why we have so much of it. I'm fearful of the repression that may follow this new freedom. Once again I would plead for a certain openness. You take for example *I Am Curious* and the play *Che*. I personally don't care to see intercourse simulated on the screen or stage. I happen to believe sex is a private and personal affair. On the other hand, there are people who want these shows. As long as they're clearly advertised and it is kept for the adult population who pay their money and voluntarily go to see it, it seems futile to block it on the grounds of human decency or any kind of ordinances which are now on the books. Do I have a right to impose my own judgment about it when no one's getting hurt, killed, brutalized or beaten? The only question I have about obscenity now is that once you're free to use all the words, or dance in the streets nude et cetera, then the question is, where do you go from there? Maybe, we'll go back to "gee whiz" and "shucks" because they'll be words that nobody would ever think about using. And perhaps we'll finally go back to clothes, because nudity is pretty unexciting, really. Clothes are much more aesthetic, much more sensual than nudity.

The last issue I want to ask you about is your abandonment of politics. You wrote in Christianity and Crisis *that the Democratic Convention in "Daleyland" might have been the start of a new anti-political revolution, the beginning of anarchy. Are you still disenchanted with our political system?*

I have changed my approach. Since the date of the Kennedy assassination the way in which people were able to respond to what the government was doing and the government to hear and respond to the people—dialogue between government and people—has changed. The parties, the intermediaries between government and the people, which are supposed to make the government more sensitive, are, to all intents and purposes, no longer functioning. All the things that happened and culminated in Chicago denied what we were taught about the political process, what our kids—the kids who were involved in this—believed. A lot of people were affected by it. The question now is, if I am going to devote my time and energy to alleviate suffering and bring about justice, is the most fruitful place to do this within the political process of which I have been a part for a number of years? I'm not as sure of my answer as I once was.

Weren't you a member of a reform movement here?

In New York City I was very active in the reform movement of the Democratic Party in throwing over DeSapio when he was the boss of Tammany Hall—very active politically. I went, in fact, all the way to Chicago with our delegates to the Convention. I'm a political person. I think strategically, knowing what's the thing to do—but asking what would serve to highlight, dramatize, draw people in, make people awaken to this situation. You do certain things a certain way. So it is hard for me to talk about giving up on the political process. But I think probably I'm closer today to the kids and their denial of the fact that this process is going to help. My own experience in the political situation has taken me a long way toward their point of view. You see, the political process goes on. The question is whether it really has any meaning or not. Our political institutions are the same as our religious institutions. They're geared for another time. You don't keep them going like they always were and expect to be relevant in the mid-twentieth century. If 800 million people can watch men jumping around on the moon, then why do we have to go through so much political flak to elect a mayor in the City of New York? All the stuff we have to listen to, the ways of presenting some personality which has nothing to do with nothing. Is this the way we are going to elect people who will lead this nation to face the problems of injustice, discrimination, poverty? Shouldn't we put a question mark under the institutionalization of politics in the same way we question church institutionalization and the forms it takes? I don't think the church is any worse off than politics. Politics mirrors the same kind of inflexibility in relationship to form and content as the church does today.

Many adults will say, "If you give up, Howard, with your concern about these things and if other people active in politics give up, then we won't have a country."

The question in my mind is whether or not there may be counter-political activity that may be more productive at this time. Again I like the analogy with the church. We talk about para-parochial concerns of the church, moving out of parish and into new ministries, as a new kind of way to be in the church. In the same way aren't there para-political measures, para-political activities outside of the ordinary political process in which we can engage and which serve to pressure decision-makers around to a certain way of thinking.

New ways of organizing people?

That's right. For example, some of the things that Norman Mailer said in his race for the mayoralty in New York. He was absolutely right. We're going to live in a city of death if we don't change the whole way in which we are organized. That's just as revolutionary as blacks in the ghettos asking the Board of Education to give up some of its power to control the schools. Probably the city, like the Board, will not give up its centralization of power. But we're not talking about what the city is or is not going to give up. We're talking about what might be possible to make it habitable if people in neighborhoods and communities see there are certain things they could actually accomplish. I'm for bringing pressure to bear upon the so-called political figures, the schnooks elected by people. This is not quite getting out of politices. It's really a new politics. I'm experimenting with some of these new kinds of things. I think the church is well equipped to do this kind of thing. For example, during the school crisis here, we had a clergy vigil that I worked with. It was a kind of a para-political organization. Our tactics were some of the tactics which we've seen in the past, demonstrations, pickets and such. There were also takeovers—the things that kids are being berated for today. Clergy took over meetings and would not allow them to go on until they listened to what we thought was a prophetic call to the Board of Education to do something about the situation. One could say it is such a small piece of the educational process, it didn't mean a thing. But I'm wondering, what if we were really organized? Until the white middle-class is organized, until they make their voices heard, real change is not going to happen—concerning our health, our blocks, our neighborhoods—our lives. Revolutionaries need the middle-class.

And the middle-class needs the revolution?

That's right. It's a very mutual thing. The blacks can save us and save themselves. That's the whole beauty of the thing. Everything the black revolution has opened up in our country in the past decade is at heart the country's problem—poverty, human rights, housing. What would we have done in this country if the black revolutionaries had not raised all these questions for us about the social problems we have in America? They grew out of the black revolution, blacks trying to discover injustice done to them and a way out. It opened our eyes to social problems that we never saw before. I agree with Dick Gregory that black is not a matter of color and youth is not a matter of age. It is true in some deeper sense than we thought. A guy finally will be judged not by his color, but by where he stands on black justice. And no matter how old a guy is, he is judged on whether he sees his own generation's problems behind the activities of the kids. It's exciting because of the challenge to our imagination and creativity regarding how we are going to move in this new day when we have no way of making the government hear the voice of the people, when churches seem to be dead. What are going to be the new forms that can cope with these problems? What new ways of being together, of harmonizing will emerge, so that we can speak and act in behalf of humanity?

What keeps you political (or para-political), gives you the strength to seek these new forms?

It comes down to the issue of responsibility—responding in a way to what has been done for me. In theological terms it's the thankful creature responding to the creation. This world is here and, thank God, I didn't do a thing about it to inherit it or make it, create it or anything. It's a gift and I've got to do something—without being compulsive—just in thanksgiving. This means responding in terms of other human beings, who call upon me, make claim upon my life. And these claims are social and personal.

And what happens when you come up against sleepy, apathetic people?

At least I can be understanding of that sleepiness because we have to forbear each other's problem. One guy can't see this and another guy will see that. One forbears because he understands his own problems. But there's another thing besides gratitude that makes me tick. I share a guilt which nobody can quite explain away or lift, regarding my heritage and what I've seen happen to blacks and hear of Jews in Germany and all the rest. Guilt makes me indignant. It moves me into the fight for justice in schools, for example. It's a collective responsibility. My parents were responsible and my parents' parents. I'm the inheritor of that responsibility. But I really believe I have a generational hangup. I've talked with too many kids today who say, "I don't know what the hell you're talking about. I don't feel responsible. If you want to hold me responsible for what happens today on my block where I am or what I'm doing—okay. Don't tell me I'm responsible for slaves and the Indians and all the rest. Forget it." And yet I can't forget it. My guilt guides how I respond to what I've been given. Gratitude and guilt, they work together. ■

WASHINGTON COMMENT

Food Stamps: More Than Half Way

by David M. Ackerman

ON Sept. 24 the Senate passed, by a vote of 78-14, a bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964. The final vote, however, was not the critical one. The key vote had occurred moments earlier when the yeas and nays were taken on an amendment to the committee bill (S.2547) offered by Sen. McGovern (D.-S. Dak.) and seventeen others (Senators Javits, Percy, Cook, Mondale, Kennedy, Hart, Pell, Hollings, Yarborough, Spong, Goodell, Gravel, Ribicoff, Montoya, Hatfield, Brooke, and Cranston). The amendment was in the form of a substitute and made much more extensive reforms in the Food Stamp program than did the committee bill.

The bill, as reported by the Agriculture and Forestry Committee, would have increased authorization for the Food Stamp program at $750 million in fiscal 1970 and to $1.5 billion in the next two fiscal years; given the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture the authority to set national eligibility standards; increased the allotment of stamps issued to recipients to $100 a month (family of four); and made several other program reforms.

Though agreeing with the committee's intent, Sen. McGovern and numerous other senators during the debate made clear their judgment that the bill went "less than half way to fill the gap between food and income among the nation's poor." The substitute package of amendments they offered set a national minimum eligibility standard of $4,000 annual income (family of four); permitted free stamps to those whose income is less than $60 a month—$720 a year (family of four); imposed a maximum of 25 per cent of income on the purchase price that can be charged to other recipients; increased the allotment of stamps issued to recipients to a minimum of $120 a month (family of four) and clearly set the final responsibility for operation of the Food Stamp program on the Federal Government. It also increased authorization for the program from the present $340 million to $1.25 billion in fiscal 1970, $2 billion in fiscal 1971, and $2.5 billion in fiscal 1972.

The debate on the substitute provided little drama and no revelations. Emotionally exhausted by eight weeks of debate on the military procurement bill and spurred by charges of a "do-nothing" Congress, the Senate was in no mood for a searching and extended examination of the problem of hunger and the ills of the Food Stamp program. The bill was disposed of in less than a day and a half.

The substitute prevailed, 54-40. That it did so was due not so much to the forensic skills of its proponents (though McGovern, Mondale, Javits, and others spoke effectively on its behalf) as to the hearings, investigations, reports, and recommendations of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. The work of this committee, created a year ago and chaired by Sen. McGovern, had given its members such authority in the field of hunger and food programs that when nine of its thirteen members joined together with the chairman in sponsoring the substitute amendment, the Senate was willing to override the recommendations of the nominal authority in the field—the Agriculture and Forestry Committee—and adopt the substitute. In short, the vote was in large measure a vote of confidence in the work of the Select Committee. Without the Select Committee, it is doubtful that the authority of the Agriculture Committee could have been so successfully challenged.

Difficulties Ahead in the House

This gives some idea of why House passage of strong Food Stamp legislation will be much more difficult to achieve. In the House there is no Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs to convince the members of the facts of hunger and malnutrition and of the shortcomings of existing food programs. Nor has an advocate of strong legislation, comparable to Sen. McGovern, yet emerged. Rep. Leonor Sullivan (D.-Mo.), the past leader of efforts to improve the Food Stamp program, has shown a marked coolness toward the present reform movement.

Furthermore, in contrast to the chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, Sen. Ellender (D.-La.), the chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, Rep. W. R. Poage (D.-Tex.), has shown no sense of urgency about the hunger problem and little willingness to act to reform the Food Stamp program. In fact, one of the arguments put forth by Sen. Holland (D.-Fla.) and others against the substitute was that it was "impractical" in light of the inaction of the House Committee. It was said that passage of the substitute would amount to "a declaration of war" with the House Agriculture Committee, that it would create an "intolerable situation (for the Senate) to work out with the other body."

Reference was made several times to the fact that the House Committee had yet to act on S. Res. 126, an emergency resolution passed by the Senate on June 24 increasing the authorization for the Food Stamp program for fiscal 1970 to $750 million. Reference was also made to a press release issued by Rep. Poage on Sept. 7 in which he showed far greater concern about making sure that no food stamps go to "deadbeats who can but won't work" than he did about making sure that the Food Stamp program is equal to the task of providing enough purchasing power for an adequate diet to those in need.

Sen. Aiken (R.-Vt.) pointed out that the implication of the press release "was that nothing could be done for the other 98 per cent until some way had been found to control the 2 per cent who had cheated." With tongue in cheek he said he hoped that rule would never be applied to Congress, and then quite seriously noted that in any case "that was a rather weak argument for not acting on a Food Stamp bill."

Nevertheless, that is the committee through which the Food Stamp bill must pass before the House, as a whole, can act on it.

The President's Position

The Administration still subscribes to its professed commitment "to put an end to hunger in America itself for all time." On Sept. 15, in an appearance before the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, Clifford Hardin and Robert Finch, secretaries of USDA and HEW respectively, made a welcome clarification of the relationship between the President's proposed welfare reforms and the Food Stamp program by saying that participants in the family assistance program would continue to be eligible for food stamps. There had been a fear that they would be denied eligibility for food stamps. The secretaries also came out in favor of permitting food stamp recipients to purchase less than their full monthly allotment of stamps at any one time, and made the surprising statement that they hoped eventually to transfer the operation of the Food Stamp program from USDA to HEW.

Nevertheless, the Administration has yet to support the reforms necessary to make the Food Stamp program a viable vehicle for providing nourishing diets to all those in need. Although Republican Senators Javits, Cook, Percy and Scott all have made notable contributions to the fight in the Senate, 27 of the body's 43 Republican members (including the new minority whip) voted against the McGovern substitute. It is clear that the Administration will have to exert more effort if the achievement of the Senate is not to falter for lack of Republican support in the House.

The Situation

This, then, is the situation: The Senate has passed an excellent Food Stamp bill. The House Agriculture Committee shows little willingness to act. The Administration is willing, but doesn't want to spend much money doing it. Furthermore, even if a Food Stamp Reform Bill does pass the House and a House-Senate Conference Committee is able to work out the differences in their two versions and the President signs the bill, the increase in appropriations must still be sought from the Appropriations Committees.

The Senate has with the passage of S.2547 achieved much, but much more must be done if that achievement is not to prove hollow. ■

it says here . . .

A MAJOR RELIGIOUS EVENT: NCC'S UPCOMING GENERAL ASSEMBLY, TO BE HELD IN DETROIT

NEW YORK, N.Y. — An estimated 3,000 Protestant, Anglican and Orthodox church leaders from all over the United States and some from abroad will meet during the last month of this decade in Detroit's Cobo Hall to chart the course of the nation's cooperative church movement for the next ten years.

The occasion will be the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches, eighth in a series held every three years in a different part of the country to review some 70 cooperative programs and to decide the future course of the churches' work together.

The General Assembly—basic governing body of the Council—is composed of 794 men and women who are the official representatives of the 33 member communions. These representatives are elected by their respective communions and are responsible to them.

To convene from November 30 through December 4, the Assembly will elect a new NCC president and ruling officers, a 245-member policy-making General Board which meets three times a year, and name the 800-member General Assembly to serve from 1970-73. NCC President Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, head of Macalester College and former U.S. Secretary for Health, Education and Welfare, will preside.

The theme of the 1969 Assembly is "Therefore Choose Life" based upon Deut. 30:19-20, "I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse; therefore choose life, that you and your descendants may live, loving the Lord your God, obeying his voice, and cleaving to him; for that means life to you and length of days. . . ."

The theme will dominate the various plenaries of the Assembly, worship services and discussions in smaller working groups.

A total of eight and one-half hours during sessions will be set aside for the official representatives of member communions to discuss "Goals for Mission in the Seventies," a process by which the NCC, the member communions and the Canadian Council of Churches, will seek to establish common goals.

Among the objectives of the forthcoming General Assembly are a reexamination of the present state of the churches and of the world; a review and evaluation of the basic purposes of the National Council of Churches; and the adoption of goals that will serve as guide and focus for cooperative programs in the 1970's.

Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, general secretary of the NCC, called this a "crucial" assembly. "So much transition is occurring in churches in terms of their own understanding of their ministry in relation to their culture. The ecumenical movement has now reached a stage where basic questions are needed to be asked in light of the role of the Church in the world, church unions and discussions of Christian unity, and the lively dialogue with Roman Catholics."

Each official representative to the Assembly will serve on one of 40 working groups that will study a tentative list of goals of the churches in the 1970's. Each group will review suggested areas of concern, assess theological and sociological implications, and develop recommendations to the plenary for approval of goals, strategies and policies for the National Council of Churches.

The Assembly's keynote speaker will be Dr. John Gardner, national chairman of the Urban Coalition and U.S. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the Johnson administration. Dr. Gardner's address is scheduled for Monday night, December 1, on the topic "Goals for an Urbanizing World."

Two major plenary sessions to which the general public is invited will be held during the week. The first opens the Assembly Sunday evening, November 30, with a festival service of worship. Dr. Joseph Sittler, noted Lutheran theologian and professor at the University of Chicago Divinity School, will preach the sermon. Dr. Sittler is the author of *The Doctrine of the World, Structure of Christian Ethics,* and *The Ecology of Faith,* has been chapel preacher at 22 of the nation's major universities and colleges, served on NCC committees and has been a delegate to the World Council of Churches.

The second general public session will be held on Tuesday, December 2, in which a sacred concert, prepared for the occasion by Duke Ellington, will be the highlight.

A special effort will be made to involve young people in this Assembly, NCC spokesmen said. The program is being prepared so that the voice of youth will be heard, and activities outside of the formal program are designed to elicit their interest and give non-voting delegates a chance to speak to the churches.

Worship services are planned to elicit religious expression from different cultural groups in U.S. society. The first festival service will be "traditional" in form and innovative in content. Music will be provided by Eastern Michigan University symphony orchestra and massed church choirs from the Detroit area, under the direction of Dr. Blaine Ballard, the university's music director.

Other services are being planned by Blacks, by a group of Roman Catholic Medical Mission Sisters, by students and by the NCC's Department of Art and Culture.

Assembly participants fall into seven categories: voting representatives, alternate voting representatives, fraternal delegates and consultants who may speak from the floor but have no vote, as well as observers, and accredited and general visitors.

A special program for non-voting participants is planned during the four periods when Assembly delegates meet in sections. Local churches, regional and national denominational offices, councils of churches, and Church Women United are urged to encourage interested people to attend these programs which will deal with topics of crucial interest to the churches such as peace, race relations, the generation gap, the urban crisis, Roman Catholic relations, and new forms of mission and goals for the churches in the 1970's. Some programs will be designed for questions and answers about the NCC and the ecumenical movement. A variety of methods will be used—movies, lectures, discussion, simulation, teach-ins, and others.

Those who wish to participate in the General Assembly, in any of the seven categories listed above, may obtain further information and registration forms from: The Rev. J. Allan Ranck, Room 880, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. ■

METHODIST BOARD ASKS SPEED-UP OF VIETNAM TROOP WITHDRAWAL

LAKE JUNALUSKA, N.C. — (UMI) — Pleas for a speed-up of U.S. troop withdrawal from Vietnam, repeal of the draft, support for selective conscientious objection, and seating of Communist China in the UN were voted here Oct. 6-9 by the United Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns.

The actions speak only for the Board and not for the church, but all votes were either unanimous or nearly so.

On the Middle East, the Board opposed "either threatened aggression or territorial expansion by armed force," and called for settlement of boundaries by negotiation, humane settlement of the refugee problem and an end to the sale of arms by larger nations.

In other action, the Board of Christian Social Concerns called on the U.S. Senate to refuse confirmation of Judge Clement F. Haynsworth as a member of the U.S. Supreme Court.

President Nixon was asked to select "a distinguished appointee who has earned the right to the full respect of the American people."

* * * * *

CHURCH WOMEN ENDORSE "APPROPRIATE" SEX EDUCATION

NEW YORK, N.Y. — "Appropriately graded sex education classes conducted by trained and qualified teachers" has been endorsed by the Executive Committee of Church Women United.

Urging its affiliates in the country to support school administrations in "all valid efforts" to meet the needs of children and parents in this field, the committee also expressed its confidence in SIECUS, the Sex Information and Education Council in the U.S.; the American Association of Sex Education and Counselors; and the National Council of Family Relations.

When schools are attacked for such programs, said the CWU committee's resolution, "we urge local units to make responsible explorations of the situation and to report their findings to the schools and the community at large."

Sexuality, it declared, should be "accepted with thanksgiving and used with reverence and joy at a time when our society is confronted with so many negative and distorted images of sex."

* * * * *

FORMER NCC PRESIDENT OPPOSES TAXING FOUNDATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — J. Irwin Miller, a past president of the National Council of Churches, was joined by the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame, in testimony here against a proposed tax reform bill which would tax foundations. Testifying before the Senate Finance Committee on Oct. 6, they held that if this part of the bill were passed, a 7.5 percent tax on the income of all foundations would cut their annual gifts by $65 million.

Mr. Miller, chairman of the Cummins Engine Co., of Columbus, Ind., told the senators: "If foundations are good, they should be stimulated; if evil, they should be extinguished."

Father Hesburgh, who is also chairman of the President's Commission on Civil Rights, warned that such a tax would affect all colleges and universities which benefit from substantial foundation support.

Others testifying before the committee included Dr. Jonas Salk, who noted that the polio vaccine he discovered could not have been developed without foundation funds, and Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D.-Conn.), who held that the present "reform bill" would hurt the "good" foundations and do little to curb the abuses of those which have been created to avoid taxes.

USA And USSR Churchmen in Joint Call for Disarmament

St. Louis, Mo. (Special Correspondence)

THE "absolute folly" of thinking that continuing the spiraling arms race is a means of achieving world peace was the "common conviction" of a group of 24 church leaders from the USSR and the United States. From October 3 through 6, they took part in a consultation on Christian concern for the limitation and reduction of arms. These most significant talks in recent years were held at Fordyce House, a conference center of the University of St. Louis.

Hosts to the eight-member Russian delegation were the Rev. Dr. Robert Bilheimer, who heads the Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches, and Msgr. Marvin Bordelon of the Division of World Justice and Peace of the U.S. Catholic Conference.

Papers had been prepared and circulated in advance on the technical aspects of strategic weapons systems as well as on the specific measures which have been undertaken by governments and churches to limit and eventually end the production of nuclear weapons.

Major sections of the statement issued by the Consultation on Christian Concern for the Limitation and Reduction of Arms follow:

"The convening of the consultation was based on the conviction that Christians everywhere are called to be agents of reconciliation in the world and to transcend as much as possible the temporal divisions which separate them. Furthermore, the consultation was based on the belief that the Christian faith has direct and profound implications for world problems such as arms limitation and disarmament because such problems are a root to human problems.

"The predominant themes of the consultation were the profound Christian concern motivating the participants in their pursuit of international peace and acknowledgment of the peril which mankind faces from the threat of nuclear annihilation.

"The common conviction among the group was the absolute folly of thinking that continuing the spiraling arms race is a means of achieving world peace or even national security.

"Also evident was the unanimous agreement that arms limitation is essential as a step toward the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament.

"Among the topics of arms limitation which were discussed and which received the highest expressions of concern were the following: limitation of strategic weapons systems such as intercontinental ballistic missiles; anti-ballistic missiles (ABM); and MIRV, multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles; a ban on underground nuclear tests and on the emplacement of nuclear weapons on the seabed; universal ratification and rapid implementation of the non-proliferation treaty; and a ban on chemical and biological weapons.

"Numerous steps were suggested by which the churches might develop deeper awareness of the need for more effective actions by the United Nations and by which the church might promote the cause of peace among members of their congregations.

The statement was signed by Dr. Bilheimer, Msgr. Bordelon and Bishop Vladimir Juvenaly, on behalf of the Christian Churches of the USSR.

In addition to the bishop, spokesmen for the Russian delegation included churchmen of the Moscow Patriarchate and Baptist Union of the USSR, the Moscow and Leningrad theological academies and the Evangelical Church in Latvia.

The eight Protestant leaders included, in addition to Dr. Bilheimer, Dr. Paul Anderson, NCC specialist in Eastern European Affairs; Mr. Josiah Beeman, Secretary for International Affairs, UPUSA; Dr. Alan Geyer, editor of *The Christian Century;* Dr. Vernon Ferwerda, professor of political science at Renssalear Polytechnic Institute; and Dr. Herbert Scoville, Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Roman Catholic spokesmen included Bishop John J. Dougherty, Auxiliary Bishop of Newark; Bishop Peter L. Gerety, Coadjutor Bishop of Portland, Me.; Bishop Ernest J. Primeau, Bishop of Manchester, N.H.; and Dr. Thomas E. Bird, professor of Slavic languages at Queens College, New York. ■

LETTERS

A MODEST PROPOSAL

Many Christian churches have become split into liberal and conservative camps by the "polarization" now sweeping this nation.

When such division recently struck our own congregation, I wrote "A Modest Proposal" as a satire to illustrate the problem and help promote reconciliation.

Since it is so universal today, I hope you will share with your readers this Modest Proposal for the consideration of the Pastoral Search Committee:

The man you select should be moderately dynamic, charismatically calm and progressively conservative.

He should agree to handle all baptisms, weddings, sick calls and funerals personally — freeing his staff to monitor the switchboard.

He must not take any position that might jeopardize the Annual Fund Drive.

If a new church is built, he should favor "Contemporary Gothic."

He and his wife should be "teetotalers who hold their martinis well." Their children must relate cooperatively to all peer groups. Their dog must like cats.

Each Sunday the service will open with all hands singing "Onward Christian Soldiers."

Above all, the man you recommend must be a flexible fellow, equipped with a multi-dimensional mind and a forked tongue — programmed to please all elements in our Passionately Polarized Parish.

The new head minister will stand tall in the pulpit and announce, "Conservatives to the Right. Liberals to the Left."

When the congregation is properly re-seated, a velvet curtain will descend down the middle, so the Right won't know what the Left is doing.

The minister will then face the Right and preach: "Christ's Concern for Law and Order . . . Ten Commandments . . . Our Patriotic Heritage . . . Decline & Fall of America? . . . Communism is Our Foe . . . School Prayer . . . Perils of Pornography . . . Riots are Ruinous . . . The Jensen Report . . . Equal Responsibility? . . . Our Revolting Youth . . . America IS Beautiful . . . Initiative, Enterprise, Integrity . . . Our Spineless 'Intellectuals' . . . Traditional Sex . . . and How We Can Win in Viet Nam."

At the same time, the minister will face the Left and preach: "Christ's Concern for Compassion . . . Are Absolutes Obsolete? . . . Right of Conscience . . . Situation Ethics . . . Civil Disobedience . . . Boston Tea Party . . . Pike's Pique . . . Dialectic Dialogues . . . Freud, Jung, Kierkegaard . . . Relevance of Riots . . . Bigoted Brothers . . . Project Equality . . . The Walker Report . . . Police Brutality . . . The Pluralistic Pew . . . Poverty is OUR Problem . . . Where the Action Is . . . Modern Sex . . . and Why We Should Get OUT of Viet Nam."

After 30 minutes a chime will chime and the sides will sing in their separate cells. On the Right we'll have "Faith of Our Fathers" and on the Left "We Shall Overcome."

As the last strains die, the curtain will rise and the united congregation will harmonize "Blest Be the Tie That Binds" in seven different keys. . . . It is respectfully submitted that it will take such a Man and such a Service to meet today's demands that the Church be all things to all people at once.

Walter W. Seifert
Associate Professor
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

LET'S NOT GET MOON STRUCK

Every event, including our moon landing has to be seen from the point of view of whether it increases or lessens the danger of war. It is an ominous sign that a number of senators who have been critical of our government's war policy in Vietnam made speeches as the astronauts were returning, urging national unity behind the President's "peace" proposals.

"Seven Republicans and one Democrat took the floor for a half hour to pledge their support of the Paris peace negotiations and urge North Vietnam to make some response to the announced American troop withdrawals. . . .

"Henry A. Kissinger, President Nixon's chief foreign policy adviser in the White House was reported to have encouraged the project." (N.Y. Times, 7/23/69)

Isn't it obvious that the great achievement of our scientists and the heroism of our astronauts are being used to strengthen the policy that has already cost 38,900 American lives and millions of Vietnamese casualties?

Those who understand the terrible danger of a nuclear and chemical-biological holocaust have the responsibility to speak out now and not let our people or Congress get moon struck.

The struggle for peace in Vietnam and throughout the world has become even more difficult and more urgent.

Walter Lowenfels
Peekskill, N.Y.

FAMILY PLANNING

David Ackerman (Washington Comment) TEMPO, July 1) mentioned much, and accused others of not having mentioned this and that, but it appears that none of them (Mr. Ackerman included) bothered to mention one of the most pressing needs of our time — family planning. Do they realize the magnitude of this program, and its potential for giving happiness to people whose houses and yards are glutted with little nippers who have next to nothing to eat and wear? They should experience this life sometime — a lot of us have been through it.

A. S. Holmes, M.D.
Exec. Director
Mountain Maternal Health League, Inc.
Berea, Ky.

IMMEDIATE RELIGIOUS JOURNALISM

For some time I have wanted to congratulate you and your staff for the excellent job you have been doing with TEMPO. However, the issue (June 1) devoted so massively to The Black Manifesto deserves special commendation.

This is the kind of immediate religious journalism of record which, if repeated only three or four times a year, with documents and extensive commentary, will certainly justify the existence of TEMPO among the range of older religious journals.

More power (Black, white, ecumenical) to you.

Homer A. Jack
Director
Division of Social Responsibility
Unitarian Universalist Association
Boston, Mass.

WHAT IS OBSCENITY?

Thanks for the review by Harvey Cox of the movie *I Am Curious (Yellow),* (TEMPO, June 15).

Most people have condemned it, evidently because of the so-called "obscenity." I think it's high time we quit this old habit of labeling sex obscene, and begin instead to label violence obscene.

But your report sounds objective and reasonable; and I plan to see the show just as soon as the local Establishment (at Youngstown, Ohio) give up their ban on "obscenity."

Merrill Leonard
Fowler, Ohio

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

Reviewing:
MEDIUM COOL
Directed by Haskell Wexler
With Robert Forster, Verna Bloom and Harold Blankenship

SUMMER, 1968. A thousand American young people are seated in a street in Chicago. At the Democratic National Convention someone has just risen to ask if anything can be done to end "the police state tactics now being used by Mayor Daley in this city." Tanks roll toward the young demonstrators. Police don gasmasks. National guardsmen hold their rifles at the ready. In the midst of the demonstrators an NBC-TV truck stands taking pictures of the whole scene for the 6:30 news. But the fact is that the very presence of the news media is preventing the police from wading into the crowd with their sticks. The youngsters know it. "The whole world is watching!," they chant, holding their fingers in the V-sign.

But now something decisive happens. The NBC truck has finished taking its pictures. The camera and sound men pack their equipment, and the truck begins to roll slowly away. The demonstrators become anxious. "Don't leave us, NBC! Don't leave us, NBC!," they chant pleadingly. But it is no use. The cool mediamen have finished their job. They can now pack up and return to their martinis and their air-conditioned hotel rooms. While the police break the kids' heads.

Haskell Wexler's *Medium Cool* is at once a disturbing repristination of Chicago 1968. where, as Tom Wicker has put it, "all America became radicalized." It is also an attempt to indict the media for its reportorial coolness and detachment from pain and reality. In its first objective it succeeds brilliantly. I am not sure it does so in its second. Maybe that's because it is the very genius of the camera to report and recreate, while the bedeviling problem of how reportorial techniques have separated all of us from each other may be too deep and perplexing to uncover in a movie.

Haskell Wexler is first and foremost a cameraman. The film shows this both positively and negatively. He did not come into directing from stage directing or from writing or from acting as many other directors have. He has filmed such cinematically powerful movies as "The Thomas Crown Affair" and "In the Heat of the Night." In *Medium Cool* there is hardly a moment of mediocre camera work. But as a screenplay writer Mr. Wexler is a good cameraman. He both starts and ends the film with automobile accidents. In the opening sequence, John, the cameraman-protagonist is coldly photographing the victim of a car accident even before he calls the ambulance. In the closing sequence, John is himself in the wreck and someone is coolly taking *his* picture. But the material between these two cliche' brackets is of much higher quality. Using actual footage shot in Chicago, 1968, it tells the story of a tough, cool mediaman who gradually becomes involved in the things he is filming. The apple pie violence the movie skillfully suggests (usually not by showing it directly at all) cannot fail to make anyone wonder again what is happening to our nation.

For example, in recreating the assassination of Robert Kennedy, Wexler places his camera in the kitchen of the Los Angeles hotel where Bobby is making his victory speech. Kennedy himself is out of sight and only his voice is heard. As the camera wanders around the kitchen, hardly pausing on the hotel employees there, *we* know what is about to happen. The suspense is nearly maddening. Kennedy finishes his remarks. The crowd cheers and we know he is moving toward *this* kitchen, where the fatal shots will be fired. But Wexler, with a superb sense of timing, cuts the scene just as the door from the ballroom to the kitchen swings open and the Kennedy party begins to enter. The rest goes on in our own heads.

Even in his treatment of the Grant Park blood bath, Wexler demonstrates his uncanny command of the medium. We are watching the introduction of Mayor Daley in the International Amphitheatre. As pudgy, middle - aged delegates prance around with Daley signs, the organ strikes up "Happy Days Are Here Again," the frolicsome theme song of the New Deal. We stay a few minutes and then, without cutting the music, Wexler switches to Grant Park. We watch police clubbing and dragging young people, see the fear and terror, glimpse the blood and bandages — and all the while "Happy Days Are Here Again" continues to bounce merrily from the sound system. Nothing could have pictured more dramatically the collapse of the political tradition which Daley, and to some extent the whole convention, represented. The same music was going on. But underneath, the reality was grotesquely and horridly different.

The focus for the frigid cameraman's conversion is his relationship to a young Appalachian widow now living in Chicago. Harold Blankenship playing her son is superb in being just what he is — a mountain kid in the big city. The cameraman already has a sexy blonde nurse girlfriend. Once he is shown having a nude rough-house romp with her in his apartment, for which the rating experts have X'ed *Medium Cool*. The point is, however, that he eventually leaves his sleek chick for the Appalachian widow. In characterizing the widow (Verna Bloom), incidentally, Wexler does an impressively sensitive job recreating her West Virginia religious background and her hand-clapping church in Chicago. It was gratifying to see the river-baptism and the pentecostal worship treated with respect and reverence in this film, not always the attitude toward religion one expects from Hollywood.

If Wexler has not dealt profoundly enough with the question of man-with-camera confronting suffering, he has at least opened it again in an unavoidable way. Martin Buber once wrote about that miraculous moment when some inanimate object, or nature itself, is encountered as though it were another thou. The opposite happens when another thou is seen as the object of a technological reporting process. The cameraman's helper, Gus, who is a soundman, describes himself in one brief cocktail conversation in the film as, "sort of a human elongation of a tape recorder." That is just the point. When the camera interposes itself between person and person to such an extent that the person photographed becomes an object, the photographer - recorder loses something of his own humanity. Fellini touched on this problem in *La Dolce Vita*, in which the *papparazi*, free lance Italian news photographers, hover around everything like unfeeling furies. Antonioni did it in *Blowup*, where the photographer not only makes love by means of his shutterbox but can't believe anything is real until he puts it on film. But the issue always sticks in our craw because we know, even as we watch, that all this is a picture.

The camera, of course, is only one example of a technology which seems to interpose itself between persons, undercutting the possibility of intimacy. Similar indictments have been sworn out against factories, jet planes and contraceptive devices. The other side of the coin is that technologies also create the possibility of new kinds of community. Jets enable us to see places and people we would never ordinarily see. Telephones are no good for making love, but they can enable us to talk with friends and family in times of crisis. The complexity of the man-technology interface is a baffling one. Wexler makes a daring effort to prove it in *Medium Cool*. He will make more movies, I hope, even though he has to do so with cameras and sound equipment. And if his present effort is any indication, they'll be worth seeing. ■

Race against famine

(Continued from page 3)

whites. They always have and always will. No conceivable degree of family planning could possibly alter that mathematical fact.

There is one more myth that obstructs the road to action. It is the belief that the time for decisive action is past, and that sweeping famine is inevitable.

The distinguished British scientist and novelist, C. P. Snow, has recently noted that it is the view of men of sober judgment that "many millions of people in the poor countries are going to starve to death before our eyes. . . . We shall see them doing so," he adds, "upon our television sets."

Wholesale famine is not inevitable. I am convinced that there is time to reverse the situation, if we will but use it. Only barely sufficient time. But time, nevertheless.

It is the time which has been given us by those who have created the revolution in agricultural technology.

It is a revolution which already has increased the yields of food grains by more than 100 per cent in parts of Southeast Asia and which promises to boost yields by one-half ton per acre throughout Asia. It is a revolution which has expanded the number of acres sown with the new seeds from 200 in 1965 to 20 million in 1968—and an estimated 34 million in 1969—but which has yet to touch more than a small percentage of the rice and wheat-producing acreage of the world.

I am confident that application of the new technology will dramatically expand the rate of agricultural growth and will buy two decades of time—admittedly the barest minimum.

HOW CAN THIS BEST BE DONE? To begin with, the developed nations must give every measure of support they possibly can to those countries which have already established family-planning programs.

Technologically advanced countries can make one of their greatest contributions by initiating a new order of intensity in research into reproductive biology. They have starved their research facilities of funds in this field. The result is that we are still only on the threshold of understanding the complexities of conception, and therefore only at the outer edge of the necessary knowledge to help make family planning in the developing countries beneficial on a meaningful scale.

Annual worldwide expenditures for research in reproductive biology now total roughly $50 million. The hardheaded estimate is that the sum should treble to $150 million annually—for the next 10 years—if we are to develop the knowledge necessary for the most effective and acceptable kinds of family planning.

Our parsimony in this matter in the U.S. is illustrated by the discouraging fact that, out of a total budget of nearly a billion dollars, the National Institutes of Health this year are spending less than $10 million for research in population-related phenomena. Hundreds of millions of dollars for death control. Scarcely one per cent of that amount for fertility control.

Above all else, there is a need to develop a realistic sense of urgency in all countries over the population problem.

Programs are beginning to show progress in limited areas. But no reduction in birth rates has yet been achieved anywhere in the underdeveloped areas which can significantly affect overall world population totals.

The threat of unmanageable population pressures is very much like the threat of nuclear war. The threat of violence is intertwined with the threat of undue population growth. It is clear that population pressures in the underdeveloped societies can lead to economic tensions and political turbulence: stresses in the body politic which in the end can bring on conflicts among nations.

What we must comprehend is this: the population problem will be solved one way or the other.

Providence has placed you and me—and all of us—at that fulcrum-point in history where a rational, responsible, moral solution to the population problem must be found. If we shirk that responsibility, we will have committed the crime. But it will be those who come after us who will pay the undeserved . . . and the unspeakable . . . penalites. ■

—From an address delivered at the 1969 Commencement exercises at Notre Dame University.

IMPERFECT IN ORIGINAL

November 15, 1969 Vol. 2, No. 3

TEMPO IS ONE YEAR OLD — See pages 2 and 11

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New Haven, Conn.

TEMPOsitions . . .

TEMPO'S FIRST TWELVE-MONTH —WHAT'S NEXT?

As this issue's cover proclaims, TEMPO is now one year old.

A little more than that, as a matter of fact, but we were so busy putting together issues that followed the one-year anniversary date of October 1, we scarcely noticed.

That's the way it has been—a crowded and turbulent twelve-month of reporting on events, movements and viewpoints in the life of the Church and of man in a time of ceaseless ferment, change and angst tempered, let us thank God, by hope.

At this time of reflection and review, we feel much gratitude for the astonishing number of cheering letters, telephone calls and other communications indicating that TEMPO means so much to many.

We ponder a lesser number of messages to the effect that TEMPO's contents have, from time to time, been a source of shock and dismay. Which, from time to time, led us to wonder if TEMPO should begin to blunt or soften its reporting and commenting on the things that are ugly and unjust, cruel and conscience-searing in the contemporary scene. But blunting and removing sharp edges on issues confronting the church and us all are just not TEMPO's bag, in the "now" idiom. And we intend they never will be.

Over the past year TEMPO strove, sometimes successfully, other times imperfectly, to inform and provoke thought about the host of urgent issues the Church and her people must wrestle with in these exciting, perplexing and often frustrating times. No publication can cover all the ground—in a twelve-month or in twelve years. But we are rather surprised ourselves at the breadth and range of topics, issue by issue, which on looking back, serve as a kind of kaleidoscopic image of this split second in man's march.

May we recite some of them?

Working in reverse chronology: **Overpopulation and the Race Against Famine — Crisis and Renewal in Liturgy — Church Response to the Black Manifesto — Superpowers, War and Waste — New Life Styles for Urban Man — The Youth Rebellion — The Vietnam Regime We've Been Fighting For — The Black-White Power Struggle in Church Structures — New Music for New Forms of Worship — New Day for Women — Mainland China — Christians, Jews and the Middle East Crisis — The Scandal of Public Welfare Policies — Churches and Taxes — The People and the Pentagon — Black Manifesto: First Shock — The School in the Ghetto — The Arms Race and The Search for Ways Out — Religion and Irreligion — The Vietnamese: Profile of a People — The Emerging New Black Church — Youth in Search of a Future — The Anatomy of Schooling — The Challenge of Space Conquest — Forgotten Americans: The Ten Million Who Speak Spanish — Police Power and Community — The Church and America's Poor — Growing Unity Among Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox — The Church in the Seventies — Mission Today and Tomorrow. . .**

But let's stop here.

THE REAL POINT IS THAT TEMPO's FUTURE HANGS IN THE BALANCE.

Until now, in a kind of institutional, barrel-bottom-scraping process, TEMPO has been subsidized through various program units of the National Council of Churches. This, it is clear, cannot continue—lest worthy program suffer.

Without any undue promotional pressure, a heartening number of TEMPO readers who had been receiving introductory copies of TEMPO responded with paid subscriptions. We thank them, most sincerely.

Unhappily the majority on our mailing list continue to receive TEMPO gratis and have overlooked what now has become a serious obligation to pay their and TEMPO's way. **The introductory or free list will have to be closed firmly at the end of this year.**

This brief review of our first year, then, must now become **an appeal to all readers without exception to support** TEMPO **with paid subscriptions and, where possible, donations,** so that TEMPO can have a second year and more than that to come.

If you have been receiving TEMPO without obligation please skip on to page 11 and use any (or all) of the convenient forms for subscription remittances and gifts, to keeping TEMPO coming—to you and your friends.

May we hear from you soon? Your response will be decisive.

FLETCHER COATES
For The Editors

TEMPO

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates
ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell
ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler
PROMOTION: David Poindexter
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull
Subscription Correspondence: TEMPO, P.O. Box 81, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010
Editorial Correspondence: Dept. of Information, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027
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An Outstanding Historian Looks at Moratorium Day and Its Meaning

by Henry Steele Commager

On October 15, Moratorium Day, upwards of one million concerned Americans joined in peaceful mass demonstrations calling for an immediate end to the utterly discredited war in Vietnam. From all accounts most of those who participated were the fed-up (and draft-vulnerable) young, though their increasingly fed-up elders were out in force, too.

On November 15, the date of this issue, a still greater demonstration for an end to the war has been promised, with activities to be centered in Washington, D.C. beginning Nov. 13. In the following article, historian Henry Steele Commager puts these events in the perspective of a significant change in the mood of Americans now, particularly young Americans.

YEAR ago, a tide of opposition to the Vietnam War forced President Johnson to bow out of the presidential race, halted the bombing of North Vietnam and inaugurated peace negotiations.

This response to public opinion was spectacular and unprecedented; not since Buchanan had a President been forced to withdraw his candidacy for re-election.

Although the ambiguous position on the war of both Nixon and Humphrey discouraged the more dedicated followers of Sen. Eugene McCarthy, these concessions and overtures allayed public resentment of the war, and Mr. Nixon's assurance that he had a plan for ending that war temporarily quieted the opposition.

But it was quieted, not dissipated or stopped. The failure of President Nixon to live up to his campaign promises and, even more, his palpable inability to comprehend either the depth of public disillusionment or the urgency of positive action has reinvigorated the protest movement. Now it has reached a second climacteric, one which differs in important aspects from the first.

For the Moratorium—and all that it symbolizes—was initiated by college students, but it is not at all a "children's crusade." It has a catholicity and a respectability far beyond that of the earlier protest.

Its leaders are not drawn chiefly from the academic community but from every element of American society. Its political sponsors do not—like Sen. McCarthy—walk a lonely road from state to state, but constitute a veritable army, an army recruited from both, not for an outraged but desperate minority, but for an outraged but confident majority of articulate American opinion. And it is not only public opinion polls—which can be discounted—that demonstrate majority opposition to the Vietnam catastrophy, but Congressional elections, which cannot.

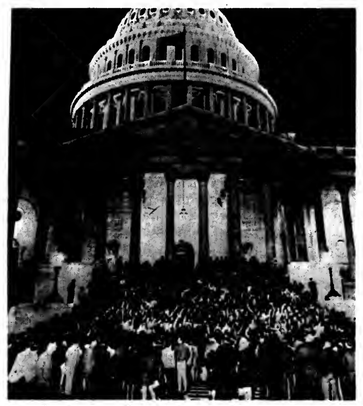
Victories of anti-war candidates in Massachusetts, in New York, in Wisconsin, proclaim that the public is fed up with proclamations, with promises, with double talk; fed up with the steady deterioration of city and countryside, of transportation and schools, of the arrogance of the military power; fed up with destruction and death, and wants action. Now.

Welcome, Students!

Much of the credit for arousing public opinion anew and for organizing the astonishingly successful Moratorium goes to the students. This massive re-entry of students into the political—AND THE MORAL—scene is a welcome sign that the young have, in a sense, come home again.

After the defeat of McCarthy, many of them retired into a sullen or cynical disillusionment, indulged in self-pity, sought private salvation. Not surprisingly—because they were young—they had expected instant success. When this did not materialize, they allowed their sense of outrage and frustration to get the better of their common sense.

Now the young have turned back to those principles and tactics that were so successful in 1968—principles and tactics that have characterized American protest movements from the very beginning: the principles of patience and persuasion, the tactics of political organization and pressure.



One thousand youths stage an anti-war rally on the Capitol steps on the eve of Moratorium Day, Oct. 15.

They should be gratified at the success of these methods. After all, it took 30 years for the Abolitionists to rally public opinion to a crusade against slavery, half a century for women's suffrage advocates to achieve their goal, a generation for progressives to win a New Deal. And if the stunning response to the Moratorium is more a tribute to the moral obtuseness and the intellectual confusion of the Nixon Administration than it is to the energy and elegance of the student protesters, that does not detract from the student achievement but merely confirms their perspicacity.

President Nixon's response to this great upsurge of public opinion against the American involvement in the war is characteristic—characteristic in its ambiguity, characteristic in its resort to the techniques of Madison Avenue, characteristic, and this is more serious, in its stubborn persistence in error.

We are in the process of withdrawing from Vietnam slowly. Very slowly. The latest target date is now three years away. We are withdrawing our troops, so he assures us, but actually there are just about as many American soldiers and airmen in Vietnam as there were a year ago. We are cutting down on the draft, he points out, but actually more young men have been drafted this year than last. We no longer insist on military victory (which in any event would continue to elude us) but we insist on peace terms that can be justified only if based on military victory. We are prepared to "Vietnamize" the war, but to do this with the present Saigon government is to guarantee it will not (and perhaps cannot) be successful.

A Mistake Compounded

We acknowledge that our participation in the war was a mistake but are engaged in compounding that mistake by continuing our participation through what are, in effect, our mercenaries. Certainly, if George III had withdrawn British troops but left the Hessians and the Brunswickers, Washington would not have accepted the theory that Britain was making peace.

The Administration's justification of all this is plausible rather than persuasive. The words we now hear from every high official are "massacre" and "blood-bath." If we "abandon" South Vietnam, we leave 17 million Vietnamese to their fate, and that would be dishonorable. May we not say here what Thomas Jefferson said to similar arguments: "Shake not your raw head and bloody bones at me."

There is no reason to suppose the North Vietnamese, or their allies in the South, will in fact do what the Indonesian government did to the Communists of that country (and without a word of protest from us). Vietnam has had 30 years of war and blood-letting and is sick of the whole business.

It is in any event inconceivable that an American withdrawal could cost as many lives as the American participation has already caused—half a million soldiers (by our own reckoning) and probably equal numbers of noncombatants, victims of our insensate bombing.

But, quite aside from this, it should be taken for granted that Washington is not wholly without resources, that some arrangement could and would be worked out for international supervision of Vietnam after the American withdrawal, and that the United Nations and the Geneva Agreement signatories would all have an interest in avoiding further bloodshed in that hapless country. Surely, American statesmanship is not so bankrupt it can pursue only one course—a course already bankrupt and repudiated, a course guaranteed to continue the war in Vietnam indefinitely either with American or with Vietnamese troops.

It would be a tragedy if the energies and the moral fervor that have gone into the Moratorium, and into the attack on the war in Vietnam, were to be dissipated by success; if the anti-war crusade were to be buried beneath the ruins of its own triumph.

If the American public fails to realize the lessons of the war, we shall be little better off than we are now. A more exacting task, and one of even greater significance for the world, is to prevent a large war.

The Whole Range of Errors

What is called for now is a top-to-bottom re-examination of the whole course of American foreign policy since the gigantic folly of 1949—the folly of rejecting Communist China in favor of Chiang Kai-shek. What is called for is not just an acknowledgment of error in Vietnam but a consideration of error in the whole range of foreign policy for 20 years.

Unless we can start to thaw out the Cold War, unless we can reach some kind of agreement with the Soviet on disarmament and on the reduction of tensions around the world, unless we can somehow put a damper on United States-Soviet rivalry in the Middle East and elsewhere, unless we abandon our intransigent attitude toward the admission of China to the United Nations, there can be no lasting peace. Unless we abandon the notion that we are appointed by Providence to maintain the moral standards of the globe and to impose upon the globe a kind of Pax Americana, unless we can find some way to stop the insane waste of resources on the military—one thousand million dollars since 1945—unless we can reverse the process of the erosion of our constitutional principles of the superiority of the civilian to the military, unless we can solve our domestic problems and reunite our weakened and fragmented society, we ourselves will be incapable of playing an effective role in the great task of peace-keeping throughout the world.

It is to these larger and longer and harder tasks that the young must now dedicate themselves. The moral fervor that has gone into the Vietnam crusade must be disciplined and organized and directed into new channels. To achieve this will require patience, intelligence, discipline, resourcefulness—and magnanimity. Our own generation has failed to display these qualities of mind and of heart: Is it too much to call upon the next generation to do so? ■

Henry Steele Commager, perhaps America's best known historian, is author of such famous books as "Majority Rule and Minority Rights," "Freedom, Loyalty, Dissent," and "Crusaders for Freedom." He has taught at a number of the world's leading universities and is now Professor of History at Amherst College. His article is copyrighted, 1969, by North American Newspaper Alliance.

Idaho's Senior Senator Looks at "Five Futile Years of War"

VIETNAM: DISENGAGEMENT NOW

by Senator Frank Church

IN the second year of the American Revolution, the great William Pitt rose in the House of Lords and spoke words which, in a less civilized nation, might have been taken for treason. He declared:

"My lords, you cannot conquer America . . . You may swell every expense and every effort still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles . . . your efforts are forever vain and impotent, doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely, for it irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds of your enemies. . . . If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms— never - never - never - never!"

The England to which Pitt counseled was not a decrepit nation but a rising empire still approaching the peak of its power. The inglorious end of the American war, from the British point of view, was not followed by a worldwide loss of confidence in Britain's word or Britain's power. Yorktown was followed by Waterloo and, in the 19th century, Great Britain acquired vast new domains, becoming the vital center of world commerce and industry. The real loser of the American Revolutionary War was America's ally, France, whose prodigal waste of resources—all for the sake of humbling England—almost certainly helped bring about the French Revolution of 1789. To compound the irony, when the British Empire finally did disintegrate, it was not in the wake of defeat but of British "victories" in the two World Wars.

The paradox turns back upon us full circle. The victory denied George III by ragtag American rebels, fighting to end foreign rule, has now, nearly two centuries later, been denied to us in distant Vietnam by stubborn, native guerrilla fighters equally determined to drive the foreigner from their land.

Faced with their implacable resolve, what kind of "victory" can be won? The victory of holding a proud people hostage? The victory of inflicting a "favorable kill ratio" upon an enemy who will not quit? The victory of maintaining a puppet government in Saigon propped up by the money we lavish on it, and sustained in the field by the troops we send—and others we hire—to fight for it? No, there is no victory we can win in Vietnam worthy of the name. President Nixon himself concedes as much when he says: "We have ruled out attempting to impose a purely military solution on the battlefield."

In fact, our favored euphemism regarding Vietnam is not victory at all but an "honorable settlement," a term allowing of almost unlimited possibilities of interpretation. In the present circumstances, however, its meaning seems clear enough. On the one hand, we have been unable to suppress the rebellion; on the other hand, we do not wish to acknowledge that fact. We do not wish to acknowledge it to the Communists for fear their appetite for conquest will be whetted. We do not wish to acknowledge it to our allies for fear their confidence in our power will be diminished. And most of all, we do not wish to acknowledge it to ourselves, for fear that our own surprisingly fragile confidence in ourselves will be undermined. And so we seek an "honorable" settlement, an agreement under which no one will say what everyone knows: that the United States of America has made a bad mistake and finds it necessary to liquidate that mistake.

The time has come for the pretense to end; for the prideful nonsense to stop about securing an "honorable" settlement and avoiding a "disguised defeat." The truth is that as long as our troops stay in South Vietnam we shall occupy a hostile country. There is no way that the United States, as a foreign power and a Western one at that, can win a civil war among the Vietnamese. Even now, five years after we entered the conflict, it remains a struggle between rival factions of Vietnamese for control of the government of Saigon. The outcome rests, now as before, on the Vietnamese themselves.

If we can find the resolution to end our protracted involvement in this war, we shall suffer no lasting injury to our power or prestige. I do not think that the liquidation of our intervention in Vietnam will mean the loss of our global greatness, any more than the loss of the American colonies cost England her greatness in the 18th century, or any more than the loss of Algeria and Indochina cost France her national stature. On the contrary, the end of empire was not a defeat for France but a liberation, in the wake of which a demoralized nation recovered its good name in the world and its own self-esteem. The termination of our war in Vietnam would represent a similar liberation for America, and even a victory of sorts —a victory of principle over pride and of intelligent self-interest over messianic delusion.

The National Interest

The U.S. Government is not a charity-dispensing institution; its primary obligation is not to the Saigon generals or to some portion of the

Mauldin in the Chicago Sun-Times

"What we'd like to do is extricate ourselves without exactly leaving."

Vietnamese people, but to the American people, to their security and well-being. When all is said and done about our "honor" and "commitment," the fact remains that our presence in Vietnam can be justified—if it can be justified at all—in terms of American interests, correctly defined as the freedom and safety of the American people.

Before anyone can prescribe an American course of action for Vietnam, it is necessary to be absolutely explicit about what our interests are in that country and what they are not. I do not agree with President Nixon that, having crossed the bridge of intervention, it is useless to belabor the original issue— as if the presence of half a million American troops and the loss of nearly 40,000 American lives represented an investment that had to be redeemed by sacrificing still more lives, regardless of the wisdom of our continued presence there. It is quite essential that we reexamine the decisions of preceding administrations, not for the sake of political retribution or even for the sake of history, but for the express purpose of identifying our interests. Why we intervened in Vietnam in the first place has everything to do with whether and how we should get out.

"A great nation," the President says, "cannot renege on its pledges." What pledges, indeed, have we failed to keep? The amount of money, weapons ammunition, food, equipment, and supplies we have funneled into South Vietnam is beyond belief, vastly exceeding the outside help given North Vietnam and the Vietcong by all Communist governments combined. To fight for the south, we have sent an American expeditionary force of a half a million men; no Russians or Chinese have been imported to fight for the north. Hanoi and the Vietcong do their own fighting. I say that Saigon—with larger and better armed forces in the field than any arrayed against it—must stop relying on us to fight its war. We have kept our pledges, and done far more besides. We did not undertake to make South Vietnam the 51st American state; we did not promise to stand guard over the 17th parallel as though it were an American frontier.

Paradoxes of History

Withdrawing from Vietnam, according to President Nixon, "would bring peace now but it would enormously increase the danger of a bigger war later." The assertion that by fighting in Vietnam we prevent other wars is pure speculation, rooted not in evidence but in analogy, the analogy of the thirties when appeasement whetted Nazi Germany's appetite for aggression.

No good historian will buy that analogy. History unfolds more in paradoxes than in parallels.

In the case of Vietnam, we would do well to settle for the unwisdom that is in it and stop the sacrifice of real American lives for the sake of saving hypothetical ones in some conjectural war in an unforecastable future.

We dare not, says the President, abandon the South Vietnamese to "a massacre that would shock and dismay everyone in the world who values human life." Here again we are dealing with something that might happen; in the meantime does no one who values human life feel "shock and dismay" by the senseless sacrifice of American lives in endless assaults on useless hilltops and by death tools of hundreds of GI's every week? Surely there is another way to protect those South Vietnamese who may feel the need for sanctuary, if it comes to that. Better that we open our own gates to them than keep on sending Americans to die for them in their own land. As for the Saigon generals, there should be ample facilities for them on the French Riviera.

What indeed does Vietnam have to do with the vital interests of the United States, which is to say, with the freedom and safety of the American people? I attempted to define those interests four years ago shortly after our full-scale intervention in Vietnam began. As to freedom, I said:

"Freedom, as a matter of fact, is not really at issue in South Vietnam, unless we so degrade freedom as to confuse it with the mere absence of communism. Two dictatorial regimes, on sitting in Hanoi, the other in Saigon, struggle for control of the country. Whichever prevails, the outcome is not going to settle the fate of communism in the world at large nor the problem of guerrilla wars. They did not begin in Vietnam and will not end there. They will continue to erupt in far-flung places around the globe, wherever adverse conditions within a country permit Communist subversion to take root."

And as to the safety of the American people, I added:

"Nor can it be soundly contended that the security of the United States requires a military decision in South Vietnam. Our presence in the Far East is not anchored there. Saigon does not stand guard over Seattle. We conquered the Pacific Ocean in the Second World War. It is our moat, the broadest on earth, from the Golden Gate to the very shores of China. There is no way for the landlocked forces of Asia to drive us from the Pacific; there is no need for us to retain a military base on the mainland of Asia."

After five years of futile warfare, I see no reason to alter that evaluation of American interests. The plain fact is that we did not then, and do not now, have a vital interest in the preservation of the Thieu-Ky government, or even in the preservation of a non-Communist government in South Vietnam. Nor do we have a vital interest in whether the two Vietnams are united or divided We have preferences to be sure and our pride is at stake after committing ourselves so deeply, but preference and pride are sentiments, not interests. From the standpoint of our interests, we have been fighting an unnecessary war for five long years, making it possibly the most disastrous mistake in the history of American foreign policy. It can never be vindicated; it can only be liquidated.

An Unsuccessful War

Our strategy in Vietnam has failed but neither the Johnson Administration nor—thus far—the Nixon Administration has been willing to acknowledge that failure. In lieu of the tortured rationalizations of the previous administration, President Nixon experiments with a cautious troop withdrawal tied to the tenuous hope of a growing South Vietnamese military capacity. In their Midway communique, Mr. Nixon and Mr. Thieu rejoiced in hamlet elections, in "the failure of the other side to achieve its objectives," and in the new-found strength of the Saigon army, while Mr. Thieu himself recited appropriate lines about the "constant duty" of the Saigon forces "to assume a greater share of the burden in South Vietnam."

Perhaps this time, for the first time, the optimistic prognosis will be borne out. But so studiously does it ignore hard issues and well-known facts, that one strongly suspects that what we are confronted with today is not a new strategy but a new "image" for the discredited old strategy, a new device for postponing difficult decisions, a new expedient for holding off the critics of the war. It would appear that President Nixon, like President Johnson, is becoming preoccupied with politics to the neglect of policy.

This, in turn, leads to the frustration which gives rise to a search for scapegoats. In much the same way that the German general staff—which had actually initiated Germany's surrender in World War I—later perpetuated the myth of defeat by betrayal on the home front, the men who led us into the Vietnam quagmire have sought to place the blame for the catastrophe on their domestic critics, on those of us who said that we never should have entered the quagmire in the first place and who now insist that we ought to get out. The "real battlefield," according to this self-serving doctrine of the architects of failure, is not in Vietnam but in America, where, if only the critics would be silent, the will of the enemy would supposedly be broken. In its crude form as a spurious, jingoist "patriotism," the argument runs that the war critics are near-traitors, provisioners of "aid and comfort to the enemy."

But had these critics remained silent as the warmakers would have had them do, the limited war in Vietnam might by now have escalated into a full-scale war with China. Whatever hope of peace there now is, it is the "kibitzers" gift to the architects of failure. Long may they "kibitz."

Of all the misrepresentations which have been perpetrated about Vietnam, none has been more insulting to the intelligence and offensive to the moral sensibilities of young Americans than the portrayal of the Saigon regime as an upholder of freedom and democracy.

Mr. Clark Clifford, our last Secretary of Defense, who found the courage to tell President Johnson the truth about Vietnam, had this to say of the Saigon generals:

"There is complete callousness about the cost of the war to us. They have no concern over the loss of our men or treasure. They see us as a big, rich country, well able to afford it. They are going one way and we are going another. I see no likelihood of our goals getting closer together. But they have become very adroit at saying what the American public wants to hear . . . they are sweet-talking us."

What is more, they are exercising a veto over American policy in Vietnam. At a recent press conference, President Nixon reiterated that we were willing to negotiate on anything, except "the right of the people of South Vietnam to choose their own leaders." Then, calling for internationally supervised elections, Nixon said:

"We will accept the result of those elections and the South Vietnamese will as well, even if it is a Communist government."

Mr. Nixon may think so, but not Mr. Thieu. His immediate rebuttal was plain enough. The Saigon government, he said, had no intention of accepting a "coalition with the Communists" or "domination by the Communists" under any circumstances whatever. This is hardly surprising, since Mr. Thieu has consistently defied American policy. No sooner had he returned to Saigon from his love feast with President Nixon at Midway last June, than he proclaimed:

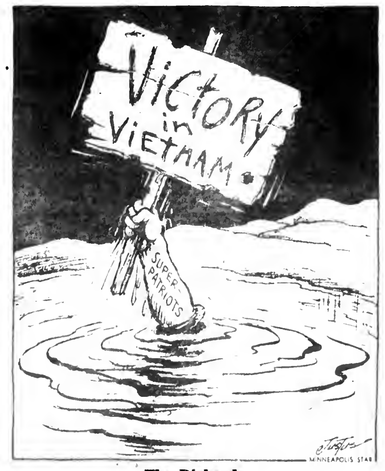
"I solemnly declare that there will be no coalition government, no peace cabinet, no transitional government, not even reconciliatory government."

In neither instance, did any disavowal issue from the White House. President Nixon, like his predecessor, appears to be manacled to the Saigon generals.

The Strategy of Peace

Sooner or later, Vietnam will revert to the control of the Vietnamese. Whether on the basis of a negotiated peace or an unnegotiated withdrawal, American forces will eventually have to be removed from Vietnam. When that happens, if not before, the Vietnamese civil war will be settled—as it should and would have been settled long ago but for American intervention—by the interplay of indigenous forces within Vietnam. If a formal settlement comports with the indigenous balance of forces, whatever it may be, the settlement will be a lasting one. If it does not, it will be overthrown.

There are—as we have learned and should



The Diehards

have known without this trial by fire—limits to the ability of an alien power to work its will in a hostile environment. Our own Civil War provides an example: after four years of savage warfare and 11 years of military occupation, the Union finally withdrew its forces from the South, allowing that region to revert to the political domination of the same people who had dominated the secessionist Confederacy.

Another example is provided by the Boer War, Britain's turn-of-the-century "Vietnam." After more than two years of frustrating warfare against a guerrilla force of provincial rebels—in the course of which the mighty British Empire became an object of universal scorn and detestation—the British finally beat the Boers, organized the Union of South Africa and then, perforce, turned the political control of the country back to the defeated Boers, who have dominated South Africa ever since.

The common factor in the American Civil War, the Boer War, and the Vietnam war is that each confronted a dominant alien power with an intolerable dilemma: it could impose its will only by the sustained application of overwhelming force; the alternative was to withdraw that force, leaving the indigenous factions to strike their own natural balance more or less as they would have if the alien power had not intervened in the first place. In the one instance, "victory" becomes insupportable, in the other, meaningless.

Weighing this dilemma along with the other main consideration, what is to be inferred for a strategy of peace?

The point of departure is the clear, candid acknowledgement of our own lack of vital interest in the internal regimes of the two Vietnams. This means that we must break through the pride barrier which has thus far deterred us from admitting that, from the standpoint of our own interests, this war is and always has been a mistake. The purpose of this admission is not flagellation but freedom—the freedom of action which will be ours only when we end our thralldom to the Saigon generals and begin to act in our own interests and no longer on the basis of theirs.

In recent weeks, there has been increasing talk of changing the military mix in Vietnam by replacing American ground troops with Vietnamese, while retaining American supply and support troops in their combat role. This is not a formula for extricating the United States from Vietnam; it is, rather, a formula for keeping up to 300,000 American troops engaged in Vietnam indefinitely. Its purpose is not to get out, but to stay in.

The process of disengagement need not be a long, protracted one. We can initiate it immediately by starting to withdraw forces on a significant scale—not the token scale initiated by the Nixon Administration. At the present rate of withdrawal, American troops will be engaged in Vietnam for the next eight to ten years.

Why We Must Get Out

We must get out of Vietnam because a process of deterioration has begun in our society which cannot be arrested, much less reversed, until we do get out. Dividing the American people as no issue since the Civil War has divided them, the war in Vietnam has been the cause and catalyst of great domestic ferment in the United States. The crisis it has directly caused is a moral one: the deep offense done to so many Americans by the blatant incompatibility of this war with the traditional values of our society. At the same time, by diverting financial and political resources, and by dividing and demoralizing the American people, the war has incapacitated us for effective action in respect to the worsening crises of race and poverty, crime and urban deterioration, pollution and ecological decay.

None of this has to do with simple war-weariness or, as President Nixon seems to think, with weariness "of the weight of free world leadership that fell upon us in the wake of World War II." Something more fundamental than fatigue is involved. Twenty-five years ago the American people were simultaneously fighting two great wars on a vastly greater scale and at an even larger cost than the war in Vietnam, and their spirit never flagged. It is not just the burden of leadership or the exertions of warfare that outrage so many of our citizens, but this war, with its blood-soaked strategy of attrition, its unsavory alliance, and its objectives both irrelevant to our interests and offensive to our principles. Nor is "weariness" in any way descriptive of what the war critics are experiencing; they are not tired but angry—angry about the needless killing and the stubborn pride which has kept us from putting a stop to it.

Even now there is one thing in which we can take hope, and that is the great force of our American moral traditions. Out of all the dissent and disruption, we have learned something about our own values, that Jefferson's idea of liberty and Lincoln's idea of equality and Woodrow Wilson's idea of a world community of law are still capable of moving us and guiding our behavior. We have learned, to be sure, that we are capable of violating our traditional values. But we have also learned that we are not capable of violating them easily, or permanently, or indeed without setting in motion the regenerative forces of protest and moral reassertion.

There will be time enough, when peace is restored, to contemplate the "lessons of Vietnam." Perhaps, if peace comes in the way that I believe it must come, some of our recent and present leaders will take it as the war's "lesson" that America has shown itself unworthy of world leadership. Others will conclude that we must develop more sophisticated techniques of intervention, or that we must improve our "social science," or substitute political and economic for military means of intervention. Still others, at the opposite extreme, will probably judge that we must never again involve ourselves in war on a distant continent. All of these propositions, and variations upon them, will undoubtedly be put forth as the "lessons" of Vietnam, but my own hunch is that none of these will stand as a definitive "lesson" or as a reliable guideline for the future.

It may be that there is no lesson in Vietnam other than the modest one suggested by Jim Thomson of Harvard: "Never again to take on the job of trying to defeat a nationalist anti-colonial movement under indigenous Communist control in former French Indochina." Or the equally modest lesson: that we have got for a time—not necessarily forever—to tend to neglected matters at home. Or perhaps we will have learned nothing more than that we are a people with a moral tradition, a people who discriminate among their wars and who do not easily act against their own traditional values. ■

(From a major address to the U.S. Senate, Oct. 8, 1969.)

An Interview with Benjamin Spock, by L. I. Stell

DR. SPOCK SPEAKS OUT— ON WAR, PEACE, AND RELIGION

Who hasn't heard of Dr. Benjamin Spock, pediatrician, psychiatrist, author, sailor, warrior for peace?

Along with the accomplishment of relating Freudian understanding to the art of child rearing in bestselling books, Dr. Spock may well go down in history as one who challenged the United States to remain as big in world moral stature as it is in power. The current apex of Dr. Spock's well-publicized quest for peace can be reviewed in book form, THE TRIAL OF DR. SPOCK by Jessica Mitford (Knopf, 272 pp. $5.95). He most likes to tell in speeches of the nadir of his peace career, where he was reduced to crawling through a cordon of blue trousers to join his colleagues in an anti-draft demonstration. Whether on his knees on a New York sidewalk or sitting quietly hearing the verdict of NOT GUILTY in a Boston courtroom, Dr. Spock remains disarmingly human. He does not take himself too seriously, but he does contend that the political ambiance of this country has a Spanish air to it. To him the same issues are now before us that faced the Spanish people before they were overwhelmed by the Franco-Hitler-Mussolini coalition. He begins this conversation by reflecting on the acquittal of the "Boston Five" by the Appeals Court last July. The other four defendants were the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., chaplain of Yale University; Michael Ferber, a Harvard graduate student; Mitchell Goodman, a writer and teacher; and Marcus Raskin, co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies. They were charged with conspiring to obstruct the Selective Service System.

Do you interpret your acquittal as a sign of hope, "the end of the beginning" as Churchill once put it, of America's quest for peace?

If the country had been becoming more and more warlike, we might not have been acquitted. There is at least a faint relationship between the trends of the times and the decisions at court. The minority decision by Justice Frank Coffin—no relation to defendant Coffin—was a bold significant opinion. He said we all should have been acquitted, because a government like ours has no business using the conspiracy charge in a political issue. This is absolutely self-evident. In a healthy democracy, there should be no such need for a conspiracy charge.

But his wasn't the majority opinion. The court ruled that the government can use the conspiracy charge constitutionally in such a case. Also it was clear to the court that there was evidence of a possible conspiracy in the case of defendant Coffin and defendant Goodman. They must therefore be retried though their previous conviction was struck down, because the judge improperly charged the jury. But, in the case of Spock and Ferber, there was insufficient evidence of conspiracy. Justice Coffin in his minority opinion wrote that the court was merely extending a kindness to Spock and Ferber. I would interpret this to mean the majority wanted to compromise. They didn't dare throw out boldly this whole kind of prosecution. But by contrast they thought we were honorable people and wanted to look for technical excuses to let some of us off. And actually, as it came out in a lower court, for one hour Goodman called on Coffin to arrange a so-called "conspiratorial" celebration. He asked for a demonstration at the Department of Justice in Washington, at which we would harangue the Attorney General and turn in draft cards from all over the United States, a wholesale returning of draft cards.

Technically, the court was right: there was no evidence that Ferber and I ever planned anything. I particularly, of course, am a front man. Other people do the thinking up, the organized planning and then say, "Spock, will you make a speech?" or "Will you be master of ceremonies?" So you see it wasn't a completely hopeful decision.

What do you find yourself saying nowadays about Vietnam and peace as you make speeches all over the country? What new things are you saying? What old things are you repeating?

I'm mostly frustrated. I harangue audiences. "For God's sake it's in your hands now much more than it was in the past. With Lyndon Johnson, even if there had been a majority of American people firmly opposed to the war, he would have gone right on with it. His back was up. His manhood was challenged by the war in Vietnam. He said again and again, 'We will not tuck tail and run.' Meaning, I, Lyndon Johnson, would turn into a mouse if I listen to anybody who is opposed to the war.' But Richard Nixon is a man with a very acute, malleable political sense. If he had any idea that a substantial proportion of the American people were getting absolutely disgusted with him, he'd quickly change his position. We've already seen him change his position in several other matters in even the ten months that he's been in office. Therefore it's much more in the hands of the American people than it was before. What gives me a nightmarish feeling is that now when the majority of the American people are finally turned against the war they may not use their power." Do you see what I mean?

You're saying in some ways it's good to have a flexible man as President.

A new deluge of letters, telegrams every two weeks from two million American people, bigger and more frequent Moratoriums, would terrorize Richard Nixon. The wishy washiness of most liberal middle-aged people is my despair. The only hope of the world, as I've seen a million times, is the new idealism and militancy of youth. But writing letters or marching peacefully doesn't have lasting appeal to youth. For a while they were in the hundreds turning in their draft cards and going to jail. But unfortunately that's been given up now, even though they bore too great a penalty for the good being derived from it.

All along I assumed that value in draft resistance was a hundred inspiring a thousand, and a thousand inspiring ten thousand, and ten thousand inspiring a hundred thousand. If the new Moratorium protest grows in proportion it may yet end the war in a frantic kind of panic on the part of the government.

Dr. Spock is greeted by admirers at a Chicago women's rally for peace.

What are your reflections on the role of the church, the churches, in working for peace?

It's very exciting that churches in this period of violent transition or at least elements in the church—the Catholic Church, the Protestant churches—are obviously in great ferment. This ferment is almost automatically good, because it's only when there is some degree of turbulence that people are thinking. Our species usually relapses into formalized action—habit—which indicates that no thought is going on at all. Man is a spiritual species. He must find a spiritual form to sustain himself and give him a sense of direction, a relation to other people and the world. He gets sick if he doesn't have these relationships. Obviously, though, we've outworn the old religious forms. I'm not saying that they don't give a sense of purpose to many people, but I don't think they are giving a sense of purpose to nearly enough people.

What are your own religious forms?

I was brought up by highly moral parents, especially my mother. My mother was highly moralistic, but she was totally dominating—the despair of her children. Not one of them ever succeeded in changing her mind about anything. She was absolutely sure she was right on any subject she came to a decision on. It's very painful to be a child of that kind of a parent, because if you pleaded, you got nowhere; and if you got angry; you got socked. I don't mean physically socked, but if you became obstreperous or rebellious at all, my mother's wrath grew, as did her penalties. When I was an adolescent, she told me you shouldn't pay any attention to what people think about you. If you know you are right, why you go right ahead. I didn't believe her for one second. Even if I thought there was some truth in what she said I wouldn't admit it, because I didn't want to be different, I wanted to be unusually successful in not being "different." In spite of this my parents were not church-goers. My mother had her first three children baptized in the Episcopal Church as infants, but that was given up with the last three children. All Spock children went to Sunday school, but my parents stayed at home. And all Spocks reacted violently against the word "wholesome," because this was one of my mother's key words. We thought that we could rebel against wholesomeness and lead an unwholesome life. It took me decades to find out that if you're brought up wholesome you can protest in undignified ways, but you're compelled to be wholesome.

Through college, medical school and twenty years of practice I believed modern man can be guided by a knowledge of biology, psychology, sociology, and that this is enough. To be enlightened, a scientific understanding of man is all a person needs. But I don't believe that any more. This attitude ignores man's spiritual nature. The sciences are not that good taken alone. What enlightened man has learned from biology, psychology and basic sociology is demeaning to man, because scientists as a whole are not spiritual people, not human. They are after the cold and observable fact. Furthermore, each of these scientists has picked only one aspect of man. Psychology and sociology are particularly reprehensible in demeaning man by putting labels on his aspirations. We are made to sound just like rats chasing biscuits in mazes. Sociologists have made religion seem a mere adaptation similar to what shape of roof people cover their hut with in Africa—according to whether it has to shed rain or snow. Religion can't be so easily analyzed. I haven't turned my back on science—I'm only saying that no one science explains man. Individual scientists have been part of a revolt against the mystical view of man as a total person. They've been revolting against the soul of man. To put it another way: the whole scientific movement has really basically been anti-religious in saying, "let's get the facts." The facts have always been enough to immunize man out of the knowledge that he has a soul. And I'm not talking about anything very mystical really when I talk about the soul. I'm talking about man who learns to live by love, by admiration, by pride, honesty, sympathy.

The kind of thing you've said you admired in Pope John?

Yes. When everybody would complain that I'm being vague I would come right down to Pope John as an example of a simple man who was motivated by love and how this allowed him to brush away all the wrangling, all the institutional suspicions and all the ideological hatred. They just melted, because he honestly loved human beings. And he loved communists just as much as he loved Catholics and Italian Catholics. I never studied John's writings, but his influence, the ideals, the spirit that he emanated spelled genuine love to the world. He, particularly, was an example of the effectiveness of love. There are always other people who exemplify the reality of pride, honesty, loyalty.

What gives rise to these qualities in some men?

I come back first of all to a Freudian view of how man develops. If you take what his findings were, and not use them in a critical way or a psychopathological way, you come right around to Christianity. I don't think Christianity is any narrow religion—it is a religion of love. Freud found how very explicitly the human being grows intellectually and spiritually by his response to the love of his parents.

Everything Christ said fits perfectly with what Freud said. I don't mean to be irreligious in the slightest, even though Freud could be termed anti-religious because he called religion a 'neurosis'. As another part of his particular sourness, he also disliked Americans. But we ought not to throw out all Freudianism, because he had frailties or prejudices. He was a most extraordinarily intuitive person. He revolutionized our understanding of human motivation. The fact that he hated or disliked Americans doesn't mean that we have to destroy America. The fact that he called religion a neurosis doesn't mean you have to throw it out.

You obviously don't think of religion as a neurosis?

Definitely not. Religion is a basic aspect of man. Having gotten hold of scientific, psychoanalytic insights which explain not only the crude aspects of man but also his idealistic and spiritual aspects, then I as an individual don't have to worry myself about exactly what is God. I know what man is, I know that man is spiritual and has finite human understanding. One of the simplest aspects of the universe is infinity of time and space, and I realize that my mind is completely incapable of even getting a glimpse of either one. If I can't even understand two dimensions like this, what is the possibility of my understanding the creation which is, obviously, infinitely larger than the infinity of time.

How do you understand your relationship with other men?

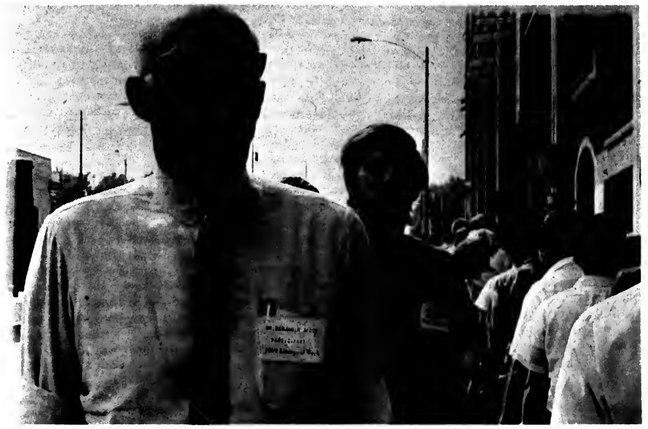
Well, I come down to very concrete things. I see my country about to be destroyed internally and externally, and I see some things to be done. I've found a way of working at this that satisfies my intellect and that satisfies my conscience. I've had one career that came to translating Freudian concepts into child rearing. I've put it in a book that parents, to the number of 23 million, have bought in the United States, and many more in other parts of the world as well. It is very gratifying to find that I've written a book that parents find comfort in. I believe "comforting" is much more important than whether my findings will be technically correct for all time—about which vitamin, what feeding schedules are ideal for infants. The more important thing is that it's comforting and that it works. This activity was a phase of my life. People say, "Well, why weren't you satisfied?" If I hadn't seen the country and the world rushing for destruction, it would have been enough. I could have just retired on my sail boat.

What's her name, by the way, for many of us have heard you're a sailor?

The Turtle—an understatement about her personality. I bought the boat as a beginning sailor in a very salty harbor in Cape Cod. Wanting to be very careful not to overstate my knowledge of sailing or the capacities of my boat, I understand it when I named it Turtle. That worked very well. Nobody criticized me for flaunting my seamanship. She's a rather slow and homely boat.

Relaxing aboard her you apparently reflected on politics as well as child-rearing?

This realization—that there is a political side as well as child-rearing side to life—didn't suddenly burst on me in 1962. I'd become preoccupied with politics and economics back in the Thirties during the extreme anguish of the Spanish Civil War. All the forces of good were clearly over on one side, and all the forces of evil were on the other. Franco represented militarism, the worst aspects of political religion, industry that was willing to destroy people in order to make profit. He also represented the fascist idea of politics which denied the nobility of man and said, in essence, man must be the servant of the state. To the degree that a man can be a symbol, he was a symbol of the extreme evil. It was an absolutely horrible nightmare to have the enlightened governments of England, France and Roosevelt's America deceiving themselves into saying they must remain neutral as far as the Civil War in Spain was concerned. We allowed Hitler and Mussolini to come to the aid of Franco in such away that the Spanish people were enslaved after being butchered by the millions.



Tirelessly, Dr. Spock marches for peace at every opportunity.

Does this period have the same kind of feel to you? The criticisms you listed about Franco—industry out of control, fascism on the rise—are now leveled by radicals at the U.S. Are the issues of the Spanish Civil War coming home to roost?

I've thought of it. The reappearance of the same issues changed my political posture. I really had become relatively quiet politically. I never turned my back on politics, but because of the New Deal and the Square Deal and the New Frontier—which symbolized relatively benign administrations—I could concentrate on my professional career. In a sense after Franco won, it was a relief to get World War II going, because I felt it had to be fought by our side lined up against Hitler and Mussolini, as it should have been earlier. In 1962 I realized, to my shame and horror, that America was beginning to symbolize evil to more and more of the world. To combat it, I find myself edging into the field of morals. What I'm preaching is that man must understand himself if he is to survive. He's incredibly smart, capable of nobility, but he's also clearly a species that's incredibly vicious. More important, because he doesn't understand this aspect of himself, he has no idea how vicious he is.

There are two particularly dangerous things about him. One is that he is power hungry. The more power you give him as an individual or in groups, the more hungry he gets for power. Power never satisfies anybody. People completely without power have very little hunger for power. But the more you give them, the more they see the pleasure of manipulating power. Very few people have any idea how terribly dangerous this quest of power is.

Being a "world power" is being a corruptor of the world?

Yes. The mesmerization of power has allowed America to go out and try to enslave the world since World War II. We ended up with too much power compared to other countries. The second danger inherent in man is this paranoid tendency always to project our own hostility onto somebody else. We're good guys. We try to save the people of Vietnam from the aggression of the Communists, when it is perfectly clear that we are the aggressors there. Lyndon Johnson turned the sock inside out by saying of the Vietnamese civil war, "This is aggression from North Vietnam." Obviously the patriots are trying to save their country from an invader—us, the U.S. History has rarely recorded a cruder example of the aggressor pretending he's the savior of a country.

Your detailed reflection of man as peacemaker and aggressor are soon to come out in a new book, published by McCalls: What are you titling it?

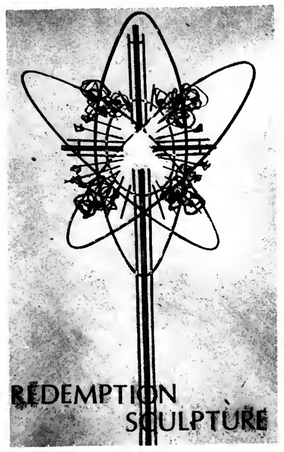
First it was called—as a working title—"The Nature of Man". Then I named it "Man's Predicaments". One danger I speak of is man's loss of belief in himself, his loss of soul that we spoke of earlier. It is terribly unstylish to use the term, people, because, I'll say it again, they are the only hope of America or the world. Though young people are spiritual and do have a soul they can't stand using a word like "spiritual" or the "soul," because these they think of as parental, hypocritical words. This is one of their more fascinating aspects. Falling in love and living together in college they call, "the arrangement" and act as if it had no spiritual components at all. They don't want to call community organizing, "altruism," though it obviously is. It's throwing away all the pleasures, all the crude pleasures of this civilization—living with the poor in order to help the poor and help themselves. Clearly a most extreme form of altruism, but the word—this would make them vomit immediately.

They're new Monks, Franciscans with new flowers to marvel.

That's right, and fascinating as they are, they won't tolerate any labels. Just for fun I changed my book's label from "The Predicaments of Man" to a more seductive, livelier title, "Decent and Indecent". It's got a sub-title to connect the title a little more with the subject of what I hope will be my main book: "The Personal and Political Behavior of Man." The word "personal" is there to show that it deals with man's liabilities and interpersonal relations. Political means this has to be worked out on a social level. The word "behavior" is there to show that the book is slanted from a psychological point of view toward the whole man. ■

Part II of this interview will appear in an early issue.

THE REDEMPTION SCULPTURE OF RALPH HOLDEMAN



"Explosion Cross"

Since October 29, the exhibit spaces at the Interchurch Center in New York City have been thronged with a host of visitors to the Center's most unusual exhibit to date—a definitive showing of the Redemption Sculpture of the Rev. Ralph M. Holdeman.

For many years, Dr. Holdeman has served on the staff of the National Council of Churches as its Director of Evangelism. And for even more years he has been busy at his downtown New York City studio, converting discarded automobile bumpers and other odds and ends of found hardware and metal "junk" into symbolic statements of faith rendered in forms of inspiring and often unforgettable beauty.

His exhibit, from which this page draws only a small sampling, bears this out most eloquently.

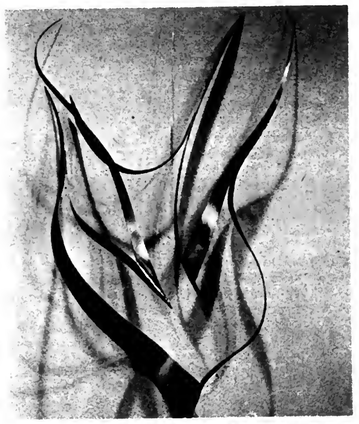
A long-time student of religious symbolism, Dr. Holdeman has developed many symbols for his denomination (United Methodist). Blessed with many talents, he also illustrates church literature, produces motion pictures and audio visual productions, serves as architectural consultant to church groups. He has had little formal training in art, and most of his sculpture has, as he puts it, been developed through experimentation.

A member of the Christian Art Associates Guild, whose traveling exhibit contains 50 of his pieces, he has received many honors for his work, which now appears in private collections in such far-flung places as Beirut, Moscow, Berlin and Caracas.

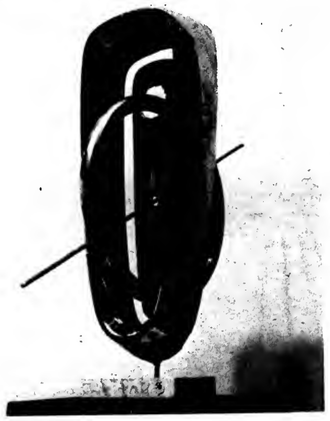
Those interested in his work may visit the Interchurch Center exhibit which will last until December 1. Inquires may be addressed to him at his studio, 18 West 22nd St., New York City, 10010.

"Sculptor Holdeman in his studio"

"Wounded for Our Transgressions"

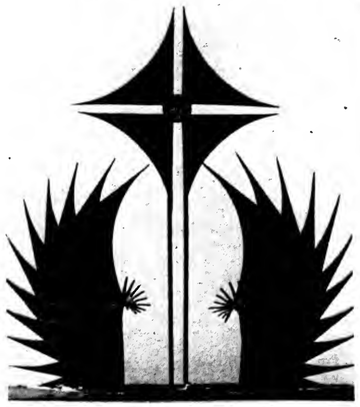


"Descending Dove"

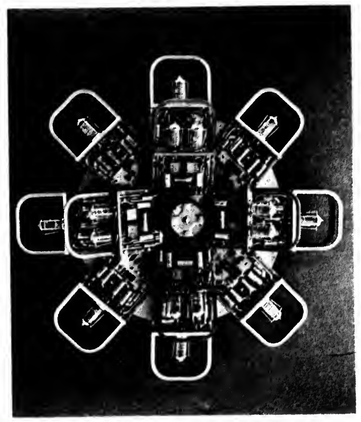


"Interrelated"

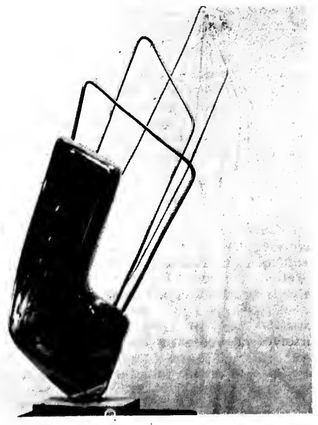
"Shekinah—The Presence of God"



"Flowering Technology"



"Echo"



WASHINGTON COMMENT

Meanwhile, Back at the Volcano

by Allan M. Parrent

TWO former high government officials, both highly respected, both intimately involved with questions of national security, and both incidentally Republicans who served in Democratic administrations, have recently made significant contributions to the on-going and all-important debate in Washington on arms control and defense policies. Both contributions deserve more than normal attention, especially in light of the opening of the long-awaited strategic arms limitation talks (SALT), on Nov. 17. One was a little-publicized speech, "Unfinished Business," given at a Strategy for Peace Conference at Airlie House in October by William C. Foster, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) from its inception in 1961 until early this year. The other was an article, "To Cap the Volcano," written for the current issue of *Foreign Affairs* by McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation and former Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (1961-1966). Both men have had a wealth of experience in the area with which they deal, both are as free of ideological blinders as can be expected of rational but finite men, and both can now speak without the sometimes necessary restraints imposed by high office. They should therefore be taken seriously by those who seek to combine constructive political realism with the imperatives of the Christian faith in an attempt to deal responsibly with the life-and-death issues of defense and disarmament.

Under his topic of "Unfinished Business", Mr. Foster addressed himself to five specific issues related to arms control on which he, the man most directly and continuously concerned with our arms control efforts in the past decade, feels action can and should be taken *now*. First, he recommended that the U.S. should ratify the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting first use of chemical and biological weapons. The U.S. initiated and signed this, the principal international instrument related to CBW, but never ratified it. Only the U.S. and Japan, among the major nations, have failed to ratify. Ratification by the U.S. would greatly strengthen the Protocol and would also set a desirable precedent by making us a party to an arms control agreement that included China. Foster urged the President to resubmit the Protocol to the Senate.

Ban on Biological War

Second, Mr. Foster recommended that the U.S. give its full support to the British draft convention banning the production and stockpiling of biological warfare agents and their use even in retaliation, presented at the Geneva disarmament conference last July. The U.S. was privately unhappy with this British initiative at Geneva and has not yet taken a position on it, pending the Administration's review of the whole CBW question. The U.S. has in the past sought to have biological and chemical weapons considered together. The British proposal is more limited but also more likely to achieve success. According to Foster, "Biological warfare agents, because of the impossibility of predicting or controlling their action, are a danger to all mankind. . . . The British proposal would enable us to divest ourselves of a useless and pernicious liability." Reports that Secretary Laird has reversed himself and recommended to the National Security Council that the U.S. stop producing biological warfare agents altogether are encouraging.

Foster next recommended that we move ahead now on banning underground nuclear tests. In perhaps the most significant part of his speech, he pointed out that the limited test ban treaty, desirable and useful as it is in curtailing contamination of the atmosphere, has done little to curtail nuclear weapons development itself. This is because the nuclear nations can and have continued to develop nuclear weapons by testing in unlimited numbers and sizes underground. A comprehensive test ban, he said, is "stymied on the verification problem," and the long-time American arms control negotiator believes now that "the time has come for a hard look at the necessity for on-site inspections." Such inspections have always been part of the American price for agreement on a full test ban treaty, while the U.S.S.R. has just as consistently maintained that national capabilities alone are adequate to give assurance of compliance with such a treaty. The crux of the problem now, particularly with the increasing improvement of detection techniques, is how much assurance is adequate and this, maintains Foster, is a *political* and not a *technical* question. He is not criticizing the efforts to analyze the risk of possible treaty violations, but he asks that at least equal attention be paid to the risk of continuing to live without such a treaty. He considers the latter to involve the greater risk, and strongly suggests that the relatively few tests that the U.S.S.R. might be able to carry out without detection by national means would be less of a security risk for the U.S. than would be the unlimited number of Soviet tests permitted in the absence of a comprehensive test ban.

Engelhardt in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"We Lost One Administration in Here"

Security for All

Mr. Foster's fourth point was simply to encourage all nations to sign and ratify the non-proliferation treaty which, by enhancing the general security, will enhance the security of each individual state, both nuclear and non-nuclear. He ended by calling attention to the greatly increased congressional interest in the subject of arms control as an objective of national security. Unlike the situation during most of his tenure at ACDA, Congress now sees that the pursuit of arms control is in our national interest. Foster encouraged private groups to continue their efforts to nourish this congressional interest.

McGeorge Bundy's article deals not so much with specific steps toward "capping the volcano" of the arms race as it does with the underlying presuppositions upon which the arms race feeds. Mr. Bundy's main targets are those in both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. who continue blindly their quest for technological superiority in nuclear weaponry, oblivious to the "neglected truth" about the strategic arms race, that truth being the fact that "in terms of international political behavior that race has now become almost completely irrelevant." (Within the past week the writer had occasion to hear the Pentagon's Director of Defense Research and Engineering reemphasize the need for "technological superiority" if we are to protect our freedom and national security. The Vice President's recent excoriation of Senator Muskie's proposal to postpone MIRV testing is a more crude example of what Bundy has in mind.) Politically the arms race is in a stalemate and neither protection nor political opportunity is to be gained by new weapons systems. Furthermore, Bundy says that this has been true since the first hydrogen weapons were exploded and will continue to be true as far ahead as we can see, even if future developments should be more one-sided than now appears possible.

In the real world, says Bundy, as opposed to the abstract world of simulated strategic warfare, "there is no level of superiority which will make a strategic first strike between the two great states anything but an act of utter folly." Like Foster, Bundy claims that if we are to escape from this strategic nightmare, there must be important *political* decisions made, not simply *technical* decisions. Looking at the present situation *politically*, Bundy concludes that "beyond a point long since passed the escalation of the strategic nuclear race makes no sense for either the Soviet Union or the United States. . . . No weapons systems now in sight for either side can change that fact. It follows that in political, as distinct from technical, terms we have all been wrong to talk of nuclear superiority."

Public Support Needed

Finally, Bundy turns, as Foster did in less detail, to the role of the public in capping the volcano. The people in both nations have been led to believe that somehow there is safety in ever-growing military strength, that it means something to be "ahead." This does not square with the reality of the international stalemate, observes Bundy. But it is precisely this quantitative and dangerously simplistic approach to strategic questions, and the resulting lack of a solid political base of support for real arms limitation, which Bundy believes is the main deterrent to Administration efforts to achieve "relatively low-keyed, low-cost parity." To the extent that this is true, it would seem to present the Church, especially those within it possessing some competence in and understanding of the issue, with a direct challenge to work vigorously in the task of forming a political ethos within which the necessary political decisions can be made. Amidst the high intellectuality of Bundy's article, he appears to be issuing a simple but vital plea to the American people — the arms race is a "wildly irrelevant competition" which is contrary to all our interests and hopes for the world, and it is likely to be stopped only when our decision-makers are shown that there is effective political support against those who still seek a meaningless "superiority."

On the immediate agenda, given the proper supportive climate, are the steps advocated by William Foster, all of which Bundy would support. Of even greater importance, potentially, are the often postponed SALT talks being held in Helsinki. Bundy sees these talks as providing "a major occasion for the mobilization of that part of our opinion which feels the essential futility of escalating the strategic arms race." He also values the SALT talks because of the chance they will afford for the reaffirmation of mankind's need for greater safety from the risk of nuclear disaster, and the chance they should give for the extremely important informal and private communications between the nuclear giants. Even so, significant agreement is not likely to be forthcoming, Bundy says bluntly, unless each power moves "from a zealous concern for its own advantage to a sober acceptance of parity." Such a move would be in keeping not only with the present Administration's repeatedly proclaimed desire to move from confrontation to negotiation, but also in some sense with the Christian imperative to move from narrow self-concern to a broader neighbor-concern. At least it would be in keeping with that broader concept of national interest which is properly formed and sought only in the context of an international community, and this may be as "moral" as a nation-state can become. In any case, it seems clear that the Church can, should, and must play a role in completing the "unfinished business" of "capping the volcano" if it is to be the Church. To oversimplify a point, to be the salt of the earth at this time may mean efforts to encourage and support SALT for the earth, and for all its inhabitants. ■

SEATTLE COUNCIL BACKS EFFORT TO REPEAL DETENTION ACT

SEATTLE, WASH. — The Board of Directors of the Council of Churches of Greater Seattle is circulating a petition of the Asian Coalition for Equality, also of Seattle, following a report at its recent meeting concerning Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950.

Commonly known as the "Emergency Detention Act," it was described as "a legal tool which gives the President the power to declare an emergency and to place people in concentration camps without trial, if there is reasonable ground to believe that such a person will engage in or **probably** (underscored by the Seattle Council) will conspire with others to engage in acts of espionage or of sabotage."

Since passage of the act, the Board reported, five new detention camps have been built with an appropriation of $775,000 provided by Congress.

"The camps stand in readiness," says the report. "Who will occupy them?"

Recalling the internment of 109,650 Japanese-Americans in 1942, who were "stripped of their rights without due process of law," the Council's board calls the situation "indeed frightening." In its call for support of the efforts of the Asian Coalition to repeal the Emergency Detention Act, the board states:

"Ethnic minorities in this community are rightly concerned that the very same injustice could be imposed upon other non-white Americans."

* * * * *

IFCO CHANNELS ABOUT TWO MILLION IN FUNDS IN TWO YEARS

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Since its organization two years ago, the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) has channeled $1,878,000 in program grants from its 23-member church boards and community groups.

The announcement by the Rev. Lucius Walker, Jr., executive director, said that $1.3 million had come from national religious agencies and $578,000 from non-church sources.

Mr. Walker also noted that although it was the sponsor of the meeting in Detroit at which the Black Economic Development Conference (BEDC) was organized, no funds have gone to that group except those designated for financing the conference.

In addition to Protestant denominational units, two Roman Catholic groups — the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice and the Catholic Committee for Urban Ministries have contributed $21,106.

Current requests for funds, said Mr. Walker, number more than 300 for a total of $25 million.

* * * * *

UNITED METHODISTS VOTE $1.8 MILLION FOR BLACK PROGRAMS

BOSTON — The United Methodist Board of Missions has made grants totaling $1,300,000 for black colleges and a variety of causes related to black economic development.

Meeting here at its annual session, it also voted to find an additional minimum of $550,000 for "black economic empowerment." Specific proposals will be brought to its executive committee in January for this latter program.

The action authorizing the additional sum was proposed by Bishop James K. Mathews after a lengthy debate in which black staff and black board members expressed disappointment in the first action, saying that funds for education should be appropriated above and beyond the $1.3 million.

Included in this sum is $300,000 to the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO); $25,000 to Black Methodists for Church Renewal; $50,000 to the National Committee of Black Churchmen; $75,000 to the Mexican-American and Indian-American caucuses; $200,000 to a proposed office of African Affairs in the board's World Division; and $100,000 to the World Council of Churches for its program to combat racism.

Five days previously, a stepped-up program of assistance to black citizens in the country was approved in Indianapolis by the church's General Board of Health and Welfare Ministries.

Included were grants of $227,028 from the Kendall Fund administered by this board. These grants for 1970 are for 15 projects in ten states, plus individual scholarships. They bring to more than $1 million the allocations made since the fund was established in 1959.

In other action at the Indianapolis meeting, the Rev. James C. Moore was appointed to the joint task force staff. Mr. Moore has previously served for three years with the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race.

* * * * *

GOVERNOR COMMUTES DEATH SENTENCE OF THOMAS WHITE HAWK

PIERRE, S.D. — Governor Frank Farrar has commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment of Thomas James White Hawk, 21, an Indian who had confessed to slaying a jeweler over two years ago in Vermillion.

The handsome, former prep school athletic star would have been the first to die in the electric chair in South Dakota in 22 years. His case had aroused national attention with many church and civil rights groups challenging the sentence on the grounds of racial prejudice.

JACKSON, Miss. — White and black students leave a racially integrated public school in Jackson. The Southern city's public schools have operated on a desegregated basis for several years under a "freedom of choice" plan. The U.S. Supreme Court has ordered that all segregated school systems in Mississippi and elsewhere begin at once to operate unitary systems without discrimination.

Governor Farrar called Tom White Hawk "a product of tragic social environment" following the death of his parents "in his formative years."

* * * * *

NEW TEAM ALERTING CHURCHES TO ENVIRONMENTAL THREATS

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Growing national concern over the pollution of our environment and the threat to the total ecology has resulted in the formation in the National Council of Churches of an Environmental Stewardship Action Team. The group was set up by several member denominations, which have funded an action program, by the Council's Section on Stewardship and Benevolence.

Over the past two years, a series of meetings with government and other secular organizations involved in ecology has been held to define the dimensions of the current crisis and what exactly church people can do about it.

One of the causes of increasing environmental disorder was felt to be public apathy. The team responded by drawing up a series of recommendations for the churches which would alert their members to the situation. Among them, the Team challenges the widespread belief that technological progress in itself represents human progress.

The churches, it says, should insist that individual property rights never take precedence over human rights and that landowners should not be permitted to degrade the environment for the sake of personal profit.

The military's "imperious claims" to natural resources and its ability to risk massive contamination were also challenged. Other points dealt with tax laws, zoning restrictions and planning without regard to human and biological life, and the urgency for population control.

The Team concluded that environmental scientists "know far more about how to achieve quality environment than we are willing to put into practice."

The Environmental Stewardship Team has made a grant to Dr. Richard A. Baer, Jr., noted conservationist, who will put theologians, scientists and others with similar concerns in touch with each other. Dr. Baer is associate professor and chairman of the Department of Religion at Earlham College, Richmond, Ind. A major conference is scheduled for the fall of 1970 to work toward setting up a center for the study of ethical and environmental factors which the churches should deal with.

* * * * *

WCC LEADERS HAVE CONFERRED WITH ALL VIETNAM PEACE GROUPS

GENEVA — Representatives of a 25-member consultation of the World Council of Churches have confirmed that they have met with all delegations to the Paris peace talks, including the National Liberation Front.

The Rev. Alan A. Brash, chairman of the consultation which met in Paris, said their talks had included Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh, leader of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (NLF).

Discussing their visits with all four delegations, Mr. Brash said: "We want to meet them specifically to ask their advice about ways the churches might be involved in helping in the tasks of reconstruction in Vietnam after a cease fire."

Members of the consultation from the U.S. included the Rev. Donald Black, United Presbyterian Church, USA, and Dr. Howard Schomer, executive director of the Department of Specialized Ministries of the National Council of Churches. Mr. Brash, director of the British churches' relief agency, Christian Aid, was recently named director of the World Council's Division of Inter-Church Aid, Refugee and World Service, succeeding Mrs. Charlotte Browne-Mayers.

A Positive Proposal Toward War Prevention . . .

To Howard and Harriet Kurtz who, as Co-Directors of War Control Planners, Inc., are totally committed to securing peace in a world bedeviled by a nightmarish, uncontrolled nuclear arms race, denouncing war is not enough. They are convinced the time has come for war protesters to move beyond protest and come to grips with the hard task of formulating and pressing for a positive out — and a peace-based future of human fulfillment. Recently Mr. and Mrs. Kurtz, who have written for TEMPO before, appeared on five Wisconsin campuses to present to students, faculty and a liberal number of clergymen a proposal to designate the coming 70's as a decade of active war prevention. Reactions were wide and enthusiastic. TEMPO here presents the proposal, endorsed for nation-wide discussion by more than two-score outstanding religious and civic leaders, as an idea whose time has come and may well be overdue.

THE WAR PREVENTION DECADE

A Proposed National Commitment . . .

. . . For Public Debate

. . . On Every American Campus

. . . And in Every American Community

IT IS PROPOSED THAT:

The American people commit their creative power for the 1970's to the task of bringing an end to war and establishing new structures of world order to resolve international conflict.

And that

Through an *All-Nation Declaration of Independence* the people of all nations be encouraged to proclaim freedom from domination by any foreign power, in a new world order of independent nations . . . as the American people once proclaimed their freedom and independence through the Declaration of Independence.

WHEREAS:

The security and independence of nations no longer can be defended by escalating military power capable of destroying everything of value in world civilization, and

WHEREAS:

Each new escalation of global arms competition drains more and more human and natural resources away from swelling world-wide crises of human needs, even within the most wealthy nation in history, the United States, and

WHEREAS:

For the first time in history it now is feasible to develop and test experimental models of global weapons of destruction under positive safety control, thereby releasing energies and resources to meet the basic needs of mankind, and

WHEREAS:

Present inability of national governments to provide basic safety and well-being for their own citizens is producing a rising generation across the world which dreads the future of man, rather than looking to the future with hope, and

WHEREAS:

A rising generation may offer hope of a new life style based on co-operation rather than domination, and

WHEREAS:

The League of Nations established after World War I to bring an end to war proved inadequate, and the United Nations established after World War II to bring an end to war has not yet been made adequate, and waiting until after World War III to launch the initiatives to bring an end to war plainly will be too late,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT

We, people of the world, declare that we cannot afford war to determine the fate of our species.

The past two decades of ineffective "disarmament negotiations" have not changed our collision course with disaster.

We demand the charting of a new historical course, beginning with a WAR PREVENTION DECADE.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT:

" I. The United States Government is urged to involve as many nations as possible in the new partnership of a War Prevention Decade. The purpose will be to develop and test global armed-forces safety structures which can transform the United Nations into an effective instrument to resolve international conflicts and eliminate war between nations.

II. Outside of national governments, a world-wide public discussion and exploration be generated by bar associations, professional societies, citizens organizations, religious bodies, community groups, university faculty and student organizations, editors, writers and creative individuals, to crystalize safe initiatives which can be launched as part of the War Prevention Decade, to accumulate new knowledge and experience in the fields of military, technical, economic, legal, political, public opinion, and moral research and pragmatic experimentation.

III. The United States Government is urged to establish a new Council for Global Safety, reporting to the President and the Congress, to: (1) provide an instrument through which creative initiatives can be evaluated, co-ordinated with all departments and agencies of Government, and transmitted to the President for policy determination and executive action; (2) conduct and foster long-range planning, research, development and testing on an unprecedented scale carried out by universities, non-profit research centers, consulting firms, private industry, government facilities, and other channels; (3) advise the President on combined domestic and international aspects of U.S. global strategy during the difficult and dangerous years of transition away from historic agencies for waging destructive war between nations, into a new history of instrumentalities for the prevention of war between nations.

GUIDELINE FOR THE WAR PREVENTION DECADE

The U.S. makes no prior commitment to turn over its defense to any experimental United Nations safety authority. No other nation will be asked to turn over its national defense during the years of experiment and testing.

The War Prevention Decade will go forward with U.S. support and initiative, no matter what nations hold back at present. Any nation will be free to join the pioneering partnership at any future time when it chooses to demonstrate to its people that their government is more concerned for their safety and well-being than for the expansion of political or economic empires over other nations and peoples.

There are many seemingly impossible questions. This will be a decade of unprecedented research, in a commitment to find answers to these questions. ■

Books

(Continued from page 12)

I could find the magic formula that worked so well for the missionaries, when I left the meeting, I'd own the corporation, and each director would have a bible." (p. 106)

Very like Luther's theory of Jesus overcoming the devil on the cross.

Second point: I agree with Robert S. Browne that it's galling that blacks are not among the "153 wealthiest American families" who have over $100 million (p. 69); but the real issue of the Seventies is whether America *as a whole* is going to do anything about the seven-eights of the world who live on less than one-twentieth of the US "poverty level". This was the message of "the rest" to the Black Power men at the WCC Race Consultation in May (incidentally, re p. 160, we were not told that "Mr. George Black" was from BEDC. Was he?). (Also, the Central Committee of WCC in August did not "turn down proposals of the May racism consultation in most part" (p. 178) —they turned them over to ongoing work.)

Third, as Channing Phillips said at Notting Hill, the small amount asked for is "insulting" to Negroes. Stringfellow criticizes "its modesty, indefiniteness and tentativeness." Would an overall and much larger scheme be better?

Fourth, James Forman's speech of 6th July on "Control, Conflict and Change" ends with a sort of admission that the reparations demand "was an effort to break some of the control mechanisms operating upon us in some small way," the struggle for which "will heighten our revolutionary consciousness." Its implementation even partially "is an asset," but more importantly it has given "the new perception of power, its use, and how we can achieve more 'on this earth'" (p. 50). Can the black theologians put it all better, and maybe in bigger terms get a bigger response? We desperately need a line and lead of their own from them. How can you buy the future, or save a sick, affluent society by its affluence? Or, just, can you? ■

The Rev. Dr. John J. Vincent, of Great Britain, is Visiting Professor of Systematic Theology at Boston University and author of "Secular Christ" (Abingdon); and the forthcoming "The Race Race" (NCC and Association Press), based on the Notting Hill consultation and last August's WCC Central Committee's Race Program).

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

Reviewing:
"TOBY DAMMIT" Third Segment of "Spirits of the Dead" Directed by Federico Fellini

WHEN your favorite bombs badly, you have to march up to the typewriter and do your duty. No fair reviewing another film this week or pretending you didn't see it. No. I saw the Fellini portion of the current tryptich entitled *Spirits of the Dead*, and it's awful. Warned by another reviewer who cautioned everyone not to see the first two parts, I sneaked in just as the Roger Vadim portion was ending, and I was glad I hadn't come earlier. After *Toby Dammit*, Fellini's sector of the collage, I wish I hadn't gone at all. My advice to Fellini fans is to stay away completely or to begin now to concoct some theory about why the Great Man bungled it so badly this time.

Spirits of the Dead brings together three film versions of Edgar Allen Poe short stories, some of them rather freely adapted for the screen. Each director did one story, and they all are held together more or less by the theme of death and dying. So far so good. Although movies have done a lot with violence, very few have dealt in any depth at all with mortality itself. All the directors are competent. Poe was a genius. The program looks promising.

But it fails. Fellini's mini-movie, the only one I saw the whole way through, is an adaptation of Poe in only the broadest and most generous sense of that phrase. Poe's story is about a man who bets the devil his head and loses. Fellini's "adaptation" is about an English actor who comes to Rome and loses his head to a curly-haired little girl-devil who keeps bouncing a big yellow ball at him. What happens in the film is so far from anything Poe ever thought of that he cannot be made to share any of the blame. It is all, alas, Federico's own fault.

At first I thought the film was really going to connect. It opens at the Rome airport where the plane bearing the English actor is arriving. Admittedly that is already a step into a Fellini retrospective. Remember the helicopter opening of *La Dolce Vita*? And the arrival of the overblown American starlet (Anita Ekberg)? Here it is again. And remember the press conferences Fellini despises and adores, and is always putting in his movies? Here is another one, this time with Terrence Stamp as the retired, effete English actor. And remember Fellini's fondness for processions (they occur in almost every film)? Well here is one blocking traffic on the way from the airport, All very *deja vu*.

I suppose I should have sensed already that something was going wrong but I thought it was just the old master, *il poeta* as his friends call him, juggling some of his favorite images the way the clowns and hustlers in his movies make fun of themselves and everyone else at the same time. I was being put on by ultra-selfconscious Felliniana and I was enjoying it, the way one might enjoy a friend who has enough comic detachment to mimic himself occasionally. But then something went wrong.

Somewhere, about fifteen minutes after the film begins, Fellini forgets he is strutting around with a false nose on playing the well-known Italian director. He begins to take himself seriously, and the film tailspins into a crash that kills everybody aboard, Terrence Stamp included. Too bad. As a piece of cotton candy or a funny collection of old clippings, *Toby Dammit* might have been thoroughly entertaining. But as a serious movie it fails and, if it is intended as a joke, it is like one of those interminable shaggy-dog narratives. It isn't funny.

It seems Terrence Stamp has come to Rome to make the "first Catholic western." Christ will return to a small frontier town and so forth. This, of course, is good clean fun if a little in-groupy. Stamp had jjust appeared in *Teorama* by one of Fellini's cinematic rivals, Piero Pasolini, playing a sort of modern reincarnation of Christ. In Fellini's movie, Stamp affects some of the same anguished postures and ecstatic stares he does in *Teorama*. The Rome airport is cosmopolis. It is alive with Moslems bowing in prayer toward Mecca, a gaggle of windblown nuns, a group of bearded orthodox Jews and assorted cripples and oddballs.

Fellini always crowds his movies with freaky looking people, partly, I think, because they just *look* interesting (who can fight the temptation, even after you're grown up, to steal a glance at a really bizarre-looking person?) but partly because they symbolize the unlimited fecundity and variety of life. Here, however, the grotesquerie is overdone, but in a joke that's okay. And at this point it is still a joke.

Now the clerical sponsors of the film pull Stamp into a taxi and begin to tell him about the movie as they drive through Rome. Here Fellini has a chance to pounce on another favorite target, the affectation and worldly hypocrisy of the church, or at least of some of it. I always get the feeling when I watch Fellini disembowelling the church, however, that his anticlericalism is different from, for example, Bunuel's. For Bunuel, clergymen have to be cruel, stupid, cowardly or ridiculous because they are simply foisting a racket on the poor. For Fellini, on the other hand, priests get scathed because they are not really true to the essence of religion. Underneath, Fellini is probably much more religious, even in some sense Catholic, than other moviemakers who pan clergymen.

Anyway, Stamp, who has been drinking in the cab and is already rather drunk, is being taken to a phoney awards banquet the filmmakers have conjured up as a public-relations gimmick for his movie. On the way he stops to be interviewed on Italian television. He tells his interrogator that he does not believe in God but does believe in the devil (a slight nod in the direction of Poe), insults everyone in the studio, and then goes on to the banquet. Various strange women move in and out of his field of vision, and ours. As he gets increasingly pickled, the sequence of shots and the speeches make less sense, to him and also to the viewer. Finally he demands to be shown the new Ferrari convertible his producer has promised him as a bribe for making the movie. As soon as he roars off in it, we know he is going to kill himself. He does. And no one could possibly give even a little damn.

So fans, how do we explain Federico's blatant booboo? It is well known that since *Juliet of the Spirits*, Fellini has been suffering through a kind of creative block, that he started to make another major movie, *Mastorna*, and gave it up in the middle. It is also rumored that he lost interest in this one too, when he decided to go ahead on *Satyricon*. But these are excuses, not explanations. The worst thing about *Toby Dammit* is that it shows that Fellini's enormous self-consciousness is even more of a problem for him than ever. He sees himself as others see him and can't help recurring to perennial themes and images. In a really great artist we expect this and value it. He can permute and pyramid nodal metaphors forever. But in a second-rate talent that technique becomes sterile and fatal. I am not at this point prepared to demote Federico Fellini to a second-rater. And I hope *Satyricon* will reestablish him in all his splendor. But *Toby Dammit* stinks. ■

BOOKS: BLACK SHOCK TO WHITE CONSCIENCE

BLACK MANIFESTO, edited by Robert S. Lecky and H. Elliott Wright. Sheed and Ward, 1969. 182 pages, $5.00 hardcover, $2.45 paperback.

by John J. Vincent

INSTANT history has hit the churches, and instant publishing has hit the churchmen. Before April 26th, we'd never heard of the Black Manifesto. Today, we all need to know all about it.

First, let's hail this publishing feat. Six weeks is about the minimum it takes to get a book through the press — I once did it myself, so I know. Almost, they did it with this one. Congratulations! I'm tired of reading theology two years old when it's published, reflecting the discussions of three or four years ago. If, as Donald Swann says, "you write from the second—your life is your idea of today" (*Tempo*, 15 Aug., 1969), then the sooner it hits religious publishing the better.

The book is impressive, dignified and prophetic — a "must" for any serious Christian today. The factual account by the editors, the excellent chronology, the Manifesto itself in full, a selection of ecclesiastical and Jewish responses—all the facts are here, up to the end of July, by which time "most major religious groups in the nation had received Manifesto demands or had responded to them before receiving them."

So, it's a model for how to get at the conscience of the American churches; and how to stage your "happening" so that others have to change!

"We had it coming, and, however much we may dislike its method or suspect its operators, it was inevitable, and it's good that it happened." This is the main message of the book, even from Ernest Campbell, who tells the Riverside Church story. Indeed, one is left wondering why it hadn't all happened before, and why it had to wait for James Forman.

James Lawson ("A Nonviolent Endorsement") says that Martin Luther King "is truly the father of 'Black Revolution' ", often speaking about "the unpaid check which America owed the Negro" (p. 83f). "We offer you again and again, by the very grace of God, reconciliation" (p.91). The reparation question is just another offer.

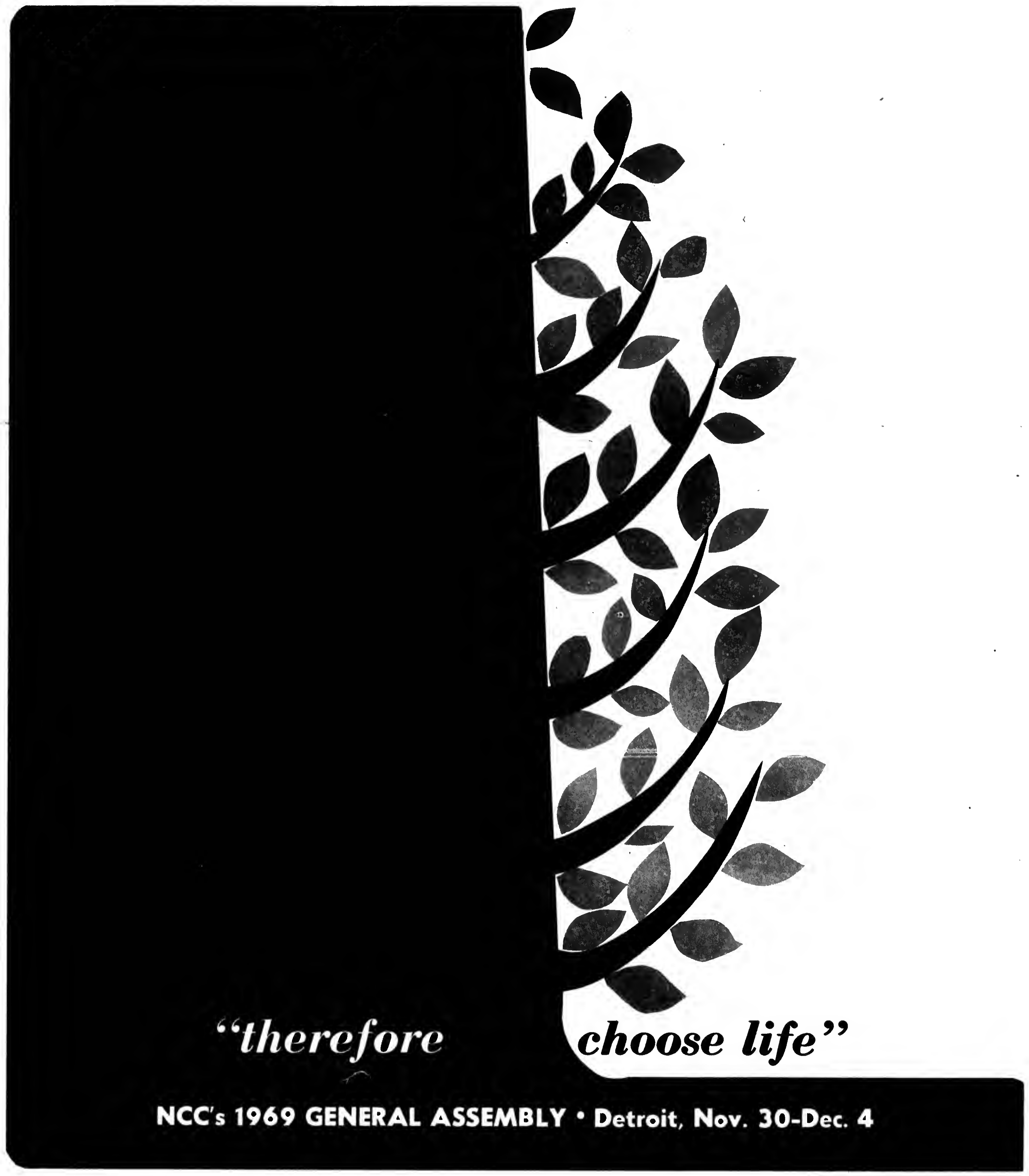
William Stringfellow argues systematically that "the reparations Manifesto embodies the first proposal anywhere advanced in the contemporary days of the American racial crisis, which holds promise of being at once legally precedented, psychologically realistic, theologically sound, and viable as far as practical implementation is concerned' (p.53). It fits American jurisprudence, it has imagination and some grace, it has biblical sanction, and it is "capable of being done, and done now." Stephen C. Rose's paper takes it from there, dealing with "Putting it to the Churches", and urging that IFCO be used as the funnel for reparation funds. Harvey Cox wants national reparation, GI Bill size.

The book intends to be "a forum for religious discussion". Four points occur to me. First, it'll be unique if it comes off—and a crash presentation of "the Jesus thing" unparalleled in history. Will the churches suffer anything so Jesus-like? Dick Gregory ("Divine Libel") magnificently says:

"When the white Christian missionaries went to Africa, the white folks had the bibles and the natives had the land. When the missionaries pulled out, they had the land, and the natives had the bibles. I've often wondered if I could try the same pattern with the Board of Directors of General Motors. . . . If

(Continued on page 11)

In Pace With The Changing Church December 1, 1969



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TEMPOsitions . . .

Some Thoughts on a Theme

"Therefore Choose Life"

by Rufus Cornelsen

THE theme for the 1969 General Assembly of the National Council of Churches is found in a portion of Scripture that Biblical scholars refer to as the third address of Moses. It relates to Israel faced with entry into her future, the "promised land." This was a vital turning point in Israel's history. Moses recalls the covenant God has made with his people and how he delivered them from slavery and supported them through the hazards of the wilderness. Then he points them to the future and in so doing he reminds them of their share in the covenant, which was to "be careful to do the words of this covenant" (Deut. 29:9) "by loving the Lord your God, by walking in his ways, and by keeping his commandments and his statutes and his ordinances." (Deut. 30:16)

This covenant is Israel's charter for the future. It states the principles and conditions with respect to the choices she must make as she moves ahead to enter and possess a new land her emerging future. It is a time of decision for Israel: "You stand this day, all of you before the Lord, your God." (Deut. 29:10) Faithfulness to God and "walking in his ways" would mean that "the Lord your God will bless you in the land which you are entering to take possession of it. But if your heart turns away . . . I declare to you this day, that you shall perish; you shall not live long in the land which you are going over the Jordan to enter and possess." (Deut. 30:16-18)

Then follows the statement of the crucial juncture in the life of Israel, a fullness of time, a "kairos" in her history. It is a radical restatement of choice with respect to her future: "I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse; therefore choose life, that you and your descendants may live, loving the Lord your God, obeying his voice and cleaving to him; for that means life to you and length of days . . .". (Deut. 30:19, 20)

The scope and dimensions of this choice are clearly all-inclusive. The terms "life" and "blessing" seen in the context of Deuteronomy, chapters 29 and 30, as in the Biblical account of Israel's history in general, apply not only to the welfare of the so-called "spiritual life" or to the prosperity of religious institutions. They relate to the total secular sphere, including the social, economic and political arenas. The Bible always sees life in terms of its totality. Neither the New Testament nor the Old Testament separate the spiritual or religious from the secular.

TO be faithful to the Biblical usage, we would thus see the words of the chosen theme, "therefore choose life" as applicable to the several dimensions and levels of human life. They would speak to the question of mere human survival in a nuclear age just as much as to the concern for spiritual renewal in the interior life of the Christian community. They would apply to questions of choosing justice and freedom for the powerless and deprived peoples in the United States and elsewhere in the world, as to the need for up-dating the life and witness of the Church.

Clearly we are today in a time of crucial choices about the future. With all the scientific and technological resources available to us and all the knowledge we have about social trends and human behavior, the future could indeed be a "land of promise." But it cannot be won without obedience to God's will, "walking in his ways" of reconciliation and "keeping his commandments" of justice. The Christian community most especially, being peculiarly sensitive to God's purposes since it has seen and heard his ultimate word in Jesus Christ, is called upon to speak and celebrate the promise of God for the future.

On the other hand, this same future becomes a fearful and despairing prospect if the vast resources of knowledge and power are allowed to become instruments of demonic purposes. If men will not adjust and shape their future according to the ways of God and will not follow his ordinances, but will continue to turn their hearts away from him, then in truth Moses' warning to Israel applies to mankind today. For then we may perish indeed, and what was a promising future could turn to destruction, chaos and death.

Both the Church and the world are at a crucial juncture today. It is, to be sure, a fullness of time. "The night is far gone, the day is at hand. Let us then cast off the works of darkness and put on the armor of light." (Romans 13:12) All of this says to us today that we are faced with critical choices about the future; choices that, on the one hand, hold great promise for human life, and, on the other, could mean continuing frustration of hopes and even the deepening of misery for millions, not to speak of the possible destruction of what we know as human civilization. To all humanity today and more particularly to the Churches, as to Israel in times past, a clear call is heard in the words "Therefore Choose Life." ■

Dr. Cornelsen, who played an important part in planning for both the 1969 NCC General Assembly and its theme, is General Secretary of the Metropolitan Christian Council of Philadelphia, Pa.

THIS ISSUE—With four extra pages at our disposal, TEMPO is able to spell out in forecast some of the excitement and ferment to be expected from the National Council of Churches' General Assembly, at Detroit, Nov. 29-Dec. 4. These special interest pages number from two to ten, with the topics listed immediately below.

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell
ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler
PROMOTION: David Poindexter
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull
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Planning Amid Crisis and Confrontation . . .

NCC'S GENERAL ASSEMBLY MEETS IN DETROIT

by Dorothy Rensenbrink

DETROIT, Mich.—In a variety of old and new styles that stretch all the way from biblical prose through committee jargon to radical rapping, the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches will meet in Detroit's Cobo Hall, November 30 through December 4, to chart a new course for the nation's 20-year-old ecumenical institution.

From solemn gowned processions and massed traditional choirs to the jazz of Duke Ellington; serious addresses by "name" personalities, the utterances of 40 groups working out their own ideas; recitation of prepared documents, hallway politicking — the thread which underlies all these activities is the apt Assembly theme itself: "Therefore Choose Life" (*See page 2.*)

The theme is taken from Deut. 30: 19-20. "I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse; therefore choose life . . ."

Somewhere in between "life and death, blessing and curse," is the institution of the NCC and, choosing that it live, the members of its Board and staff are asking quite searchingly how it can do so more efficiently and effectively. In Detroit, to fashion some answers to critical questions about the now and future of the NCC are the people who basically are the power behind the Council — the 800 voting delegates to the Assembly, hundreds of non-voting but concerned churchmen, and representatives of the different interest groups that look to the NCC for various kinds of help and services.

This Assembly (eighth in the history of the Council) differs from any previous one in that, rather than spending its time looking outward ecumenically, it will look inward at the mechanics of institutional ecumenism with a view to restructuring for new and different programs in the Seventies. Instead of a preponderance of plenary sessions that provide a national platform for top officials from government and other fields, there will be a preponderance of small working groups assigned to study what the business of the churches should be through the next decade and how the Council can best serve these tasks.

The working week will be lightened by four major addresses (one a sermon) and the Duke Ellington concert. But basically the delegates will be concerned with one working paper: "A Strategy for the National Council of Churches."

This paper is preceded by one, theological in scope, which takes three major issues which have concerned churches in various ways for the past several years and attempts to place them in a comprehensive perspective. They are the quests for 1) meaning and wholeness, 2) reconciliation, justice and peace, and 3) community in modern secular society.

Quest For Strategies

First asking what the basic assumptions of church mission are, the document called "A Quest for Christian Strategies and Priorities in the 1970's" attempts to answer this broadly, and then specifically in these three areas. Conceivably, if passed and adopted by member communions, it could provide a common theological base for the mission endeavors of many different denominations.

The "Strategy for the NCC" proposes "a new image (of the NCC) and reorientation of its function and roles." Briefly, it suggests that the NCC should place greater emphasis on such tasks as conducting forums and being a facilitator for member churches in planning, research, representation, and development activities. It also suggests that the NCC operate both as a catalyst and an advocate for communions and that it cooperate more with outside groups, secular and religious.

It recommends scaling down projected programs, engaging in program only for experimentation, demonstration and emergency needs.

Planning for The Churches' Work Together—Scene from a Past NCC General Assembly

Along with this, it calls for a reduction of long-term support activities, thus freeing personnel and equipment for short-term assignments from churches and church agencies.

If passed, it could mean that the 70 different programs operated by the NCC would have to be re-evaluated in terms of these priorities and that those that did not apply would be phased out or continued under other direction.

The basic task of the 40 working groups is to study these proposals, using the mission document as background. An Assembly Committee on Review and Evaluation of the NCC has prepared a paper to be considered by delegates at their first session, Monday at 3:30 p.m. Their second, third and final meetings (Tuesday at 2:15 p.m., and Wednesday at 2:30 and 7:30 p.m.) will be based on the "Strategy for the National Council of Churches" document.

Some Confrontations

Two separate groups have organized movements to effect changes in the Council on the occasion of its triennial meeting here. The first, a group of radical white churchmen, call their movement "Jonathan's Wake," borrowing from colonial preacher Jonathan Edwards and *Finnegan's Wake.*

Headquartered at the Tuller Hotel, they plan to press for "democratization" of the General Board by wresting control from members of denominational leaderships and placing it in the hands of renewal-minded laymen. They are also calling for a black general secretary. (See pages 6 and 7.)

The second group is the National Committee of Black Churchmen, which announced at the close of its November meeting at Oakland, California, that it will also push for a black general secretary and more black staff leadership. (See page 10.)

The Assembly begins Sunday at 8:00 p.m. in Exhibit Hall B, with a procession of voting representatives, chairmen of major NCC units and elected staff for a worship service. The Rev. Edler Hawkins, pastor of St. Augustine's Presbyterian Church, New York City, is liturgist, and the Rev. Joseph A. Sittler, of Chicago University Divinity School, preacher. Music will be provided by the Eastern University Symphony Orchestra, choir, and a massed choir from Detroit area churches under the direction of Blaine Ballard.

Program Highlights

On Monday morning, the first plenary session begins at 9:00 a.m. with NCC President Arthur S. Flemming, president of Macalester College, presiding. Among those presenting their greetings will be His Eminence John Cardinal Dearden.

Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, NCC General Secretary, will make his report that afternoon and working groups will begin meeting at 3:30 p.m. At 7:30 p.m. another plenary session will feature Dr. John W. Gardner, chairman of the National Urban Coalition, who will talk about the urban crisis.

The NCC's top priority over the past few years — the "Crisis in the Nation" — will be discussed Tuesday morning with Dr. Jorge Lara-Braud, director of the Hispanic American Institute as a featured speaker. Working groups will continue meeting that afternoon and begin feeding their conclusions into a Goals Committee, which must present a final document to the last plenary session for action.

Tuesday evening is given over to Duke Ellington, whose concert is also open to the public. Based on the 150th Psalm, this is Ellington's second sacred concert.

On Wednesday morning, another Council priority—peace—will be discussed by Dr. Edwin Reischauer at a plenary session. Dr. Reischauer was U.S. Ambassador to Japan during the Kennedy Administration.

The final plenary session on Thursday evening will see action on the recommendations of the Goals Committee, the installation of officers and members of the new General Board, and an address by the Council's new president.

The new General Board will hold its organizational meeting on Friday, December 5 from 9:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. ■

A Church Planner Looks at Mission Goals for The Seventies

DETROIT: OPPORTUNITY FOR DECISIVE ACTION

by Neiland J. Douglas, Jr.

ABOUT one year ago, I was submerged among scores of city and neighborhood people in a process of creating a Model Cities program for the City of New York. We were struggling at the center of a vicious crossfire of political, social, business, neighborhood, union and governmental interests to cut out a new piece of power for neighborhood groups to exercise in determining their future. We all knew the price of this struggle. We were isolating ourselves from established power groups in community; the precipice of defeat and the lure and temptation for relaxation and withdrawal were never far from our heels.

Yet the movement pressed on strengthened by the conviction that renewal of the system was not only possible but represented the only course which would lead to the creation of new power, to the restoration of opportunity, and to the reconciliation of blacks, Puerto Ricans and whites. The precarious balance which marked these struggles between a strategy of overt and often physical conflict and confrontation and the strategy of retaining linkages and lines of communication among vying power groups was continuously threatened. We needed one another in ways too desperate to describe here. The product of this strategy was at times exhilarating, when glimpses of compromise and reconciliation were in evidence. It was frustrating and heart-rending when it resulted in a deep paralysis of convictions, concession and communication. Indecision was producing less commitment to housing, to family medical care, to improving educational programs, to combatting crime and to the rehabilitation of criminal offenders, etc., etc. We seemed to be moving forward but the price seemed devastating.

Where was the basic good in people? Where was the compassion among New Yorkers which has been the distinguishing mark of previous generations and which has enabled this great city to deal with and overcome her past problems? When could we be joined with the unyielding dedication of large numbers of New Yorkers whose involvement and support seemed essential to break this torturous dead-lock? These are moral issues and they are at the root of the problems of New York and at the source of the problems across the cities of this nation.

"Rough Diamond"

These perplexing questions were very much on my mind when I was approached by representatives from the National Council of Churches to consider the opportunities of work for the Church. The Council had always appeared to me as a "diamond in the rough." It seemed to be able to call "a spade a spade" and it never appeared to back away when the going got rough. It revealed to me as an outsider and a layman an image of great courage and a significant spark of hope that the Church may hold the key to the great human and social issues which beset our world. The prospects of joining the National Council to help articulate these issues and the courses of mission in the Church were compelling attractions. Thus, I joined the enterprise.

This past year with the Council has been a year of discoveries—discoveries which illuminate both the inherent strength and frailties of the Council and the Church. The pluralism of city government stands pale by comparison to that of organized Protestantism. While the span of human concern is great in public affairs, it is unbounded within the Church save by the limits of man's imagination and available energy. While a consensus is at times attainable in government, it frequently seems as elusive as quicksilver within the Church. There are precious few points of intervention where men are able to address the total life of the Church, or even some small segment of its life.

While the Council is no panacea for meeting this need, it nevertheless represents a singular opportunity for churchmen to face together, react together, and to extend together the ministry and mission of the Church of Jesus Christ. This past year's experience has served not to diminish my enthusiasm for the work of the Council but to buttress those convictions that the Council is a rare and precious institution.

A Launching Pad

Exposed and vulnerable, adrift in the midst of a fragmented conglomerate of churchly manifestations at all levels, the Council has successfully, perhaps even remarkably, provided a stage for the pooling of ideas, energies, and resources and a launching pad for joint church representations and action throughout the nation and the world. Yet the Council is faced with many problems and has its share of imperfections. Its stubborn attempts to pull the churches together in dealing with the crises of peace and social injustice, particularly during the past six months, has served to underscore the seriousness of these functional and operational flaws.

Thus, we find ourselves at the threshold of one of the most tumultuous and telling events in the life of the National Council—the General Assembly of 1969. We are in the middle of a great cross-section of contending powers. Some groups are dismayed at the Council's apparent courting of militant black and brown groups. Others are lobbying vigorously for the Council to abandon its traditional base of power and sow the seeds of church renewal among the lay and clerical masses at grass-roots levels. Still others would find great delight, whether for liberal or conservative reasons, to so agitate and hamstring the processes of the Assembly that decision-making would become impossible. And finally, there are those who continue to see great hope and promise in the unaltered extension of the ecumenical endeavor into the seventies.

For those who seek new substantive and operational directions for the Council, there can be no hint of business-as-usual within the Assembly. But if clouds of paralysis should appear and obscure the vision and decisiveness of the Assembly, the confusion which already exacts a heavy toll on the Council will only become intensified. On the other hand, if there is sufficient will and flexibility, innovative and courageous thinking, the Assembly may be capable of capitalizing upon the creative tensions of the event and point to some new directions for the Church in the seventies.

As we look ahead to the seventies, we find that the issues are not always clear and, when they are perceived, we often find ourselves wanting for a solution. We have offered no earth-shaking answers to the fears and aspirations of mankind in our "Quest for Christian Strategies and Priorities for the Seventies." These strategies call essentially for a dogged and unrelenting application of our collective energies and resources to stem and redirect the swelling sentiment of self-doubt, alienation, suspicion and open hostility which have enveloped the people, institutions and nations of our world.

Central Goals

Three central goals emerge at the core of our recommendations for Church mission:

First, the advancement of opportunity for human growth and fulfillment. Both in the Church and in society, this goal calls for the actuating of all systems which will renew, change and enrich educational and community service opportunities.

Second, the enhancement and betterment of the human condition to enable people to take advantage of opportunity. Physical, medical, psychological and social disorder abound within our society. This goal presses for our continuing attention to the needs for rehabilitation, therapy and remedial help to change and improve the quality of life for all people.

Third, the development of new support and stabilizing forces to buttress essential change in advancing both human opportunity and human betterment. While change is imperative and must go forward, we must continue to provide a social, physical and economic environment which is supportive of the needs of all people as vital imperatives for the seventies.

The instrumental goals of the Church are perceived with sharp conviction. The Church is viewed as a responsible agent to stimulate a redistribution of the economic, social and political wealth and power of society from its persistent and moribund preoccupation with self-preservation, protection and aggrandizement to the creation of human opportunity and human betterment. In short, the vast reservoirs of resources which fuel our massive support systems must be rechanneled into the nourishment of human opportunity and betterment. We are called upon to mediate this shift of power in ways which heal human differences and bring the community of men together and not isolate them in hostile camps.

Yet for the Church to exercise these roles, some sharp and immediate attention must be simultaneously directed to her own household. The Church's representation and operations may amount to but a mirror of the human and social frailties of society. Or, they might contribute an additional ingredient which reflects the undiminished sacrifice of her members and organization to the glorification of our Lord, Jesus Christ. Herein rests the distinguishing feature and central motivation of our ministry and mission. We cannot, dare not, plunge further into the world under ascending banners of mere relevance and do-goodism. The growth and vitality of the Church marks the essential element of our mission. Thus the renewal and development of her internal ministries are key concerns for the Church in the seventies.

As for the National Council, we perceive with great humility the need and indeed capability within her offices of serving as a prime-mover, as an innovator, as a critic and a broker for the churches in exercising their major responsibility to mediate and administer this redistribution of resources and power. We do not look upon this strategy as one which is calculated to by-pass the churches but as one which is clearly directed to enhance the capability of the churches to renew their styles and to spend themselves unremittingly for the cause of human advancement and betterment.

Yet, for the Council to move in these directions, it requires a new mandate and style of operation and image. We are calling upon the General Assembly to consider soberly, and with a responsible awareness, the implications of all recommendations and demands which will fall within her province to decide. These deliberations must clarify the potential roles of the Council, the persons and groups it is to serve, its accountability to both beneficiary and proprietor alike, some of its potential program emphases, and its priorities for investment of energy and resources.

The Specific Issues

The issues to be examined are quite specific:

● What are the Council roles? If we perceive the Church as a responsible mediator in the redistribution of powers and resources in society, what is the Council's share of the action? If the Church is part and parcel of the present imbalance of power, what internal change is needed?

a. Do we see the Council as a *creative force functioning as a stimulator and critic of society and the Church's role in the world?* Do we see this role administered primarily through forum, brokerage and catalyst actions?

b. Do we see the Council reaching out to the grass-roots level to help create and direct a lay movement to renew the Church?

c. If the Council presses and enlarges its engagement with the renewal of the Church, would the present ecumenical approach of the Church be threatened? Is this risk worth taking?

d. Should the Council be prepared to convert its staff, physical, capital, and organizational resources to mount this creative ministry? Are we prepared to give up the relative comfort and stability of a supportive ministry to challenge the churches at all levels to come to grips with the compelling, personal and social needs and opportunities of the nation and the world?

e. Are the churches, as proprietors of the Council, prepared to help nurture and support this type of role in the Council? Will the churches look to the Council as one of the avenues through which their joint efforts may produce cogent new representations, models, incentives and commitments to the *renewal* of the life, ministry and mission of the Church?

f. Are the denominations and national church agencies able to speak for their constituencies in authorizing a new strategy for the Council? Will the Council be funded by the churches for carrying out this renewal of ministry of the Church in the coming decade?

● *Where are the targets and who are the clients of the Council?* If we perceive the action and support of the Church to be shifting to local levels, to visible areas of mission, to approachable opportunities for voluntary service by the laity and clergy, should the Council key its future creative and brokerage role to those levels? Yet, if we also perceive the general danger both in a national trend towards isolationism and parochialism, as well as in the diminishing vision of a world-wide commitment to the mission of the Church, what should be the national and international focus and emphasis?

a. What emphasis should be given to the support and nurture of local, regional and international ecumenical groups?

b. To what extent should the Council move away from its traditional patterns of providing services directly to denominations and national church agencies and toward the serving of people and groups in community?

c. Should the predominant program focus be spotlighted on black, Spanish-American, American-Indian, and other minority, disenfranchised and poor people and groups?

d. What emphasis should be given to the concerns and problems of youth?

e. If the Council intends to function as an effective catalytic and brokerage agency, what new relationships with public, private and non-NCC related religious groups seem essential to maintain the viability of this role?

f. What form of accountability must be maintained to member denominations and how can this be balanced against the essential involvement, participation and right to self-determination on the part of ecumenical, minority, youth and non-church groups to be served by the Council?

g. What kind of independence must the Council enjoy to perform this role? Should the Council be held accountable for its actions principally at the point of the General Board, or should the present pattern of dispersed accountability among the several committees, task forces, and groupings continue in the future?

Important Questions

● What are the program directions and priorities of work for the Council in the future? Should the Council eliminate and reduce many of its support programs? How can these ministries, if needed, be transferred to other organizational locations within the Church? If the work of the Council in the early seventies is perceived basically as a creative engagement with the needs of church and society, what are some of the major thrusts to renew the ministry and mission of the Church?

a. Should the Council exercise a continuous effort through forum action to press the points of common interest and concern and thus to pull the dispersed churches together creatively where possible in a new life, ministry mission?

b. Should the Council generate selective demonstration and experimentation ministries in areas of Christian worship, education and organizational development?

c. Should the Council stimulate selective demonstration and experimentation programs in community at all levels to promote organizational and resources development for social and economic betterment?

d. Should the Council persistently foster Christian presence and representation, including both lay and clergy, in the vital decision centers of the neighborhoods and communities of the world?

i) refocussing priorities as they may relate to the enhancement of human justice?

ii) mediating a shift in resources essential to the reconciliation among men?

iii) and securing a just peace among racial, ethnic and national groups?

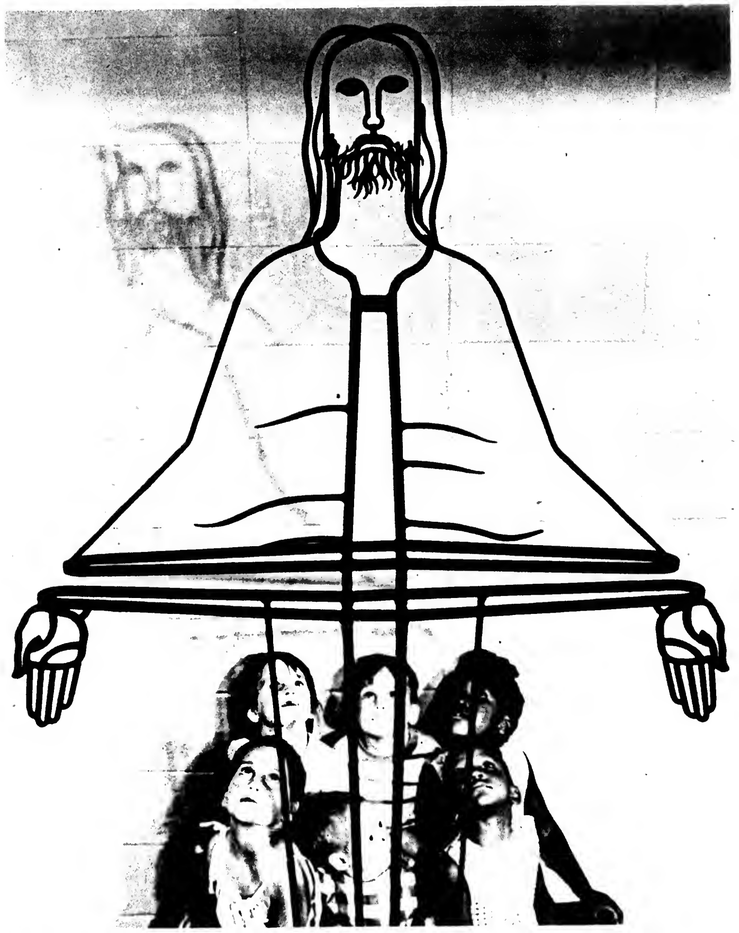
● What are some of the operational implications of a strategy which centers on a creative, brokerage and reconciling role?

a. Do we have the right leadership at the present time at the helm to engineer this creative ministry within the Council?

b. Is the bureaucratic structure and committee style of operation adequate and sufficiently flexible to support this type of role?

To this end, no single course of action, no unalterable piece of rhetoric, nor even an inflexible process for General Assembly deliberation is advocated. We are arguing for a great and abiding sense of awareness among the constituency of the Council and among the groups who are advocating change within the Church of the delicate balance which exists in the affairs of men—a balance which appears to this observer to be seriously and precariously shifting to human isolation and permanent division. In microcosm, the Assembly crowds a little bit of our life together into four short days. We can spend those days in hopeless and debilitating debate over the propriety of one set of personal, social or theological standards as opposed to another. Or, we may enter those discussions armed with the conviction that a reconciliation of views and commitments is not only possible but essential for the mission of the Council *and* the Church to advance in the coming decade. ■

Mr. Douglas, a Baptist layman, is Associate General Secretary of the National Council of Churches for Planning and Program. As such, he has played a central role in development of blueprints for Mission in the 70's, the NCC General Assembly's basic document. Before coming to the Council, Mr. Douglas was Deputy Director of the New York City Planning Commission.

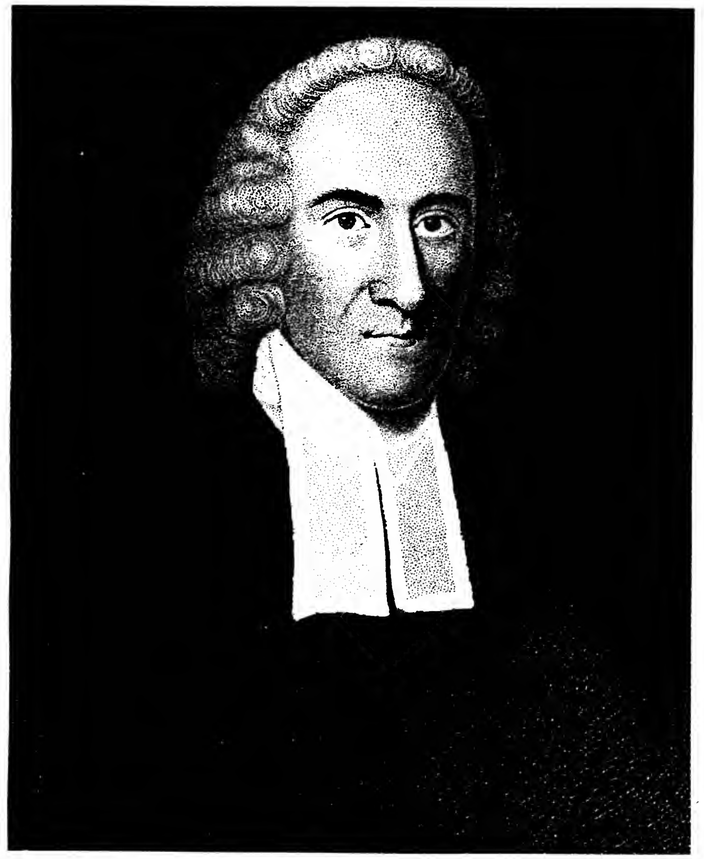


A Central Goal for The Church of Tomorrow: Growth And Fulfillment for The Coming Generation

For Detroit, An Outspoken Critic States The Case for Radical Renewal

JONATHAN'S WAKE—WHAT IT IS. WHAT IT WANTS

by Stephen Rose



(Bettmann Archive)

Jonathan Edwards

IF you are a voting delegate to the NCC General Assembly of 1970, particularly one from a WASP denomination, then you've probably heard of Jonathan's Wake, an organization that is now nationwide, of radical renewalists who will do what is necessary to turn the church inside out, particularly church pockets which currently hold a great deal of dead money. We'll get to the finances later.

The Wake was conceived in 1740 by Jonathan Edwards when he realized that our nation was poised like a spider over a lake of fire, hanging by a thread. He was a heavy preacher, Edwards, and his sermons were filled with references to things like sin and redemption and words that have been discredited by those who see everything through the sometimes optimistic eyes of secular theology.

For Edwards, Christian redemption was a deep, all-embracing emotional trip and many times more powerful than whatever the Puritans were taking for contemporary "pot." Because Christian conversion was an internal revolution that led to revolution in the society. It integrated the great divided corpse of the church, split as it too often has been between social action and notions of spirituality based on escape from the world. Lord knows we need both and die in the absence of either. This is the key reality of potential reformation, renewal and non-murderous revolution today.

At any rate, Edwards was an evangelical before liberals had learned to despise all evangelicals as pussy-footing pietists. And he was a social radical, which we often forget, because he insisted that the public interest take precedence over the private. Roger Williams is one of the few WASP heroes we have because he realized that Christian perfection lay beyond anything men could baptize with the label "Christian." He also, because of his vision, realized that Christianity itself made the Indians of the New England woods equal and more to the "Christian" British colonists at the bar of the Lord's Judgment.

If we can realize that Edwards was a man for the whole church, then we can put him into the tiny room where the WASP heroes stay these days. Lord knows there are few enough now that the truth of America's too-often imperialistic, repressive past is coming to light under the searching and often hauntingly accurate insight of men like Eldridge Cleaver, Leroi Jones and James Forman, men whom some (but by no means all) white churchmen have consigned to crucifixion because of the painful reality of the truths they speak; truths about the need for a re-imaging of the white man; truths about the need for a *complete* religious revolution; revolving the dead money out of the churches; revolving the Tab Hunter-Jesus out of our heads; revolving around to some WASP possibility of personal redemption in the face of the terrible odds of the late 20th Century. Edwards knew that Christ — *the man Jesus* — was a redeemer. It is *this* man that will, if we let him — unify us in the Seventies to work not for co-opted renewal but for the sea change that perceptive persons knew would have to come before there could even be honest consideration of renewal.

Jonathan Edwards led the Great Awakening, and scholar Alan Heimart believes that the evangelical awakening of New Englanders in the Eighteenth Century created one important base for the liberation of the colonies and for the American Revolution that followed, to use Hannah Arendt's semantic chronology.

Beyond Uptight Liberalism

We are beginning to see *today* a possible relationship between evangelical reality and revolutionary possibility, for a synthesis beyond uptight liberalism and dying fundamentalism: BIBLICAL ACTIVISM / YIPPIE! So we take Edwards as part of our name. "WAKE!" It has many meanings. Marshall McLuhan sees *Finnegan's Wake* as the prophetic, war-destroying, revolutionary intermingling of East and West into new synthesis. People used to hold wakes before the death business intervened, simply to assure that the body was really dead before burial. That is certainly a minimum that we owe to the NCC. So in Detroit we are holding, as one of our publicly announced events, a Wake for the NCC, in Central Methodist Church, just to make sure the Council is dead in its present form. One thing Edwards understood was resurrection - and that is also what the Wake is about.

Jonathan's Wake Aims to Get Churches Off Their Assets. This week is the start. The Wake has a plan:

We want all the dead money in the affluent churches released immediately — by court action of trustees if necessary — to the poor, the black and to Jonathan's Wake programs, namely programs which are *not* programs but *actions* for the Seventies. After the Seventies we'll either be here or not, and it will depend on whether we release the wealth now and come together in new non-bureaucratic ways. I'm talking about all the non-evangelical endowments that now insure white control of funding of mission and social work that should be operated by the people themselves who no longer want or need the charity of the denominations. The Wake believes the denominations—which *are* the NCC—should get rid of *their* wealth *before* they begin asking local laymen caught in current benevolence waste patterns to release *theirs*. The mission boards alone have the funds that are needed.

We also believe that this money should *not* be seen as reparations. Who *wants* reparations when there can be *free gifts*? The Wake is for the free, happy, joyous disestablishment of the churches for very simple reasons:

1) Today's church wealth, estimated at $100 billion, is indefensible. It's blue chip usury.

2) We want an ecumenical, united *church* in this country and the last thing we need is a merger at the top of the present endowed bureaucracies. We do not believe the blacks will allow that to happen. Even if they did, we would not, because ecumenical Mission in the Seventies lies in gathering up Pentecostals, post-fundamentalists, radicalized liberals — all who see truth in the Book and doom for the present order, unless it is replaced with something else — and turning it into a living church which will advocate a democratic revolution in this nation instead of a polarized maintenance of the quasi-totalitarian *status quo*, supported by those whose interest is at stake in the present order. The new laity is rising outside. Let's join them by giving ourselves away.

3) We're gambling on giving up our present life for reconciliation in the future, not on arguing that the present structures can gradually liberalize their procedures to cope with the present polarization. We want poor whites to become one with blacks, whose basic interests, economically, are similar. WASPS feel they have a role to play in this.

4) Happy disestablishment, which we recognize is a denominational affair, will have to come during the next three years as a prelude to church union. The disestablishment is in order to unite. We believe in the local church and not in the perpetuation of denominations. The NCC can help the birth pangs of the new church.

Who Gets the Assets?

The Wake believes in turning over assets now — but to whom? That is a hard question, not because there are so few choices, but because there are so many. For this reason we are hoping that the blacks in the churches will help us to disestablish the money and channel it into the movement of black-controlled and poor people-controlled projects to move the nation forward.

Basically, our goal is to liberate at least one-point-two billion dollars in denominational endowments and turn them over to two groups: to (1) a dominantly black-poor distribution group that will bear in mind our faith in self-determination in dispensing the money, and to (2) a series of efforts designed to assist the churches to move toward a genuinely turned-on union. We want to see the nation evangelized and turned on to the Radical Jesus. We want to develop a *temporary* fund for nonviolent task force action on a complex of issues in this country. We want to establish new churches totally outside the extension-benevolence-get-the-well-to-do-to - join pattern of much denominational church extension.

But why speak of the great program that will come from your votes at this Assembly, if you think our point is worth taking? For the first task, in our opinion, is actually to secure a beachhead of liberated territory within the establishment, so that we can press for our goals in an orderly fashion during the coming three years. The NCC might be that place, and this meeting might be the providential moment for releasing the NCC to implement the Jonathan's Wake program. Perhaps a majority of delegates will see things in this way.

Jonathan's Wake has proposed the following "straight" official actions for Detroit, and it is presently at work to insure that all voting delegates will have a chance to vote on these issues.

It should be kept in mind that our program is comprehensive and ecumenical.The notion that any part of it could be eliminated or bargained away might result in *token acts* designed to *still the waters, acts that could only result in damage to the cause and to the individuals who might be elevated to positions of ostensible power without adequate mandates and support systems.* This is why, in particular, we seek a specific mandate at this meeting, in the form of official action, to insure beyond any doubt the agreed thrust of the program.

Here in abbreviated form is the present (Nov. 6) version of the document we shall seek to present for your approval in Detroit:

1. We propose that, during the coming three years, the National Council of Churches be given a mandate by her constituent churches to develop, both nationally and at the grass roots, a movement of those within and outside of existing congregations for the confrontation of existing impediments to the reform of church and society.

2. Our proposal is based upon the following analysis: The coming years will be ones of crisis for the institutional churches, marked by continuing polarization, confrontation and misunderstanding, unless there is some move beyond the current *status quo*, unless something new develops within the churches to give some promise of genuine reconciliation. At the root of the present *status quo*, we find two prevailing assumptions which we regard as erroneous and debilitating.

Quest for Relevance

3. The first erroneous assumption is that the churches will attain relevance to the world only insofar as they engage in official commitments to specific courses of social action. In practice this

quest for relevance has led to the clericalizing of social action, the suppressing of potential lay movements, the division between clergy and laity, and the failure to develop a strategy of ecumenical action in the world, particularly at the local level.

4. The second erroneous notion is that today's church is so conservative at its base that it is virtually unrenewable. Continued insistence on this belief within denominational bureaucracies has helped to hasten the day of self-fulfilled prophecy. In practice, this insistence on local unrenewability has been used to defend existing denominational and conciliar establishments on the ground that they are the only centers of *avant garde* ministry within the church. The results have been schismatic, and the blame for polarization has fallen unevenly upon those who, in utter frustration, have sought to operate constructively at the grass roots with virtually no support from above.

5. The present ecumenical situation makes mandatory a new approach to social action, on the one hand, and the local church, on the other. Constituent members of the NCC who are also participants in the Consultation on Church Union have a particular responsibility. If COCU is to lead to something other than a weighty national merger of existing service agencies, if it is to lead instead to a renewed, uniting church, it is vital that disestablishment of current denominational programming occur as union becomes a more lively possibility. We believe that existing resources of denominations currently used for social service programming should be transferred to the black and poor; that mission establishments appropriate to the Nineteenth Century actually inhibit mission in the Twentieth; and that the "task force" concept included in present COCU understandings of a new church represents a fruitful approach to mission in a secular society. Thus, in favoring COCU, we also plead for a flexible National Council—given freedom by her constituents—which can help implement the task force notion during the transitional phase from denominationalism to the united church.

6. To end the present unproductive situation, we reject the strategy of official church programming and action as the way to minister to the world. In its place we must provide links between Christian laymen who want to "do something" and unofficial groups or secular voluntary movements which seem to promise hope for the social struggle. The rejection of official church programming and social action paves the way for a strategy which will place priority on the self-directed action of concerned laymen and clergymen.

Local vs. National Levels

7. Next, we must end the debate about which is more progressive, the local or the national level, by insisting that renewal depends upon the dynamic interrelation of levels which today are out of touch with one another. Thus, while local renewal is of great importance, we need national centers which can contribute to the organizing process.

8. Mission in the Seventies can be stated simply: It involves an upsurge of voluntary lay activity in world movements for peace and justice, and simultaneous efforts to improve the resources which the church can offer to the laymen who are the church in the world.

9. We believe that during the next three years, a revitalized, redirected NCC could help to organize a movement of renewal in the churches and of reconciliation in the nation. Therefore we approve the following directions for the immediate future:

a) The election of a black general secretary who will place priority on the development of a black-white movement aimed at church renewal and national reconciliation.

b) The use of the National Council as a base for confronting constituent churches with the task of divesting themselves of existing program units, preferably by the transfer of existing assets to the poor and oppressed.

c) The organization—along the lines of Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam—of local action groups which can contribute to a series of national actions on issues of peace, race, poverty, the city, etc.

d) The development of procedures for the organizing of lay voluntarism at the local level.

e) The encouragement of the denominations to develop their role as church institutions whose proper work is preaching, teaching and the formation of local congregations. This will include efforts to encourage the denominations to encourage adventurous programs of local evangelism, dialogue between new-breed fundamentalists and post-liberals, etc.

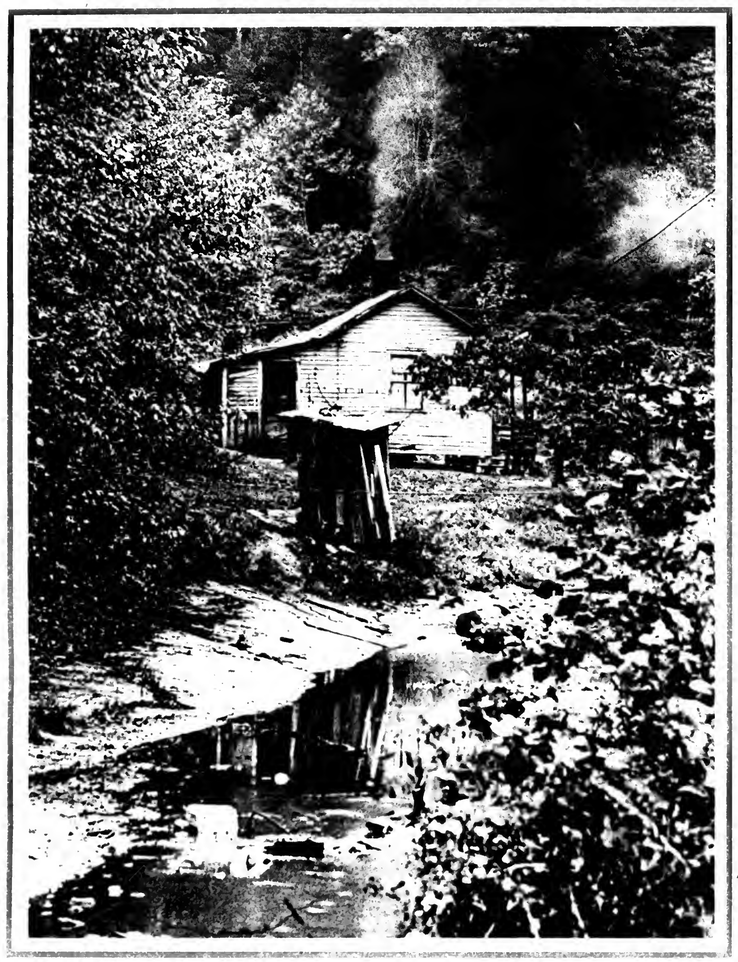
f) The election to the General Board of persons favoring this program.

g) The subsequent, immediate evaluation of existing NCC staff and program boards by the General Board in terms of the proposal, aiming at cutting down central staff and freeing funds for local organizing.

h) The development of a united staff group in the NCC to be made up of a mid-generation in the U.S. churches—those between 25-40—who may serve as a bridge between existing instutions and those who are alienated from them.

We hope that this is a "straight" program which will be approved, after full discussion, in Detroit. We are offering this as a clarification of, and alternative to, the genuinely insightful work of the official Mission in the Seventies' document, which is the basic discussion item proposed by the official structures. *We believe our program has teeth*; that it represents a commitment to a *resurrected existence for the NCC*; and that failure to enact the program will push us farther and farther apart until we can approach today's ecclesiastical institutions only as adversaries or as those who have grown beyond caring anymore. ■

Mr. Rose has requested that he be identified as author of the foregoing article with the following words which he supplies: "Stephen C. Rose is Co-Director of the Jonathan Edwards Tithing and Church Extension Society in Stockbridge, Mass., and Editor-at-Large of Christianity and Crisis. *This article was prepared with the assistance of Fred Lord, Art and Ann, and the Methodist Publishing House."*



"Conservative Pharisees and Radical Zealots Are Unable to Talk to Anybody but Themselves." A reply to Stephen Rose

WHERE THE SOURCE OF RENEWAL LIES

by Peter Day

STEPHEN ROSE is so right about so many things that I would like to agree with him 100 per cent above the way to make these things come true. He is right, for example, in his insistence that the real job of the denominational Church is to preach, to teach, and to establish local congregations. This is a daring statement to make in a world of "issue-oriented mission," when the in-thing is to organize national denominational and conciliar programs around problems of poverty, racial injustice, world hunger, population explosion, the military-industrial complex, Vietnam, etc.—and to demand that the local congregation do the same.

But the reason why Stephen Rose's statement about the local church is a true statement is that when denominational agencies and Councils of Churches sound the battle-cry they find that nobody follows them except the people who already share their point of view.

They have forgotten that nothing can win men, even Christian men, to submerge their self-centered concerns and launch out into a life for others but confrontation with the risen Lord as he is known in preaching and prayer and sacrament and in the life of the community of sinners who have had the luck or the wit to throw in their lot with him.

After renouncing the devil and all his wicked works, the pomps and vanity of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh, the Christian faces a new temptation: the pursuit of goodness. That is why such preaching as that of Jonathan Edwards was needed for the ears of virtuous Puritans. That is why in contemporary America, the conservative pharisees and the radical zealots are unable to talk to anybody but themselves. They are so busy being good, according to their lights, that they leave no room for turning to Christ and being saved—to become "captives in Christ's triumphal procession" used by him "to spread abroad the fragrance of the knowledge of himself" as the New English Bible puts it (II Corinthians 2:14).

Source of Renewal

Taught by Steve (and by my pastors and my fellow-sinners in the local church) where the sources of renewal is, I face the same problem that he faces: What does all this have to do with vast accumulations of money and elaborate bureaucratic structures? What does it have to do with a structure for interstructure collaboration like the National Council of Churches? Is the right answer to dismantle our structures and sell all we have and give it to the poor? That, after all, is what Jesus told the rich young man.

Whatever may have been possible in first-century Palestine, the task of making things happen in the world today cannot be carried out without elaborate structures. Ancient Jews were told to leave the remnants of their grain harvest in the fields so that the poor could come and glean it. But we modern Americans do not harvest the grain and thresh and grind it ourselves. Other people do these things for us, and organize transportation systems to move the grain to the mill, flour from the mill to the bakery, bread from the bakery to the supermarket. And even there, it wouldn't do us any good unless somebody in Detroit had assembled an automobile from materials and parts made in dozens of other places so that we could get into our car and drive to the supermarket for our bread.

Just where does the poor man find his gleanings in a world like this? And how can people animated by the spirit of Christ even find out, much less put into effect, a program for humanizing the lot of those who are left out of the system?

Nevertheless, the Jesus of the New Testament is the Jesus who tells us today that the job of his followers is to tackle racial injustice, poverty, world hunger, population explosion, the military-industrial complex, the war in Vietnam — all the forms of corporate sin and blindness which keep his people in bondage: "He has sent me to announce good news to the poor, to proclaim release for the prisoners and recovering of sight for the blind; to let the broken victims go free, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour."

But, in part because of the very complexity of today's world, and in part because each of us sees life from his own particular perspective, it is not easy for Christians to agree what ought to be done to obey our Lord's demand that we love our neighbors as ourselves.

All Bound Together

The national church agencies in general, and the National Council of Churches in particular, seem to have operated on the assumption that they were the Church, responsible for telling the man in the pew what he ought to do; the man in the pew, having an idea of his own about what he ought to do, intends to give his money to those who will carry out the purposes for which he thought he was giving it. Somehow we haven't realized that we are all the Church together, bound in one body like Siamese twins who can't go anywhere unless we go together. Hence, much of the frustration and sense of crisis that afflicts the churches at all levels today.

There aren't many people left today, whether conservative or liberal, who think that Christianity ought to remain aloof from the problems of our world. The John Birch Society is just as clear about this as the General Board of the National Council of Churches. And if the Church is not to remain aloof, it must inevitably make use of the means whereby modern society can be influenced toward change. There is no such thing as dead money—only money in the hands of dead people, or people whose minds or souls are dead.

In the New Testament period, the problem was one of alleviating poverty. Today, in the United States at least, the problem is not to alleviate poverty but to end it. Quite a bit of money is being given for this purpose right now, and undoubtedly more could and should be given in the years ahead. But if this giving is to be the giving of the Church itself, and not just the part of it that holds sway in national bureaucracies, we need to read again Stephen Rose's paragraphs numbered 3 and 4 of his Proposal for Detroit and ask ourselves how to accomplish the miracle that turns pharisees and zealots into joyful forgiven sinners.

At this point, it is necessary to look at the realities of power within the National Council of Churches. It has a General Assembly, composed of persons selected by the group that holds the ultimate sovereignty, the national governing bodies of the member church. Of these, a certain number, according to the membership statistics of each denomination, are designated by the denomination for General Board membership. The Assembly, *pro forma*, elects these persons, but it can elect only those who have been nominated by their churches. The Assembly has exclusive authority over the Constitution and By-Laws and the election of the officers, including the General Secretary (except that the General Board has the power to fill vacancies). However, since the Assembly is a very large body that meets only once in three years, most of its powers are exercised by the General Board, which meets three or four times a year.

Proposing and Disposing

In spite of the apparently wide powers of General Board and General Assembly, however, they and the denominational bodies that send them are not the bodies that supply money to finance the programs of the NCC. The sources of such funds are the boards and agencies of the member churches. No matter what the elective bodies propose by way of programs and priorities, nothing will happen unless the program agencies, most of which exercise considerable autonomy within their own church, provide the funds. Conversely, if they do supply funds for a program that did not originate in the General Board, the Board can't do much to prevent a program it has not authorized from being put into effect.

As is the state of the General Board, so is the state of the General Secretary. With the best will in the world, the Associate General Secretaries, who head the several Divisions, cannot use the monies they receive for any purpose except the purposes for which they were given.

Replacement of the present General Secretary by a black man would result only in the replacement of a nearly powerless white man by a nearly powerless black man. He would be successful only if he had better means than the present executive of coaxing or extorting money from the overseas mission boards, the home mission boards, the Christian education boards, etc., of the constituent churches. Two "priorities" established by the General Board have been languishing for some years now: the priority for peace and the priority for the racial Crisis in the Nation. In spite of genuine internal cooperation by top staff, in interpreting freely to what use their monies can be devoted, the fact remains that those who pay the piper call the tune.

Variety of Concerns

Not only the general secretaryship, but the other elective offices and chairmanships of the National Council of Churches have to reflect the variety of concerns of power, of renewal, of creativity, of minority representation, of know-how, of denominational balance that go together to make this strange and wonderful coalition of Christians trying to get something done for the sake of the Lord and the service of the Lord's people. Perhaps the National Council doesn't combine all these ingredients into the world's tastiest dish; but the remarkable thing is that it can combine them into something that holds together at all.

And it can point, if not with pride, at least with wonder, to the things that have happened in terms of leavening our national life, meeting the needs of the hungry and homeless overseas, providing a voice for the voiceless and hope for the hopeless, proclaiming the Gospel where it would not have been proclaimed with as strong a voice, in the 19 years of its existence.

In a sense, it might be said that the decentralization that is so commonly urged upon church structures today exists in full flower within the National Council of Churches. People give to what they please and the guarantee of the success, or even the existence, of a program, is its appeal to the givers. No wisdom from democratically constituted bodies alters this fact.

There is much that is sound, and more that is stimulating in Stephen Rose's comments about new styles and structures of mission. Some of them are present, in embryo at least, in the reports on Mission in the 70's and Reappraisal of the NCC itself that are coming before the Assembly. Social action as a means of proving our own goodness is gradually being replaced by the realization that the means of self-fulfillment have to be placed in the hands of the poor themselves, so that if anybody's goodness is to be shown it is theirs. It seems very likely that the shape of future ecumenical cooperation in councils of churches will not be one of agreeing upon political, social and economic programs, but agreeing about Christ and letting voluntary coalitions spring from that fertile source to pursue their own insights into his will for his world.

United Testimony

In such a National Council, Roman Catholics, Southern Baptists, and others who today play little part in the National Council of Churches may be able to bear united testimony of Christ in a bewildering diversity of programs, some of which no doubt will be diametrically opposed to each other.

"In His will is our peace," said Dante. But it will be, as it always has been, a peace that emerges in the midst of struggle, a love that is able to reach across battlelines, a joy based upon the reliance that God, and not ourselves, is the Lord and mover of history.

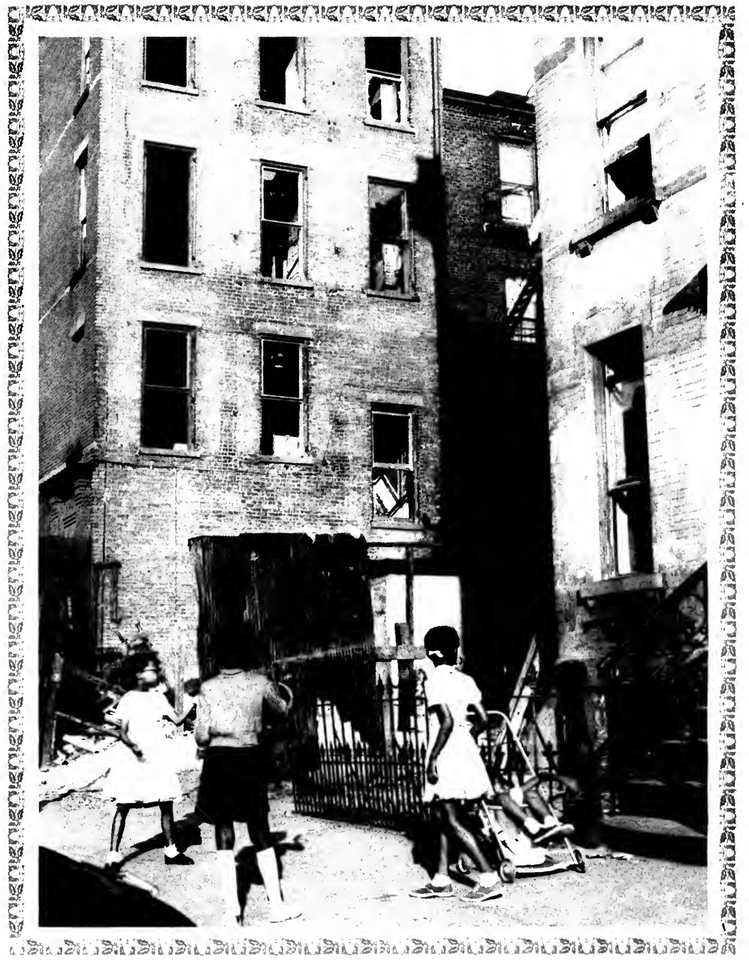
Let us make no mistake about it: The civilization of today places Christian people in an altogether different moral situation from that of any past age. The technological revolution, the intimate relationship of every part of the world with every other part of the world, the escalating means of both building and destroying, the ferment of hope in people long sunk in hopelessness; the power of our own national ideals about liberty and justice for all, confronting and condemning my generation's pursuit of a security and luxury denied to most of mankind — all these things will not permit us to rest content with the individualistic virtues that served us well in the past but supply no answer to today's problems.

These things are and must be on the agenda of the Church — and of the local church, too. But the motivation for rising to the occasion must be, as it has always been, the fact that Christ has incorporated us into himself, so that it is not we who live, but Christ who lives in us.

Give away money, yet—if we do it wisely, in order to get something done for Christ, not just to duck the responsibilities of power. Get a new General Secretary, yes—if there is a candidate around who has clearly better qualifications, no matter what the color of his skin. To put a black man into a position where the cards are stacked against him is a particularly foolish form of tokenism. Among the qualifications of a General Secretary, I would place patient courage, quiet persistence, wide ecumenical experience, and an ability to mediate between conflicting groups and interests ahead of more pyrotechnical gifts.

Consider radical ways of reshaping the institution, by all means; but do it with the goal of making the Council an instrument which the whole Church, from the man in the pew to the leaders of officialdom, can perceive and use as a means of service to Christ and to his world. ■

Dr. Day, Ecumenical Officer of The Episcopal Church, is Chairman of the National Council of Churches' Nominating Committee (1960-'69 triennium). Formerly Editor of The Living Church, he is the author of a number of books, his latest being TOMORROW'S CHURCH—CATHOLIC, EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED *(Seabury Press, 1969).*



"Today, in the United States at least, the problem is not to alleviate poverty but to end it . . ."

FROM OAKLAND TO DETROIT: A MESSAGE FROM BLACK CHURCHMEN TO NCC'S GENERAL ASSEMBLY

An "Inside" Commentary-Report by Bob Gore

THE meaning of Oakland is clear. In speeches, resolutions, and in private discussions, members of the National Committee of Black Churchmen are saying to the church: We are tired of being played with.

A seasoned civil rights worker said to me, "This is perhaps the most historic meeting I have ever attended. Black Christians are finally getting it together."

This has been no simple task, "getting it together." Historically, black ministers have been on the one hand the repository of black power. They have been such because generally they are not beholden to whites for their bases of power. On the other hand, intra-group division—partly through the manipulation of white society—has created fractionalization which has stunted the growth of black churchmen.

Oakland said NO to all of this.

In an arduous attempt to hammer out a philosophy which would fire the imagination of black churchmen not only in the U.S. but throughout the world, NCBC made it palpably clear that black churchmen would not be separated one from the other. They would no longer be "had" by the white church. Additionally, structures have been formalized through which movement can be generated at the drop of a missal. In the words of one young militant, "The testing has to stop." And it has. The *Message to the Churches from Oakland*, which appears on this page, bears this out.

The meeting portends no little trouble for those who are not yet ready for NCBC. If we have been worried about the Black Panther Party and therefore look to black churchmen for solace —forget it. Older men—much older—are saying things which are equally radical, equally unpalatable to those who would maintain a racist structure in the Christian church. The difference is that this time the fish bone which sticks in the church's craw comes directly from the church itself — albeit the black church.

Bishop H. B. Shaw told NCBC members, "Greed, exploitation, heartless capitalism, soulless imperialism, and modern colonialism" are the enemy. Bishop Shaw is NCBC President and Presiding Bishop of the Second Episcopal District of the AME Zion Church. He is not a member of the Black Panther Party.

To resounding applause, he told members this about black pride: "When you see the Rainbow Race ascending in the skies, you will know that the deluge is over; it ain't gonna rain no more!"

Setting the tone for the whole Third Annual Convocation of the National Committee of Black Churchmen, Bishop Shaw said that reparations is a key issue for NCBC and that the concept of reparations should extend much farther than the Christian church.

"We must not compromise for peanuts," he said. "We must press for reparations comparable to the blood, sweat and tears and uncompensated toils and labors of our forefathers." The fiery orator, decked out in the regalia of his station, told his cheering audience that NCBC "must not stop at the doors of churches and private enterprise, but we must press for billions of dollars in reparations on the national level." Bishop Shaw is much older than James Forman.

Hallway and cloakroom conversations with black caucus leaders from various denominations indicated that black churchmen in Oakland were willing to slough off the decaying parochialisms which have paralyzed blacks for so long. They are willing to do this in order that the religious, political and economic priorites established by blacks and for blacks can surface. And they are willing to do this by any means necessary.

Dr. M. L. Wilson, NCBC Chairman, said, "We are together and will remain together in order to eradicate the evils which have plagued us from time immemorial."

Beautiful. Just beautiful for black Christians. And it ought also to be beautiful for other Christians as well. NCBC in Oakland is really saying to the church that there is time for that old-time religion . . . we hope. ■

Mr. Gore, a staff member of the UPCUSA Department of Public Relations, is at present on assignment to his denomination's Division of Church and Race. He covered the NCBC meeting in Oakland, Cal., as its director of news media relations.

THE FULL TEXT . . .

A Message to the Churches From Oakland
Third Annual Convocation, National Committee of Black Churchmen
November 14, 1969

WE came to Oakland as an act of faith. We came seeking a deeper experience of the mission of God in the contemporary world than has ever been provided by the denominations and local congregations to which some of us belong, from which some of us have fled in profound disillusionment, and which some of us have observed, but only with doubt and distrust.

In a time of increasing institutionalization and bureaucratization of the Church, we do not come to create a new institutional form of the Church. We are not here to invent a new denomination. Our primary and overreaching concern is to seek, through our common experience and consciousness of being black and powerless in a part of the world dominated by white racism and white power, a new religio-cultural, political and economic vocation, which can relate to our own deep alienation from a religious, cultural, political and economic system. This system is not compatible with our own instincts and sensibilities but has been commended to us and imposed upon us by white, bourgeois, European and American religious, political and economic institutions interlocking and conspiring with one another to whitenize and subordinate black people.

This new vocation to which we are called is *political* in the sense that it seeks radically to change, by whatever means are necessary, the racist structures which dominate our lives; *cultural* in the sense that it seeks to identify, recreate, unify and authenticate whatever traditions, values and styles of life are indigenous or distinctive to the black community; and *theological* in the sense that we believe that it is God —however He chooses to reveal Himself today to oppressed peoples in America and in the Third World—who has chosen black humanity as a vanguard to resist the demonic powers of racism, capitalism and imperialism, and to so reform the structures of this world that they will more perfectly minister to the peace and power of all people as children of One God and brothers of one another.

WE black people are a religious people. From earliest recorded time we have acknowledged a Supreme Being. With the fullness of our physical bodies and emotions we have unabashedly worshipped Him with shouts of joy and in tears of pain and anguish. We neither believe that God is dead, white, nor captive to some highly rationalistic and dogmatic formulations of the Christian faith which relate Him exclusively to the canons of the Old and New Testaments and accommodate Him to the reigning spirits of a socio-technical age.

Rather, we affirm that God is Liberator in the man Jesus Christ, that His message is Freedom, and that today He calls all men to be what they are in themselves, and among their own people, in the context of a pluralistic world-society of dignity and self-determination for all. We believe that, in a special way, God's favor rests today upon the poor and oppressed peoples of the world and that He calls them to be the ministering angels of His judgment and grace as His Kingdom of Freedom and Peace breaks in from the future upon a world shackled to ancient sins and virtues and upon the present inequalities, imperialistic wars, and ambitions of privileged nations, classes and power groups.

This call of God which we in the NCBC hear in what we have been saying to one another in Oakland is a call to suffering and sacrifice. It is a call to identification with frustrated, emasculated, down-trodden men, women and children, most of them black, to share their anguish and their hope and to work for their enlightenment and empowerment, not that they might in turn become oppressors but that, through them, the world might be saved from the selfishness, greed and subjugation which has characterized the centuries—the old hegemony of the white, Anglo-Saxon, European civilizations of the West.

We therefore call upon the white, Christian churches of America and Europe, which have nurtured and sustained the systems of injustice that have driven the world to the present crisis, to submit themselves to radical reformation. We challenge them to psychologically and institutionally disengage themselves from the nations within whose boundaries they have so often baptized and sanctified racism, imperialism and economic selfishness, and take upon themselves the kind of revolutionary posture that can force the transfer of requisite countervailing power to oppressed peoples wherever they may be found.

We challenge them to divest themselves of their own great wealth—much of it ill-gotten—built upon the bodies of exploited races and classes wherever imperialistic political and economic influences have extended within and beyond national boundaries, and to make massive ecclesiastical resources of capital and technical assistance available to the powerless people in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the United States.

WE believe that the Black Manifesto, which was issued this year to the churches of America and to several official church convocations in Europe by the Black Economic Development Conference, is a most significant and essentially accurate assessment of the guilt and reparational responsibility of white Christendom and the wealthy Jewish communions of the United States. We reaffirm our support of that document and particularly of its programmatic objectives with respect to the situation of black people in the United States, Africa and the Caribbean area.

The NCBC will not desist from calling the white religious establishment of the United States to the full and immediate implementation of the demands of the Manifesto. Nor will we excuse from participation in the achievement of its objectives the historic black churches of America which have left undone many of the things they ought to have done in the slums and rural ghettos of the United States, Africa and the West Indies.

We do not shrink from the revolutionary, anti-capitalistic implications of the Manifesto. While all of our members do not give unqualified endorsement to every strategy and tactic stated or implied in the original document issued in Detroit, the National Committee of Black Churchmen, as a body, is committed to the essential spirit and meaning of the analysis and proposals, and will continue to press them upon the churches and synagogues of America, upon the National Council of Churches and upon the World Council of Churches.

We demand that individual white church agencies and white brethren, who call themselves our allies, recognize the imperative nature and urgency of this task in light of the crisis that is upon us in the cities and depressed rural areas in this most affluent and powerful nation of the world.

By the faith of our fathers, by the faith of Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey, of Allen and Varick, of Delaney, of Garvey and DuBois, Martin Luther King Jr., and Malcolm X, and by the grace of God, the NCBC has undertaken, in cooperation with IFCO and

(Continued on page 14)

WASHINGTON REPORT

THE MOBE

by John T. Turnbull

THIS column was intended to be an analysis of the current shape of political response to the Vietnam war issue. The usual deadline for TEMPO material was extended so that it could reflect any conclusions that might be drawn from the November 13-15 Mobilization and the response thereto, but it was not supposed to be an article primarily about that event.

The article I had intended to write is, however, not being written. In the first place, it is very difficult at this moment (the day after the March on Washington) to tell how if at all the shape of the response to the war issue has been changed by the demonstrations. One suspects that that response is still pretty much what it has been all along this fall: confused, rapidly-shifting, extremely difficult to predict or evaluate.

More importantly still, however, for someone — or at any rate this someone — who has been close to and indeed part of the events of the past few days, it seems necessary, both for the record and, to tell the truth, as a kind of personal catharsis, to try to convey something of how they looked and felt to him. So that is what I shall try to do.

Days of Good Feeling

First of all, on the matter of violence, with which everyone concerned with the demonstrations, from within or without, was so preoccupied in the days before they began. *The New York Times* on the day after characterized the protest in its major headline as "generally" peaceful. (I do not even know how to deal with the statement later in the day by the Attorney General to the effect that there was "such extensive physical injury, property damage and street confrontations" that the demonstrations "over all" could not "be characterized as peaceful." I can only conclude that Mr. Mitchell was watching something on TV over the weekend which he mistakenly took to be an account of the demonstration. At any rate, he does not seem to have observed the same events that I did, or that anyone in high position besides himself did, for that matter.)

The Times understated the case when it said the protest was "generally" peaceful. There were a few minor sideshows at which some trouble occurred, and I shall say a word about them in a moment; but the main events of the weekend — the forty-hour march against death, the massive gathering on Saturday afternoon, the great service at the Washington Cathedral on Friday evening — were not just "generally" peaceful, they were entirely so, and moreover they were conducted in an aura of such dignity, solemnity, and good feeling as to suggest more than anything else a great religious gathering. Which, come to think of it, is pretty close to what it all was.

This good feeling enveloped everyone who participated — the marchers themselves, the superb young marshals recruited and trained by the Mobe, the police who on Saturday afternoon, thanks to the excellent work being done by everyone, were left with little to do but stand around stamping their feet in the cold, helping people find their way, exchanging pleasantries with passersby and marchers.

Everyone was kind of stunned to find his

stereotypes about others shattered. One cop, asked for his impressions of the marchers as a group, groped for words and finally got out that they seemed to him, well, kind of *conservative*, by which he meant, he said, so very orderly, quiet, serious.

The kids were in their turn astonished by the police, and before long were chatting with them, sharing with them (as with everyone else in sight) their candy or potato chips or hot coffee. In the height of the trouble at Dupont Circle on Friday night, a policeman went back into the middle of the fray and offered help to some youngsters who had got a dose of tear gas, and they cheered him as he left to go back to work. A handsome, smiling young police sergeant (who also happens to be black) is pictured in Sunday's Washington Post giving the peace sign to the passing marchers. A young Mobe leader characterized the police as "simply fantastic."

Not long before the march began, our Mayor was trundled down Pennsylvania Avenue in a police sidecar to cheers and applause from the Mobe marshals and other participants who were standing around, and he stopped from time to time to welcome them to the city and wish them a happy day. (Chicago papers please copy.)

The Crowd

What was the crowd itself like? As the reporters observed, it was generally young, white, and middle-class. But even that is a slippery generalization. The most conspicuously under-represented group were certainly the blacks: there were few black faces, very few indeed, in the crowd. There were more older people than might first appear, because many of them did not try to join the march but went directly from their buses to the rally, or simply walked down the Mall from the assembly point. There were several contingents of labor union members. It was remarkable that a lot of older people couldn't come because their baby-sitters were all here. So those were the dirty, foul-mouthed, irresponsible kids who were participating: the ones to whom you would entrust the safety and well-being of your own children.

But the most notable thing about the crowd was of course its vast, awesome size. If you got to the top of the mound on which the Washington Monument is built — the only place accessible to the public from which anything like the entire crowd could be seen — there was just a vast sea of humanity in every direction nearly as far as the eye could see: some already in place for the rally, some still coming down from Pennsylvania Avenue, some down the Mall, some from the opposite direction directly from their buses, some from other streets. The profuse and varied placards, flags, and banners bobbed in the bright sunshine like autumn leaves on the water. It was a sight that could fail to stir only the flintiest heart. The kids around me climbed up onto the benches, looked around, and mostly just said, "Wow!" They were precisely right.

Liturgical Rhythms and Good Fun

The rhythms of the crowd made a deep impression. (Any liturgy is very largely a matter of good rhythm, and this liturgy was excellent in that respect.) The rhythm of sound and silence. The busy, slightly nervous sounds of preparation on Pennsylvania Avenue before the march came along. The distant sound of the muffled funeral drums heralding the approach of the procession. (We had heard those same drums on another bright November day not long ago.) The hush that surrounded the coffins bearing the names of the war dead. The noise again of this group or that shouting its special slogans — a few of them unprintable, but no one seemed much to mind. Then another quiet group, Quakers or priests or people calling themselves "the silent majority."

The rhythms of the chants. The eerie, wistful falling cadence of the sung lines, "All we are saying is, Give peace a chance." The "One, two, three, four, We don't wanta go to war." Best of all, the fine, strong beat of the antiphonal (leader and crowd):

"What do we want?"
"PEACE!"
"When do we want it?"
"NOW!"

This, the most universal chant of the day, could be and was varied endlessly in volume, tempo,

(Continued on page 15)

Concluding a Two-Part Interview with Benjamin Spock, by L. I. Stell

DR. SPOCK SPEAKS OUT ON DECENT AND INDECENT MAN

Dr. Benjamin Spock, adviser and friend of children and peace, spoke personally about his trial, his continuing faith in young people, and the Vietnam war — the Mr. Hyde in Uncle Sam's foreign policy. (TEMPO, Nov. 15 issue) The last part of his talk with associate editor L. I. Stell is about personality, a view of man derived primarily from his study and teaching of psychiatry. The bulk of his remarks preview what Dr. Spock considers will be his main work as an author: "Decent and Indecent — The Personal and Political Behavior of Man," to be published by McCall's book division.

How do you begin your psycho-political definition of man?

Man has lost his belief in himself. The first part of my book traces some of the reasons he no longer believes in himself. The format is that man became too knowledgeable scientifically to be able to believe in old-fashioned religion, but he hasn't so far been able to work out any new-fashioned religion. He's in the throes of this religionless state now—misled by science. Each of the sciences has tried to pretend that it really is the answer. Yet the sciences offer partial truth—not only by being small segments of truth, but by not even understanding that to be a wise segment you have to relate to the other segments.

And absolutes have to be old, I suppose?

If you look back, you see that man has always been fascinated by his relationship to the universe. He obviously keeps changing as he lives in different ways and learns different things about himself and his environment.

My belief in man doesn't have to rely on mystical unknowns because I know from psychoanalysis that a man can become an inspiring poet or an inspiring artist as a result of the sublimation of his incredibly intense relationship with his parents. This is mystical in the sense that no one could ever pin down all of the implications of this relationship in ten years of psychoanalysis.

What a man becomes is founded on something very real in a person's feelings and experiences that he went through in childhood. Yet today man has lost his idealism and his belief in himself. In America he's lost his dignity. The most repulsive aspect of Americans is that they haven't any dignity left; that, lacking any other image, they try to act like children. When they are feeling good they put on silly hats, blow paper horns, slap each other on the back. As the woman from Jamaica walks down the street, as if she were balancing a basket on her head, you suddenly realize: "Ah, these Americans are as smart as hell, aggressive, greedy but pretending to be silly children. At the same time look at the dignity of that woman who doesn't have anything except her grubby garden in which she sells things to the amount of 55c a day."

Are parents the source of dignity? Do they hand it down?

It partly goes back to your parents. In terms of ideas, it's knowing how important life is and what you stand for. Yet now the average American doesn't have the slightest idea what he's in the world for. The average European knows that he's alive to serve the family. In countries that are still religious and in countries that were religious, they know they are in the world to serve God, too. In the Soviet Union and Israel they know they are there to serve the state — humanity. Dignity comes from a sense of serving. Man is a serving creature and learns this because his parents served him, devotedly, from the beginning. And if they are good parents they ask that he serve the family as he acquires the capacity to serve the family. One of the distressing things about America is when mothers say, "I don't want to make him do chores; you're only a child once, let him have a good time while he can."

This comes because of misunderstanding of science and the incompleteness of science. Freud has shown us that man—though he didn't use these terms—that man gets his spirituality, his soul, his aspirations, his idealism and all from

Dr. Spock Addressing Last Summer's Liturgical Conference in Milwaukee

the family, and this is the deepest part of his nature.

The brotherhood of man comes from the "familyhood" of man. Does this mean you have a traditional view of the role of man and his helpmate, woman?

I ask questions about roles in the second part of my book. "Why are the sexes trying to exchange positions with each other as if neither one is satisfied with itself?" The answer, again, goes back to Freud — girls do want to have penises, though it might sound silly or simple to summarize it quickly. And boys do want to have babies. Latent in all human beings is this rivalry. But, in America, instead of showing each sex the special pleasures of being itself, we blur all those distinctions. Mothers now put their girls into blue jeans and T-shirts, just like they put on their boys, and say "You kids go out and play." You don't hear of American mothers coaching their daughters in the special delights of being a woman. Some do, but this isn't the usual American way.

It's part of the infinite perversity of human beings that subtle unconscious drives are allowed to come out in ways like this. Take mothers making their sons "girls" until, at least in Anglo-Saxon families, the boy is two. Then the father rebels for his son and says, "Listen Helen, you have to cut his long curls off."

This is part of the emasculating drive that's latent in women. For instance, take a look at women first-grade teachers. I was interested in new math and methods of teaching reading and visited one of the more progressive of the boys' private schools not long ago—in Cleveland. In the three first-grade classes, I was simply horrified at the harshness of the upper-class women teachers — cutting their students down. They didn't know they were harsh at all. This isn't a terrible danger, but it leads up the wrong alley to try to pretend that the sexes are the same. The sexes are temperamentally different, and we shouldn't blur the issues all through school. This is not to say boys should become insensitive or girls become kitchen maids. That whole business of, "You have to be dull to be a housewife" is bunk. People follow the line of least resistance, so it's easier to be dull as a woman. Other "outside" interests have to be cultivated more deliberately, under greater difficulty, on the part of the woman.

You are advocating that a woman should work against being "dull," but not against being a woman?

Yes, but the interesting question is whether in asserting what I believe is the truth about the differences in the sexes, will I completely lose appeal to youth? My view is the exact opposite to the life style of radical young people. They talk seriously about being part of the liberation of women. There is no question that women have been exploited the world over and that men will exploit women atrociously. This comes back to an old matter: human beings will use their power to the full extent that they are allowed to use it and must be kept in their place by being surrounded by people who are asserting their own dignity and refusing to be exploited.

So you're saying there is no "sexual revolution" then?

The third part of my book discusses the lack of such a revolution. Here someone could point to the prim morality I was brought up with. But it's worrisome to me to hear young kids say sex is obviously a new enlightenment. Sex, they say, is merely a hope and instinct that is meant to be enjoyed as long as no one is hurt. "Sex" as enlightenment is the most nearly complete misunderstanding of what sex is that has ever been voiced. This incredible view—life style—can lead to pain and despair. It mechanizes sex.

Which is the most personal of all activities?

Right. And the most spiritual. Even a child in the three-to six-year-old period conceives of sex as something that belongs to parents. Sex has to do with the child's secret aspiration to have the parent of the opposite sex for himself and the deepening conviction that this is not possible, because they run into rivalry with the parent of the same sex. Freud was absolutely sound not only in saying human beings acquire their spirituality partly by aspiring, not only to be like their parents, but to have the parent of the opposite sex. This is a crucial element in emotional development. It cannot be carried beyond a certain point. It usually is denied by an increasing sense of rivalry with the parent of the same sex. It is terribly dangerous to try to rival your parent. You've got to give it up.

It is crazy to think that you can get over the guiltiness of sex or shame about sex. These have different, specific, moral connotations in different societies, but basically it's the feeling that sex belongs to your parents, and the only legitimate way that you can get to it is to become a parent yourself. The Catholic Church, in this sense, is entirely right. It is crazy and immoral to teach sexuality without teaching the spiritual aspects of sexuality; yet it is hard to say these things without giving the young people the idea that you're trying to deny them sexual pleasure. I used to turn myself inside out. I'd turn around and say you can have any old pleasure that you want to get. We all want secret sexual pleasure, we all have fantasies. Short stories, pictures of satyrs and nymphs, they are all part of human nature. But never kid yourself that you are going to turn sex into something that's simple and pleasurable like eating.

There are all kinds of secret pleasures in sex aside from the deep husband and wife relationship. The fantasies of infidelity are an example. These are just as much a part of sexuality as the father-mother relationship. But all I'm saying is, "know thyself," and know that you can't, just by being rational, decide what sex quality is. Know that it's an incredibly complicated system out of which the whole of civilization has grown.

There is no sexual revolution. Today there is a feeble attempt to deny the realities of sex, but again don't kid yourself; they are only variations of a central ancient theme.

What other themes do you deal with in your book?

The third one is hostility and aggression, starting with animals and using Vietnam as the main example. All the dangers of man's vicious aggressive and paranoid power-struggle stand out clearly in the Vietnam quagmire. I don't think they ever will come out more clearly than the Vietnam war.

Yet, how unclearly they're understood. I've been talking to audiences, university audiences, especially at community colleges. There, men who have been in the army in Vietnam start up by saying — "Have you ever been in Vietnam?" I say No. "Well, I have. On the battlefield I've seen dozens and dozens of Chinese." What can you tell them? "Listen, if our government could get any evidence that there were Chinese bodies there, boy they would have blown it up into another super war." But, as he said, he was there.

And had seen what wasn't there. But even so, aren't many of these people changing their view of the war lately?

I talk about that in the fourth part of the book. Why so many people persist in being conservative when it is so irrational and self-defeating. Take doctors. In the 1930's, doctors' salaries in the United States had fallen to $5,000 per year. When the Democrats finally turned the country over to Eisenhower, it was $22,000 per year. But all that time, 95 per cent of the doctors in the United States believed that the Democrats were out to ruin them. And it's not only the conservative camp. What really defines a liberal? What about the terrible dangers of fratracidal strife among radicals — the readiness to hate and quarrel with the people close to you, much more than with those who are far away?

What routes do you walk to eventually make change?

Though I agree that imperialism is an expression of capitalists, it's an expression of capitalism in America more than anything else.

The radical student says we've got to get rid of capitalism. I say, don't argue with him about that. It's true that the United Fruit Company told Eisenhower, "Get that man out because he is going to divide up our banana plantations." So Eisenhower said, "Right, he's a Communist," and had the CIA maneuver to depose him.

Yet, just to change the economic system is not going to reform everything. Look at the Soviet Union with regard to Finland, the Balkan countries, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia twice. Don't believe it that you just change the system from capitalism to communism and socialism. The problem is man. Men take advantage of other men whenever they have the opportunity. I say the only slight hope of changing is for man to understand himself. Man has got to understand himself if he is to save himself.

How would you have people learn to understand themselves?

For one thing, parents have got to bring up their children differently; bring them up to serve but also bring them up to be aware of the fact they are always trying to blame somebody else for their own faults. In addition, they've got to be taught an entirely different American history in school. You can't tell them America has always been glorious and that we've won our wars because God is on our side. You've got to teach them that some of our wars were disreputable, like the Spanish-American war.

And what happened to the Indians?

Yes, and really examine what happened to the Indians. Americans are both benign and vicious. They are benign to those who evoke their sympathies. When a volcano goes off in the Pacific, Americans give more to the Red Cross to aid the victims, but with Indians or if they are black people, white or top-dog Americans are absolutely ruthless. And I don't think that more than one per cent of Americans have the slightest idea that we are highly ruthless people. We are ruthless partly because we've had this ideal of success: Get out of my way—I'm making a dollar. This, the highest ideal, brings the highest respect, in America. It is a person's right to get ahead as long as he doesn't actually murder somebody of his own kind. Americans are not especially "bad"; it's that they are so amazingly unaware.

But how do they become aware?

I touch on that in the final part of the book, the fifth chapter. Education has to be different all the way through. It is ridiculous to have psychology taught about the neuron and rats, for instance. The important thing is, "What is man? What light is thrown on man by studying rats and mazes or reading Conrad Lorenz's theories about the graylag goose or coral fish? We've got to teach endlessly the self-destructiveness of man; one, he is power hungry. Two, is man's tendency toward self-deception. It is much more dangerous than the viciousness, the hostility of man. The murderousness of man is terrible. But much more dangerous is the fact that we have no idea of his murderousness, his hostility, and the fact that he is always calling his own hostility somebody else's hostility which is — as an externalizied example — the international situation between the United States and North Vietnam. You see it in divorce. A man is telling his friends that he has been married to the most horrible woman that ever appeared on the earth. She's telling her friends that she has been married to the most horrible person. The examples, they both list for you show that each has the unattractive aspects of human beings. Each is the person who, at the moment of falling in love, thought the other was the most wonderful person who ever walked the earth. Man can only save himself by understanding himself better, yet I'm haunted by the question of whether he can be taught to understand himself better. Or, even if he is taught to understand himself better, whether this will ever stand up when the crises come.

You have said that Plato was wrong. You said the country should not be ruled by a specially educated elite?

Yes. Let me start with the realistic example. Take most of the whiz kid advisers of John Kennedy, LBJ, and even President Nixon. You know their names. They are not just average academicians. These are brilliantly successful academicians. Undoubtedly they made all straight A's through college. They are arrogant because they combine extreme contempt for the views of other people with enormous power drive, undiluted with any humility. Oh, I'm sure with their families they are warm enough. Man allows himself, however, when he becomes a leader of a country, to deny all of humanity that he is dealing with and, for instance, to talk in terms of who is our obvious enemy—the Chinese.

According to their way of thinking, we are going to be able to make accommodations with the Soviet Union because the Soviet Union is obviously going to fear China more than it fears us. There's every reason, therefore, for us gradually to come to accommodation with the Soviet Union and together we will face China. Aside from American industries' interest in southeast Asia, there is man's general paranoia which makes American "Pentagonists" say that China is the enemy country. Any number of Americans killed now in Vietnam are justified in order to get China cornered and keep her cornered. To go along with this paranoia is to be a complete barbarian toward the feelings and rights of the rest of the world's citizens. Yet don't I have a right to expect good things from top-level advisers who have had all the advantages? Instead, they are the most dangerous people among us.

To come back to Plato. You can dispose of Plato's faith in an educated oligarchy on the basis of, say, four of the current crop of experts. They are exactly the type, I would say, that Plato is talking about—the real educated elite.

But arrogance is the particular danger of the very bright person. He's always been able to get the A's with no effort at all, and he assumes that his intellectual process turns out the right answer. Therefore, he doesn't have to pay the slightest bit of attention to anybody else. They are convinced of the necessity for American ruthlessness in the world in order to "save" the world. I have a personal bias against some of these people through personal experience. But I think my bias sharpens for me what is a fundamental truth.

American people increasingly admire brilliance because we live in a society that's going to be—has to be—governed by brilliance. Never forget that brilliance is just as dangerous as nonbrilliance. In fact, it's more dangerous. Give me Pope John. Maybe his I.Q. wasn't exhorbitantly high—let's say 100—and these other guys are all up in the 150's and 160's. But it is much safer to turn your country over to a Pope John, who has an obvious feeling for people, to turn it over to someone with humanity and humility, who is willing to admit that there is such a thing as a soul. ■

A Major Segment of Dr. Spock's Time Is Spent at Peace Rallies

it says here . . .

CHURCH LEADERS REACT TO NIXON AND AGNEW SPEECHES ON TV

PHILADELPHIA — The Friends Peace Committee, the president of the American Baptist Convention and, in Elgin, Ill., the Church of the Brethren were among the first to react to President Nixon's Nov. 3 speech on Vietnam and later utterances of Vice President Spiro Agnew.

The Friends declared it was "forced to reject most of the policy Nixon outlined, adding: "We cannot bring ourselves into unity with any 'silent majority', nor do we believe that silence can help the Paris peace negotiations."

At the meeting of the General Council of the American Baptist Convention here, Dr. Thomas Kilgore Jr., expressed disappointment at President Nixon's Vietnam policy address. He said other areas should be explored that might "get us out of Vietnam quicker than the secret timetable that the President seems to be relying on." Dr. Kilgore, the first black president of the ABC, took part in the October Moratorium Day march.

The Church of the Brethren, in a telegram to the President and Vice President, "deplored any effort by the Government or the public to limit discussion of rival ideas and policies through the mass media."

(see page 16)

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UNITARIAN CHURCH IS TRANSFERRED TO BLACKS

CLEVELAND, OHIO — By action of the Unitarian Society of Cleveland, one of its inner-city churches has been turned over to black members for black community use. The congregation voted to give its $400,000 building and maintenance funds to its 30 black members. Hayward Henry Jr., head of the Black Unitarian Universalist Caucus made the announcement.

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METHODIST WOMEN ALLOCATE STOCK SALE TO RACIAL JUSTICE

BOSTON — The Women's Division of the United Methodist Board of Missions voted here to make approximately $200,000 each available to Black Methodists for Church Renewal and to the Board's National Division for Community Action projects over the next three years. The almost $400,000 allocation represented funds realized from the sale of 5,414 shares of Dow Chemical stock. The corporation has been under fire for its production of napalm used in the Vietnam war.

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YWCA ALLOCATES $100,000 FOR BLACK DEVELOPMENT

NEW YORK, N.Y. — In an unprecedented action, the Young Women's Christian Association has voted an initial fund of $100,000 for black economic development. One-half to be raised from staff and volunteers will go to the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization and the balance to support Y programs for social justice.

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CAMPAIGN AGAINST SEX EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS AIRED IN WORKSHOP

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Extremist attacks on sex education in the public schools are being financed by the far right-wing in an effort to obtain power, a workshop conducted by the NCC Department of Educational Development was told.

Dr. Franklin Littell, chairman of the Institute for American Democracy told the group: "The organized right-wingers work in a conspiratorial fashion using people without names, pamphlets without signatures, and anonymous calls in much the same way as the Nazi Party in Germany began." Calling the John Birch Society the "hub of the conspiracy," he said it is receiving heavy financial support from some major U.S. corporations.

Church groups were asked to alert their members to the dangers of extremism whether from the right or left.

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ILLINOIS CHURCH GROUPS JOIN PROJECT EQUALITY

PEORIA, ILL. — Eighteen religious bodies in the state have joined Project Equality, committing their purchasing power to business with firms which have pledged not to discriminate against minorities in employment.

More than 350 religious bodies are now participating in the nationwide program.

A Message to the Churches from Oakland

(Continued from page 10)

BEDC, to call this nation, beginning with the white churches which have a clear and acknowledged moral responsibility, to the conference table to negotiate in good faith and transfer of power to those segments of society which have been deprived of freedom, justice and self-determination. It can be done. It *can* be done peacefully. *It must be done* in any case, or peace, brotherhood and reconciliaton will remain empty, mocking words in an American wasteland of racial hatred and strife. Now is the time to act, for as the words of Isaiah 42 sternly remind us in every nation and generation: "He will not rest nor be silent until He has established justice in the earth. . . ."

Having thus analyzed our situation, and being ready and determined to respond to the promptings of this same God, we have been made to recognize that it is not enough simply to call the white churches to the negotiation table. Long, agonizing months of fruitless negotiations with these churches, in efforts to lead them to recognize and to fund the Black Economic Development Conference, have forced us sadly to acknowledge the harsh reality that the white churches and church structures are not capable of positive responses to the considered opinions of their black peers.

We accept the defiance of us which this exposes but we intend to do several things about that defiance. We are unalterably committed to the effecting of a more equitable power balance "by whatever means are necessary." Means additional to negotiation are now necessary. The time has come for us to resort to the use of unusual forms of pressure upon the white church structures if we are ever to realize the legitimate goal of a literal transferral of power.

One of the chief symbols of white church power is the institution known as the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. That institution —not unlike the World Council of Churches, the myriad regional and local councils of churches, and the white denominations themselves—is a sorry example of institutionalized white decision-making power. This is true notwithstanding the fact that it has token representation of blacks in executive capacity. The General Secretary is white; the Deputy General Secretary is white; all of the Associate General Secretaries are white; the heads of divisions which are of critical relevance to the black condition, such as the Division of Christian Life and Mission, the Division of Overseas Ministries, and the Division of Christian Education are white. These are untenable and thoroughly unacceptable realities. They comprise an affront to black churchmen everywhere.

WE, therefore, announce our dedication to a battle which must culminate in the appointment of a black General Secretary of the NCC, and in the designation of black churchmen, in significant numbers, at the level of Associate General Secretaries and division heads. These appointments must be black churchmen who come not only from the ranks of the white denominations, but who presently labor within the fold of the great, historical black communions. The day has passed when we can be played one against the other. The NCBC, therefore, in concert with black churchmen everywhere, will determine whom you shall appoint.

Time and circumstance have met in such a way as to place us, at this day, on the virtual eve of the convening of the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches. That assembly will meet in the city of Detroit during the first week of December, 1969. In the light of our deliberations in Oakland, and in view of the stance which we have been forced by white recalcitrance to take, we declare our intention to assure that that General Assembly is confronted with the serious issues which here we have raised.

One way or another, that General Assembly shall deal with this aspect of the black agenda. We have neither the need nor the intention to divulge the means by which we shall accomplish this end. We simply announce that sufficient pressures shall be brought to bear upon the Assembly to cause it to deal with these issues. Whether it deals wisely or foolishly with them is for the Assembly to determine. We are persuaded that mere suggestions and reasonable arguments are lost in the mires of verbiage and committee referrals which are so readily spawned by white church institutions. To us, "black empowerment" means, precisely, black empowerment; it does not mean endless dialogue with persons and institutions which have demonstrated a propensity for eternal, infernal dialogue.

WHEN the NCC, in 1967, spoke of a "Crisis in the Nation," it was speaking of the black condition. It named that Crisis one of the two top priorities for programming and funding. Yet, as the NCC, and as every black churchman knows, little enough has been done by that institution literally to reorder its priorities in line with its eloquent statement. We are convinced that only the transfer of power, at significant levels, can help to bring progress in this area of alleged concern. Detroit must see the establishment of our efforts to accomplish this goal. The battle once begun, we pledge ourselves to the vigorous pursuit of these objectives, by whatever means are necessary, until victory is won. If it should be that racism and white negativism are, indeed, so vital a part of the reality of the NCC that it would choose to destroy itself before acceding to these just insistences, then it is clear that the NCC is incapable of becoming relevant to blacks, and, being thus irrelevant, would serve a more Christian purpose in its demise than it would in a continuation of its present disguise.

Let no white churches, church institutions or churchmen seek comfort in the fact that we place our present focus upon the National Council of Churches. It is only the accidental timing of the meeting of the General Assembly which directs us so to do. Let the World Council of Churches know, assuredly, that it is programmed into our agenda. Let every regional and local council of churches across this land know, without doubt, that our intentions and our agenda speak to them all. Let all national and regional denominations, judicatories, dioceses and what-have-you know that this day we are speaking to them in tones of clarion sound. Our agenda for the white church structures is all-embracing. Fidelity to Jesus Christ, the Lord of all, informs us that none may be allowed the deceptive comfort of respite.

Our deliberations in Oakland have led us to know that it was for the clarification of these purposes that we were brought to Oakland, and it is with these resolutions and determinations that, under God's guidance, we return to our individual places and ramparts to work, to strive, and to fight.

Let all of the Church of God say, "Amen!"

The MOBE

(Continued from page 11)

and other characteristics, and served admirably to articulate both the unity and diversity of the group, both its form and its spontaneity. (Again, indispensable qualities of any good liturgical formula.)

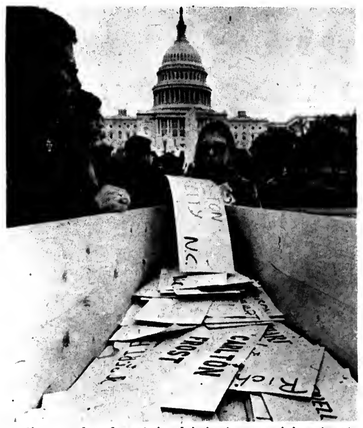
But don't let me make it sound too deadly solemn: it was fun, too — a bit of a pep rally, a bit of a picnic, a bit of a reunion (people were forever recognizing old friends and shouting greetings or falling into each other's arms if they could get close enough), a bit of Woodstock. The great museums along the Mall were open as usual and doing a brisk business in their galleries, in their cafeterias, in their shops, and needless to say in their lavatories. Concessionaires were hawking the usual assortment of hot dogs, souvenirs, candy, buttons. While waiting to join the march (some had to wait a very long time in very close quarters) people sang, waved flags, extended their arms up and made the peace sign, responded in kind to the good-natured instructions or advice being given by the marshals over the public-address system. ("If you have lost someone, you will find that someone over here just to the left of the press tent. The press tent is big and billowy and has blue-and-white stripes." "Are you cold? Jump up and down for peace. Wiggle your toes for peace. Clap your hands for peace. Snuggle up for peace.")

The Disorders: Dupont Circle

I would rather tell you more about that day, and about the other days and the other events, but there is not room and a little something must be said about the trouble that there was around the fringes. If it were kept in proportion, say of the number of people who instigated trouble to the number who didn't, I figure it would rate about three words in a report of this length. But I'll have to give it a little more.

There were two scenes of trouble during the demonstrations and one minor one afterward. On Friday evening a group under the auspices of an assortment of "organizations" among which the S.D.S. Weathermen represented something like the extreme right wing held a (permitted) rally in Dupont Circle from which they attempted to stage a (prohibited) march on the nearby South Vietnamese embassy in order to "serve an eviction notice" upon its present occupants. The leadership (if that is the right word) of these groups of toughs had come to Washington on the basis of an agreement with the Mobe leadership that they would observe the non-violent rule of the demonstrations and in token of that agreement leave their military gear behind. This agreement they violated: they came with helmets and gas masks, prepared for battle, and they quickly gathered various potentially deadly weapons from a conveniently-located construction site.

They had also indicated in advance that if they were not given a permit to march to the embassy they would not march, but they did and were turned back by the police with tear gas. Gas was used again repeatedly to disperse the crowd in and around Dupont Circle, most of whom, one had the impression, were hardly if at all involved in the action. (The great advantage of tear gas for crowd-dispersal is that it has not lasting ill effects. Very few people in the course of the



entire weekend sustained injuries requiring treatment with anything stronger than water. The disadvantage of gas is that it is indiscriminate, but then so are the deadlier weapons when used in situations of great tension.) A Washington journalist known for his sympathy with radical causes told me the next day that he thought the police work at Dupont Circle was excellent.

Saturday at Justice

On Saturday afternoon, following the conclusion of the Mobilization program, a Yippie-sponsored rally was held at the Justice Department to protest the Chicago conspiracy trial. Again tear gas was used to disperse the crowd, elements of which had seriously violated the terms of the permit and were smashing windows and beating on the doors of the building. This time (according to the press and first-hand reports I have received; I was not present at this one) somewhat more confusion and panic was caused because there were more people present (many had gained from the words of David Dellinger from the rally platform the mistaken impression that the Mobe endorsed this action), and some were apparently caught between barrages of tear gas while other innocent bystanders were forbidden by the police to go back onto the Mall, which they had to cross in order to reach their buses. The result was that the difficulty of getting away from the scene and out of town, already formidable because of the vast numbers of people, was compounded, and an unexpected number of people were left overnight without arrangements for sleeping. I hope that for those people the beauty of the day as a whole was not spoiled by the unpleasantness of its conclusion.

On both of these occasions, the young Mobilization marshals acted with great courage and good sense, doing their best to keep the situation under control despite the fact that it was one created by elements whose tactics their organization disavowed and whose activities they deplored. The local police had high praise for their effectiveness and expressed sympathy for their predicament.

Sunday in Georgetown

Finally, on Sunday afternoon a small group that spilled over from a planned rally to protest the building of the Three Sisters Bridge, wrought mild havoc on Wisconsin Avenue in Georgetown, whose generally staid residents looked on from the side streets evidently more in curiosity than anything else. (One little old lady said to me, in a remark that probably indicated fundamental wrong-headedness from my point of view but in these precise circumstances was exactly on point: "If they want to fight, why don't they go to Vietnam?")

The bridge in question is bitterly opposed by many Washingtonians, especially in the black community, as the most visible symbol at the moment of the apparent eagerness of our Congressional masters to cover as much as possible of our lovely city with concrete and to rend the fabric of our poor communities with expressways while at the same time endlessly dallying with the construction of systems of transportation which might help them escape their poverty and would certainly do all of us more good. Nevertheless, the local contingent in the Three Sisters demonstration decided not to proceed with the Sunday protest under the circumstances (the imminent threat of violence), and the hard core who did the slight damage that resulted seem to have been, if you will pardon the expression, outside agitators.

The Morning After

Early on Sunday morning, as a bright sun began to break up the patches of mist lying about the quiet city, I drove around a bit to see how things looked. There were a few smashed windows downtown and more around Dupont Circle, a few burned-out trash baskets, quite a lot of litter. A few police still stood around the White House, and pedestrians were not allowed on the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue in front of it. On the Mall, a young couple were taking pictures of the Capitol and a boy was sound asleep on a bench. I collected several contingents of young marchers who were hitching rides to the station, the bus terminal, rendezvous with their friends, better places to pick up rides for Boston or Ohio or Minnesota. There were a few mild complaints about one thing or another, but mainly the people were in a mood of something like elated fatigue. They liked Washington, they thought everyone had been beautiful, they had done their thing and they hoped maybe it had done some good though they weren't very sure about that.

Out of the huge buildings in the Federal Triangle and some of the "tempos" farther west on the Mall, endless convoys of Army trucks were taking the troops out of the quarters they had occupied for at least forty-eight hours, out of sight but very close at hand if there had been major trouble. They had not been needed, and in retrospect it seemed a little silly that anyone had ever thought they might be. ■

Mr. Turnbull, who reports frequently on the Washington scene in TEMPO, is Associate Director of the National Council of Churches' Washington office.

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A Communication

THE CURIOUS STANCE OF SPIRO T. AGNEW

AS TV viewers recently watched and listened to Vice President Spiro Agnew attack the very news media he was using, no "instant analysis" or "querulous criticism" was necessary to interpret what was happening: Mr. Agnew was transforming himself before our eyes from a national joke to a national threat. His previously veiled attacks upon freedom of speech could, partly because of their ham-handedness, be rendered harmless by being subjected to the ridicule they deserved ("Effete Snobs For Peace" signs.) His recent unveiled attack upon freedom of the press is not so easy to ignore.

For the Vice President to censure the TV industry over nation-wide TV on the basis, in the first instance, that the industry failed to give proper support to a Presidential address, is, in light of the very significant fact that the Government controls the licensing function, a most frightening phenomenon. Lest anyone doubt the roots of Mr. Agnew's motivation, he should ask himself whether the Vice President would have made that speech if the instant analyses to which he objected had been universal in their praise of the President's November 3 speech.

Several points need to be made in answer to Mr. Agnew. First, he began from the assumption that what the President said was of such quality and weight as to convince any fair-minded person of its rightness. The fact is that, contrary to Administration-induced expectations, the speech said nothing new; it merely repeated in different words the contention that there is a secret formula for ending the war, and that if it fails it would be because of critics at home, South Vietnamese military deficiencies, or enemy intransigence — a perfect formula for avoiding responsibility. It may be, therefore, that despite his weeks of preparation, the President was just not very convincing. If the majority of commentators did, in fact, by facial expression or raised eyebrow or otherwise, give some indication of this, it is just possible that there was some basis for it.

Second, Mr. Agnew made a strong implication that such analysis should not have taken place, at least not immediately following the speech while people were still listening. He also implied that when it does take place it should consist of only praiseworthy comments. The President of the NBC was referring to this implication when he said that Mr. Agnew would evidently prefer TV reporting "that would be subservient to whatever political group was in authority at the time." It was ironic that the day after Mr. Agnew's speech, it was Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Soviet writer, condemning his own society as "seriously sick," who commented that "he who does not want free speech for our country is indifferent to the

"YOU HAVE JUST HEARD A SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES . . ."

Motherland, thinks only of his own narrow self-interest. He who does not want free speech for the Motherland does not want to cleanse it of sicknesses, but to drive them inside so that they rot there." Mr. Agnew should go back and read his own quote from Judge Hand.

Third, Mr. Agnew's comments about the prejudice and provincialism of "self-appointed" news commentators seemed particularly ill-chosen in light of his own background. By and large these men, many coming from "middle America," have worked their way up through years of experience in the news business in various parts of the world. The broad knowledge and deepened perspective thereby gained, while admittedly limited and fallible, should qualify them for their roles at least as much as Mr. Agnew's experience with the Baltimore PTA and zoning board qualifies him for his. A historical perspective which can equate Churchill, Britain, and Germany in 1940 with Nixon, the U.S., and North Vietnam in 1969 could certainly be improved upon. And as for the Vice President's anti-intellectual comments about provincialism, one can understand the real meaning of that term much better by looking at what even the top Senate Republican characterizes as the "isolated executive branch."

The spectacle of the President watching a football game on TV during the largest anti-war rally in U.S. history has probably not been equaled since Marie Antoinette spoke her immortal words, "Let them eat cake." Furthermore, Mr. Agnew's account of the process by which news programs are composed was, to say the least, highly inaccurate. Certainly the several hundred persons involved on each of several independent networks can be better trusted to give a fair accounting of the news than can an agency or official of the Government with its own vested interest in getting a good press.

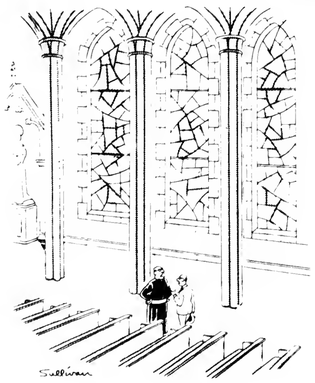
Fourth, the gratuitous insults to Governor Harriman were not only contemptible but also (again) based on ignorance of the facts. Both what Harriman said on TV on November 3 and what transpired at the Paris talks when he was chief negotiator were evidently unknown to Mr. Agnew, as the Washington Post pointed out editorially. Mr. Agnew seemed to be saying that it was highly inappropriate to "trot out" this most experienced diplomat and negotiator to comment on the subject on which he was formerly chief negotiator. It is too bad that the President himself didn't have the foresight to trot Governor Harriman over to the White House for consultation on the November 3 speech.

Finally, one of the most ominous phrases in the whole speech was the suggestion that the networks be "made more responsive to the views of the nation." In other words, the news media should tell the people what they want to hear, what corresponds to the views of the majority. Surely the Joe McCarthy period, with its persecution of diplomats who dared report the truth about China, and the more recent experience of falsely rosy military reports from Vietnam, have proved the error of this approach, even on the limited basis of national self-interest, not to mention things like truth and honesty. At least since the time of the Prophet Amos, religious leaders have experienced similar pressures to say from the pulpit only what their people wanted to hear and to refrain from any statement which might challenge or condemn. Such an approach can kill both prophetic religion and meaningful democracy.

Judging on the basis of the November 3 speech which instigated his statement, perhaps Mr. Agnew should ask the Administration of which he is a part the same question he asks the networks — is the aim to enlighten or to profit, to inform or to confuse? An honest answer might give some indication of why commentaries such as Mr. Agnew is condemning are necessary and vital. Unlike Mr. Agnew, I am willing to trust to the intelligence of the American people to distinguish between fact and opinion, between informed commentary and special pleading, pro-Administration as well as anti-Administration.

—Dr. Allan M. Parrent, Department of International Affairs, National Council of Churches, Washington, D.C.

From "Laughter Through An Open Window", by Cartoonist Ed Sullivan



"Hold it. Highway 80 is going through WHERE?"

"You can't hold back the tide of change, Mrs. Vanderbrook!"

"I'm taking you off youth work for a while."

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In Pace With The Changing Church Dec. 15, 1969 - Jan. 1, 1970

CHURCH WOMAN OF THE YEAR

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TEMPOsitions . . .

THE COUNCIL NOBODY OWNS—OR DISOWNS

By Howard Schomer

THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 4, the not-very-solemn Eighth General Assembly of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. concluded four days of exposure to the most anguishing moral questions of our time.

The next day, a new General Board, under a new president, Cynthia Wedel — who has already won her spurs through an election in which great issues were at stake, under some twenty-five other new officers, and with the continuing guidance of R. H. Edwin Espy, a general secretary now seasoned under fire, had to begin to pick up the many challenges accepted by the Assembly, trying to turn bold principles into meaningful actions in the triennium ahead.

Although the tides of the battle at Detroit's Cobo Hall, scene of all these meetings, are still noisily surging, I confidently believe that the National Council of the Churches of Christ, the most representative grouping of the Christian people of America up to the present hour, has chosen the way of life and not of death for its future service at home and abroad.

This choice was not a foregone conclusion when the week began. Advent dawned upon the churches this year among widespread rumors that the National Council had "had it." Caught in the vortex of neo-denominationalism, conservative social backlash, belligerent minority group demands, abhorrence of gradualism by avant-garde innovators, and a deep upsurge of anti-all establishment sentiment throughout the country, the Council seemed destined to be torn apart.

Frankly, this Assembly did not hold the churches together by reason of all the carefully laid plans of the various preparatory committees. In spite of all the prior documentation appraising current Council programs and goals for the decade ahead, the delegates of the member communions clearly preferred to junk the announced agenda in favor of dealing with the same major issues in a more spontaneous way. This Assembly lived through the heat of battle, and the National Council survived a savage encounter with enraged critics, thanks to the intelligence, maturity, and compassion of its voting delegates, who were steered between the dangerous shoals of backlash and revolution by a master in human relations and parliamentary process, out-going President Arthur S. Flemming.

What Did It Do?

This judgment will evoke jeers from many: **What was saved?** Merely a hollow conciliar structure, and a couple of hundred staff jobs? The Assembly did not vote the hundreds of millions of dollars demanded as the beginning of reparations due to the Black, the Indian, the Hispanic and other oppressed minorities in the nation. It did not officially endorse the rupture with the Selective Service System which one of its young delegates personally committed himself to undertake. It did not pledge the Council never to ask protection of the civil authorities, whatever disruptions might be inflicted upon its labors. It did not elect to its two highest offices the candidates nominated by the National Committee of Black Churchmen.

There was no on-the-spot satisfaction of any bid for a radical transfer of power from the official bodies that constitute the Council, the thirty-three member communions in all their diversity, to the insurgents in their own ranks or those of the fragile coalition of the exploited and the alienated which, colorfully but pathetically, testified in the aisles.

WHAT the Detroit Assembly did do was what it could do:

1. It gave prime time to the exciting reflections of its own General Secretary, who offered his maturing vision of the best option open to cooperative Christianity in America under crisis—a General Ecumenical Council embracing **all** churches ready to recognize each other's good faith, from the Pentecostalist to the Roman Catholic. It began to reflect with him on how highly specialized units might be empowered, within such a pan-Christian Council, to move swiftly with the resources of all those deeply concerned toward the meeting of those urgent needs which command their commitment. It voted to explore this exciting possibility with the aid of community and lay groups across the nation.

2. It set aside its announced timetable, giving more than half of the four-day sessions to open plenary hearings of **every** single caucus which desired to lay its concerns and demands upon the Council: the Women's Caucus, the National Committee of Black Churchmen, the National Welfare Rights Organization, Jonathan's Wake, Hispanic-Americans, the Youth Caucus, the American Indian Movement, and ad hoc groups on the floor concerned with discrimination against the poor and the black victims of Hurricane Camille, with draft-age American emigrants to Canada, with draft resistance in the United States, with the protection of the right of peaceful dissent, with the reports of civilian massacres in Vietnam.

3. It followed up an incisive address on the Vietnam War by former Ambassador to Japan Edwin O. Reischauer by adopting a tightly drawn resolution urging the United States Government to replace the goal of "Vietnamizing" the war with a policy of ending the war through new initiatives in Paris to secure a ceasefire, a comprehensive interim government in South Vietnam, arrangements for the prevention of reprisals, and the completion of the withdrawal of all United States troops not later than the end of 1970.

4. It elected its first woman president — a truly beautiful person, this Cynthia Wedel — and among the twenty-five other officers, chairmen of program boards and vice-presidents-at-large, it elected six other women, seven black leaders, one Indian leader, and two youth representatives. It committed the General Board and all of the officers to a continuing effort to involve the whole church at the grass roots, clergy and laity alike, in the development of relevant Christian mission in the '70s.

Accent on Openness

The accent of this Assembly was indeed on openness to the whole church and the whole world. It paid a high price for the decision to be a wide-open mass meeting. It had to remit to the new General Board, without comment, the pre-Assembly appraisal of past Council work and projection of future goals. It triggered a crescendo of frustration among the angry minorities to whom it gave its convention time but could not satisfy with substantive responses for their urgent needs. Yet two important revelations were given to the churches through the turmoil of this Assembly: the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. stood tall as an ecumenical instrument that no ecclesiastical establishment owns, and no serious Christian insurgents disown. No bloc of denominations controls it, and even the defeated Black caucus candidates for its two top posts, Albert B. Cleage Jr. and Leon Watts, in their post-election speeches, made clear their commitment to continue to work for a Council worthy of the churches' mission in the '70s.

The many confrontations of the week in Cobo Hall would be totally misunderstood if they were thought of in merely political terms. For they took place in an atmosphere strangely heartwarming. Underlying the patient openness and the noisy clash was an extraordinary sense of fellowship, even of awe. Free-flowing forms of worship, with jazz and folk music, a moment of high preaching of "black theology" —those were the uplifting occasions of an Assembly that experienced vividly what Karl Barth used to call the miracle of "quietness in the midst of battle." Across all the lines of division and the reciprocal claims of racism, men and women, of different confessions, colors and ages, touched hands, sincere Christians seeking to close ancient and dangerous gaps.

This Assembly could not but choose life: it was alive! ■

Dr. Schomer, Executive Director of the Department of Specialized Ministries, NCC's Division of Overseas Ministries, is a frequent contributor to TEMPO.

THIS ISSUE—Again, as last time, TEMPO runs to an extra four pages to provide amplest possible space for coverage of the National Council of Churches' triennial General Assembly, Detroit, Nov. 30-Dec. 4. At the risk of some overlap and repetitiveness there are two reports on the crowded week, written from somewhat different viewpoints. On page 3, Marjorie Hyer recounts Detroit as a reporter thoroughly immersed in the flux and shiftings of the "now" religious scene. On page 6, Harold E. Fey reports the same events from the vantage point of more than thirty years as a distinguished religious journalist. This entire issue is devoted to reportage and comment on this most memorable religious event.

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THE COUNCIL CHOSE TO LIVE

by Marjorie Hyer

THREE CANDIDATES for NCC's two top offices. From left: Dr. Cynthia Clark Wedel, who won in her candidacy for NCC President; Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, General Secretary "re-elect"; and the Rev. Dr. Albert Cleage, of Detroit's Shrine of the Black Madonna, who lost to Mrs. Wedel. (Not shown here, but appearing on the next pages, is the Rev. Leon Watts, losing candidate for the office of general secretary.

DETROIT — 1969 will go down in church history as the year the National Council refused to die.

This is not to say that the patient is robust, or indeed has even shaken off those troublesome symptoms. There is still that shortness of breath when it tries to move quickly; those spells of vertigo when it turns a corner or otherwise changes directions; the occasional twitchings in the members. And the steady pain in the financial quarters is unrelieved.

But the prognosis is hopeful. It has survived the severest crisis of its 19 years, at a time when a good many Council-watchers wouldn't have given a resolution for its chances.

Delegates to the eighth General Assembly of the National Council of Churches came to Detroit with one agenda—the Church's—and went home with a different one—the world's. Never before had a church meeting been open to so many voices with so many concerns. From black militant James Forman to a lady delegate from Pittsburgh who complained with compelling humor that the "Tuesday-Wednesday-Thursday" scheduling of NCC meetings was unfair to laity, everyone who wanted it had his chance at the microphone.

NCC President Arthur S. Flemming made it clear from the outset that anyone who wished to bring a concern before the Assembly had but to make his wish known and he would somehow be worked into the schedule.

"We want to make sure that this is truly an open assembly," he said over and over again. To give more elbow room on the schedule, Dr. Flemming skipped his own presidential report to give others more time.

Setting the Tone

The first afternoon set the tone for the next four days. The agenda called for the bulk of the afternoon to be spent in consideration of a carefully prepared document, "Mission in the Seventies," an attempt to hammer out goals and future directions for the National Council. But instead, the directions for mission in the seventies came from a diverse procession of individuals and groups whose varied concerns added up to one thing: change.

The Rev. J. Metz Rollins, executive secretary of the National Committee of Black Churchmen, addressed the Assembly to nominate for the post of general secretary a black candidate, the Rev. Leon Watts of New York City. He had earlier nominated the Rev. Albert Cleage Jr., of Detroit, for president.

Spokesmen for the American Indian Movement presented the plight of Indian people and appealed to the churches for help — and "a yearly budget of not less than $750 million."

Pleas of welfare recipients, Palestinian Arab refugees and of one lone Michigan college student, who would plunge the Assembly into its most soul-searching debate before the meeting was over, were also heard.

The majority of the women delegates stood in silent support while Miss Peggy Billings, a United Methodist delegate, presented a statement of the women's caucus, proclaiming that women "intend to be full participants."

The unprecedented afternoon ended with an unprecedented "exorcism," conducted by Jonathan's Wake, a movement of generally thoughtful critics of the church who had come to Detroit to lobby for social justice and greater lay involvement in the NCC.

The exorcism combined light-hearted pageantry with a powerful liturgy celebrating the struggle against injustice throughout history:

"When Pharaoh raised the brick quota, Moses and his people said:
On strike, shut it down, out demons out . . .
"When Hitler said 'Bow down and worship,' Dietrich Bonhoeffer said:
On strike, shut it down, out demons out. . . ."
"When the chainsaw hits the redwoods, we stand up and say:
On strike, shut it down, out demons out . . .
"When the captain says 'Babies also,' we stand up and say:
On strike, shut it down, out demons out . . .

Commandments Challenged

Of all the mighty and charismatic figures at the Detroit Assembly, the man the delegates will least likely forget is a soft-spoken, 21-year-old student at Hope College, Holland, Mich.—James Rubins of Hicksville, N.Y. In a quiet statement that drew its rhetoric more from the Bible than from Berkeley, young Rubins quickly summarized the dilemmas of his generation—or at least that part of it brought up in the church. Quickly he ticked off the Ten Commandments—and the failure of society to observe them.

" 'You shall not take the name of the Lord in vain'," he said, "and I see God invoked to press for American military victories. . . .

" 'You shall not steal'—would the Indians, our native Americans, have been forced to take a stand at Alcatraz if we hadn't stolen from them?"

As a child of the church, he said, he had tried to live by Christian precepts. Now he came to this Assembly, "to the elders of the Christian Church and my brothers and sisters in Christ," with a request: "I ask that you accept in the form of trust my draft card and help me confront the issues facing all the world today."

The simple request touched off the longest and most emotional debate of Assembly. Against the often impassioned speeches of those pleading for support of the youth was the opinion of the NCC's legal counsel, Percy Miller, that such an act would be construed as a violation of the law and open the Council to possible charges of conspiracy to violate draft laws.

The final motion to accept the draft card lost, 176 to 200, but in the end the youth and his spirit of quiet humility won. He took the floor once

(Continued on page 16)

AT ISSUE: The case for enlarged black power in the churches and their National Council. Speaking to the issue at the General Assembly is the Rev. Leon Modeste, New York, program executive for race and the urban crisis for the Episcopal Executive Council.

IMAGES AND CAPSULES: DETROIT AT A GLANCE

DETROIT, Mich. Dec. 5 — At its eighth triennial session here, Nov. 30-Dec. 4, the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches:

ELECTED ● Mrs. Theodore O. Wedel, former President of Church Women United and NCC Associate General Secretary for Christian Unity — to a three-year term as President of the NCC. She became the first woman president by a vote of 387 to 93, defeating the Rev. Albert Cleage Jr., the first black man to be nominated for the presidency. Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy was reelected as General Secretary, defeating his opponent, the Rev. Leon Watts, by a vote of 382 to 100. Two youths and six women are now among the 18 vice-presidents-at-large.

RECOMMENDED ● Guidelines for channeling funds and pastoral services, through the Canadian Council of churches, to aid some 60,000 U.S. draft age refugees now living in Canada and extending pastoral care at home to the parents whose children choose exile instead of military service.

URGED ● An inquiry into the alleged civilian massacres in Vietnam under the aegis of a disinterested international agency such as the UN.

RESOLVED ● That "Christmas as usual" not be observed this year, urging instead that people soberly recognize "our own responsibility in tolerating the kind of warfare that leads to civilian massacres — and in particular — recommended donation of funds for medical relief of civilian Vietnamese casualties.

WELCOMED ● The possibility of the formation of a wider and more inclusive Christian fellowship under the guidance of the NCC General Secretary and a to-be-convened national consultation of member churches on the subject.

AMENDED ● The NCC constitution to allow a broader representation of youth, women, and lay people.

SURVEYED ● A sampling of the Assembly's voting delegates, fraternal delegates and official observers revealing it to be 87 percent white, 74 percent male, 66 percent over 50 years of age and 58 percent ordained (only 6 percent were under 30), 12 percent were non-Caucasian and 26 percent were female.

AUTHORIZED ● Formation of an Indian Board within the National Council of Churches to broaden opportunities and redress grievances of all Indians and Eskimos—drawing resource material from Indian people in all stratas of society.

SOUGHT ● The early, equitable and just settlement of the land claims of the Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts.

COMMENDED ● Peaceful dissent, organized in legitimate and legal demonstrations in moral protest against the war in Vietnam—such as the Vietnam moratorium demonstration of October 15 and the mobilization in Washington of November 13-15.

RESOLVED ● That the Nixon Administration agency on population which would have as its task the halting of excessive population growth.

ENDORSED ● President Nixon's initiative in renouncing chemical and biological warfare and the disposal of existing stockpiles of such weapons.

URGED ● The President to "replace the policy of Vietnamization of the war" with a policy of ending the war "on Vietnamese initiative with U.S. help," and to call a cease fire.

ADOPTED ● A resolution dealing with disaster relief for victims of Hurricane Camille in which it decried evidence of racial discrimination practiced in the government-sponsored aid programs.

HEARD ● Representatives from minority groups and reformist groups on the subjects of black power, Indian rights, women's rights, restructuring church institutions and draft resistance.

WILL NEXT MEET ● In December, 1972, in Dallas, Texas. ■

LEFT: NCC's hard-working, outgoing President, Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, receives the Russell Colgate Distinguished Service Citation in recognition of his host of contributions to the ecumenical movement over the years. Presenting the citation is Rev. Christian Walvoord, Reformed Church in America, Chairman of NCC's Division of Christian Education. ABOVE: The National Committee of Black Churchmen's two major candidates for top NCC offices confer. The Rev. Albert Cleage, Jr. (left) ran unsuccessfully for NCC President, while the Rev. Leon Watts finished second to the Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy for office of General Secretary.

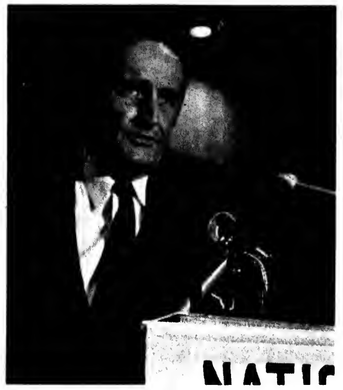
James Rubins, 21-year-old Hope College student, seeks to present his draft card to General Assembly representatives, to be held "in trust". While a simple majority favored the action in an early vote, it missed adoption by the two-thirds vote standing rule.

Dissenters confer on Assembly strategy. The Rev. Calvin Marshall, chairman of the Black Economic Development Conference, gains the ear of James Forman (center), of Black Manifesto fame, while the Rev. Baxton Bryant of Jonathan's Wake listers in.

Members of "Jonathan's Wake" march meeting-ward to place coffin on speaker's platform symbolic of their wish to bury the NCC and replaced by something they believe would be more relevant to the times.

Bishop Frederick D. Jordan (A.M.E. Church) addresses the Assembly prior to his election as First Vice-President for the 1970-72 triennium. Unapposed for the post, he lives in Hollywood, Cal. where he oversees a district of his church and holds the portfolio on urban ministry for this historic black communion.

RIGHT: Dennis Banks, chairman of the militant American Indian Movement confronts the NCC Assembly with a request for $750 million for programs to aid the nation's Indians for whose sufferings, he said, the churches were partly at fault. BELOW: The Rev. J. Metz Rollins outlines for members of the press the role and goal of the National Committee of Black Churchmen, of which he is executive director.



ABOVE: Midway in the Assembly week several thousand gathered to hear a rare concert of contemporary religious music in the jazz mode, performed by composer-musician Duke Ellington (at piano), his orchestra and combined choruses of the Detroit area. LEFT: Keynoter John W. Gardner, chairman of the Urban Coalition Action Council, pressed the cause of America's troubled cities, urging renewal as a top priority.

A Seasoned Observer Views

THE EIGHTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY: REPORT ON A TURBULENT WEEK

by Harold Fey

EXPLAINING THE BUSINESS AT HAND. President Arthur S. Flemming, exhibiting a resolution draft as next order of business at the Detroit Assembly where he presided.

JONATHAN'S WAKE, "radical renewalists" of the Church, opens a week of demonstrations and mock services to proclaim that NCC as is should die, be buried, and rise again in a new incarnation more to their liking, minus "establishment" taints.

NOTHING like the Eighth Triennial General Assembly of the National Council of Churches of Christ, which took place in November 30-December 4, had ever happened in seven previous assemblies. The eighth Assembly was turbulent, unpredictable and at times wildly unruly. It was also open, permissive, and its delegates were ready to admit, in triumph or in despair, that the changes which are universally predicted will now come in the NCC.

Wasted was much of the enormous work that had been done by committees of responsible churchmen to prepare for the Assembly, since the Assembly junked much of the agenda, scrapped the work of its message committee without issuing a message of its own, threw out the recommendations of its nominating committee for the organization of its new General Board and by-passed action on a projected program of the Council for the Seventies. Yet at the end, General Secretary R. H. Edwin Espy said that "we came through this critical Assembly stronger than ever before." If he was right, as I hope he was, this new strength is the kind of power that is made perfect in weakness.

For the first time, the presidency and the general secretaryship of the Council became the objects of a contest between the nominees proposed by the nominating committee and a rival slate proposed by the National Committee of Black Churchmen. Such contests for high offices could be a good thing. This one contributed to the polarization between the races that has already gone toward point-of-no-return alienation. The Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr. of the Shrine of the Black Madonna, Detroit (United Church of Christ) and the Rev. Leon Watts, A.M.E. Zion Church, Brooklyn, candidates of the National Committee of Black Churchmen for the presidency and the general secretaryship respectively, based their campaigns on this reasoning: Since "the basic problem in the United States is race" and since "every white person is tainted with racism," and since white leadership has made the NCC "a power institution symbolic of irrelevance," (all this from the Rev. Albert Cleage) therefore the Council should be turned over to black leaders, who would make it "relevant" to our basic problem. The Rev. Leon Watts' version, as given to a plenary session: "My commitment is to black people and not to structures or institutions. If they get in the way, they have to go, whether they are the A.M.E. Zion Church, the NCC or the government. . . . We have to understand and to amplify polarization. . . . Power concedes nothing without a demand. There must be struggle. There is no easy way to make a transfer of power."

The Election

This line of thought, said Mrs. Cynthia Wedel, the Protestant Episcopal nominee of the nominating committee for president, would narrow the NCC to a one-protest movement, whereas the organization should serve all the interests of the universal church. "We should not pull our foreign missionaries home and put them all to work on racial issues," as James Forman has urged the Assembly to do, she said. "We have to have the NCC. Those who think it's about to die are wrong. It can do more. It must work harder at the whole task of the universal church." Mrs. Wedel got 387 votes to Mr. Cleage's 93; Dr. Espy got 382 votes to Mr. Watts' 100. The new president's four-to-one majority was clearly a mandate for an inclusive Council.

"ESTABLISHMENT" PERSONIFIED. Dr. Peter Day, ecumenical officer of the Episcopal Church, in his difficult role as chairman of the Assembly's out-going official nominating committee, announces the "official" slate of candidates for the new triennium.

The Rev. Calvin Marshall, chairman of the Black Economic Development Conference, was given an hour of floor time before the election, compounding what President A. Dale Fiers of the Christian Church called "the catastrophic restructuring of our agenda in the interest of openness." Marshall introduced for "his 'second coming'" James Forman, author of the Black Manifesto, chief fund-raiser for the BEDC.

Contrary to the practice of some who lower their voices to raise their budgets, Mr. Forman attacked the churches as "racist" and branded United Methodist Negro leaders who are receiving funds for racial reconciliation, as "house niggers." Citing lack of representation of some racial minorities on General Assembly committees, Mr. Marshall said: "Your actions are a stench in the nostrils of God." Resistance to the BEDC leader developed when he attempted to take over the prerogatives of patient President Arthur S. Flemming to put a motion to vote. The silent refusal of the delegates to vote either way until Marshall retired was significant and decisive. These statements and actions are cited to indicate the lengths to which polarization was carried at the Detroit Assembly. The confrontation was unquestionably "creative."

The reader will draw his own conclusions as to whether it was creative of community or chaos.

An Astonishing Procession

While the elections dominated the eighth Assembly, they did not prevent the Assembly from giving a good account of itself in other ways. In response to requests, the Assembly turned itself into a forum before which came an astonishing procession of persons voicing human need. It included Indians, Spanish Americans, women, youth, Arabs, conscientious objectors, welfare clients, agricultural workers and Alaskan natives. Mrs. Rosa Parks, whose refusal to take a back seat started the Montgomery bus strike and the late Martin Luther King's career of liberation, was there. So were Yippies and a miscellaneous group calling itself Jonathan's Wake. All made their way to the platform and voiced their complaints, their pleas, their prayers and imprecations. Where else but in a church Assembly could the poor, the victimized, the alienated and even the unhinged find such a forum?

They were not only heard; actions were taken. The Assembly's longest debate was in response to the offer of a young C.O. named James Rubins of the Reformed Church in America to turn his draft card over to the NCC. Counsel said acceptance of the card would be an illegal act. The Assembly voted to accept the card but the majority was not large enough to conform to the two-thirds rule necessary to make the vote effective. Thereafter, over 140 delegates signed their names to a paper saying they personally would accept responsibility to hold the card. The quiet statement of young Rubins thanking the Assembly and saying he respected its decision and carried no grudges was deeply moving. Immediately thereafter the platform microphone was seized by a man from the "Free Church in Berkeley" who roared he did not respect the decision. Crying "the blood of Vietnam is on your hands," he poured red paint on the table of the presiding officer, damaging papers and a microphone and splashing clothing. Bishop John Wesley Lord of Washington later publicly apologized to President Flemming for an action which he said involved a Methodist minister.

Some Actions

The Assembly voted to ask Congress to set up a "major agency on population," called on church members not to celebrate "Christmas as usual" this year but to contribute to peace, and urged member churches to provide pastoral, financial and other assistance to the 60,000 American refugees from the draft who are in Canada. The Assembly also voted to support the land claims of Alaskan natives, to endorse the establishment in the NCC of an American Indian board or commission, to commend President Nixon for abolishing stockpiling or use of chemical and bacteriological weapons adding, on motion of Harold Bosley, New York Methodist, defoliants and tear gas used as an accessory to lethal weapons. A proposal for the formation of a wider Christian fellowship was approved. It will include Christians from denomination not now members of the NCC. A resolution was enacted charging that poor people, black and white, are discriminated against by Mississippi and the insurance companies in settlement of damage claims from Hurricane Camille, which hit the Gulf Coast in August. Speedier withdrawal from the Vietnam war was endorsed in another vote and efforts to suppress dissent from the war were condemned in another.

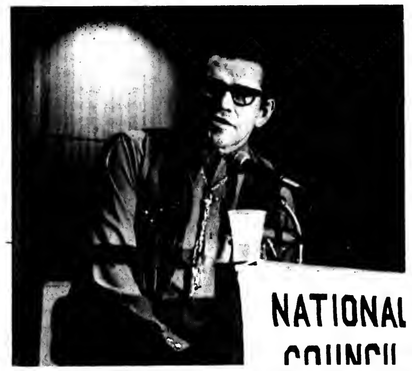
Assembly opinion was tested only at the principal Assembly luncheon, since the work groups that had been planned did not meet. Delegates at eighteen tables said the most important issue before the NCC is race. Fourteen tables said the most important issue is restructure, that number favoring a proposal by the General Secretary for a multiform ecumenical council (see below). Eleven tables said improving NCC communications with the churches was its most pressing task. Eleven groups said war and peace should have highest priority. A smaller number asked, What has happened to evangelism? Another thought polarization in the Council, in the churches and in the society should have first attention. Greater recognition of youth, more emphasis on reconciliation and deeper concern for the ecumenical world mission were also mentioned. When delegates were asked, what do you want done? the only significant response was to endorse the Espy proposal, made in an address at the outset of the eighth Assembly.

The Espy Proposals

In the next ten years, Dr. Espy proposed, the NCC should reorganize itself into a General Ecumenical Council. It could have a Consultative Assembly which would meet annually to enable all Christian communions to speak with a common voice on major issues when they agreed. In addition to such a parliament, there should be held annually a mass gathering of the people of the church on the order of the **Kirchentag** in Germany. Related to the General Ecumenical Council there should be largely autonomous groupings like the specialized agencies of the United Nations, church instrumentalities for dealing with spiritual, educational, theological or service fields. Participation would be welcome by Roman Catholics, Evangelicals, by the YMCA and YWCA, the Salvation Army, the Association of American Theological Schools, the National Catholic Council for Interracial Justice, and so on. While the plan is not spelled out in detail and the road from here to there is not mapped, the reaction to Dr. Espy's proposal in this Assembly was generally affirmative and friendly. Nobody, as he said, wanted the NCC to become "a National Council on Christ and Culture or a National Council of Caucasian Christians or a National Council for Colored Control." It could avoid these traps by "a profound reordering of our national and church priorities — by unfurling rather than by trimming sail."

The need for the National Council to pull itself together to face great issues was underscored here by the Hon. John Gardner, head of the Urban Coalition, and the Hon. Edwin O. Reischauer, now of Harvard but formerly U.S. Ambassador to Japan. Neither the desperate crisis in the cities nor the difficult attainment of peace can be dealt with half adequately without the help of the Church. The situation being what it is, the American church can act as one only through the National Council of the Churches of Christ. The eighth Assembly clearly indicated that by God's grace, and only by God's grace, can the NCC rise above its own structural arthritis, the sectarianism of the churches and the factionalism and racial chauvinism of our society in time. ■

Dr. Fey was formerly Editor of The Christian Century, *serving that publication in editorial capacities from 1940 to 1964. He is Professor Emeritus of Christian Social Ethics at Christian Theological Seminary, in Indianapolis. Between management chores on his 200-acre family farm, he keeps in close touch with the world religious scene, writing about it frequently. He is editor of* Vol. II, History of The Ecumenical Movement (1948-1968), *to be published in the U.S.A. in January by Westminster Press.*



COUNTING THE BALLOTS — For the first time, (Above), NCC General Assembly delegates voted in secret balloting for top office candidates for the coming triennium. It was the first time for there to be competing slates.

STATING THE CASE FOR ALASKA'S NATIVES — Dr. Fred McGinnis, President of Alaska Methodist University, (Top right), pleaded successfully for church support of legislative efforts to gain royalty payments to Alaska Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts from federal land now opening up to industry.

DURING AN EXHAUSTING WEEK — Attention of delegates seldom wavered from proceedings and many interruptions. In the foreground (Right) representatives of the Exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church and, beyond, the Friends United Meeting.

What Went Wrong in Vietnam—Where Should We Go From Here?

by Edwin O. Reischauer

One of America's most distinguished and keen students of U.S. foreign policy, with special reference to Asia, is Edwin O. Reischauer. For five years (1961-1966) he was our Ambassador to Japan. He is presently Professor of International Affairs at Harvard University. What follows is a slightly abridged text of his major address before the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches, Dec. 3, the subject of which, in his own words, was "The tragedy of Vietnam and the larger role of the United States in Asia, which surrounds and is illuminated by it."

THE American role in Asia is a very important thing, because we are—whether we like it or not—one-third of the world's wealth and power, and Asia is two-thirds of the world's population; and the future of the relationship between our one-third and their two-thirds will do a great deal to shape the future of the world for all of us.

I don't need to remind you of the terrible costs and tragedies of Vietnam. First of all, the great tragedy and cost for the Vietnamese people themselves. Second, the cost and tragedy for Americans. Domestically we've seen our young men killed, our wealth squandered, our attention diverted from pressing problems that we have at home and, possibly most serious, our nation divided in a way that I do not think it has been divided since the Civil War.

Abroad we pay the price of greatly diminished international prestige and, more important, international influence. There is a cost to the whole world, too, because when a country that is as great as ours—one-third of the world's power, and a country which I feel is perhaps the most admired great nation in the world—when a country that is this powerful and this admired, is seen by many to be seriously wrong, or in grave trouble—then the whole world is in trouble.

What makes this war so terribly tragic, more tragic than all wars which are always tragic, is that I think that we have come to realize, as has the world, that the war is a grave mistake—a very fundamental mistake. Some of us have tried to point this out for many, many years. I think the realization has sunk home to the American people and the American government, perhaps in the last two years, and this has created the great sense of malaise we have today. Having talked about the mistake for fifteen years or more, I feel that perhaps it was necessary to have a tragedy like this for us to understand a little better what our role should be in the world. And, if we could make this a turning point to a more constructive and better role in the future, then some of the tragedies, at least, will have produced some good results.

What's Wrong?

Now, what is wrong with the policy that led us into this war? It was based on a series of very serious misconceptions. First of all, that there was a monolithic communism, which was a vast threat to us and the rest of the world. This has been disproved first of all by the Sino-Soviet split that was predictable and was predicted by me and others long before it came. Nationalism has proved a stronger force in every single Communist country than communism itself. It is proven wrong, I think, by the very nature of communism, which has no system for equals to disagree. It is a system that assumes a single unitary truth that somebody is going to define, and anyone that doesn't agree with that particular definition is a heretic and is, therefore, hated more than the infidels that are not Communist. Communism is not a successful international system by its very nature.

The second great misconception was that between a monolithic communism and ourselves and our allies, was a third world—the less developed part of the world that was considered to be a power vacuum which, if we did not fill and defend it, would be filled and exploited by the Communists. Now this is a great misconception. There is no power vacuum in this so-called third world, as we can see very clearly in the history of modern China, modern Vietnam, modern Indonesia, and elsewhere, when the peoples of the third world are aroused nationalistically as they all are, and have the techniques of guerrilla warfare. They can frustrate any external military power and prevent it from controling and exploiting them. There is no power vacuum there.

The third misconception was that this supposed monolithic communism, through the exploitation and filling of this power vacuum, would produce such great strength that it would overpower the rest of us. Even if the rest of that proposition was correct, the final concept that they would gain strength from this was wrong, because the less developed part of the world is basically a deficit area. Trying to control Southeast Asia by China would put an unbearable strain on China, and it itself would probably collapse. You can imagine the Soviet Union trying to control and exploit India. It would only be weakened in the effort.

Final Misunderstanding

The fourth and final great misunderstanding was that, assuming all the rest of this to be true, we could do something to defend these countries from monolithic communism, we could stop aggression in them, we could even stop subversion. It was even assumed that we might be able to stop internal instability. In other words, we would prove that aggression does not pay, as was said over and over by our leaders. And what was meant by this was that we would prove that subversion does not pay. If Vietnam has proved anything, it has proved the contrary. Our military power is ineffective in this sort of a situation. It is not geared to guerrilla types of warfare in less developed countries. Moreover, our whole machine is so heavy that it distorts and destroys the economy of the nation we are trying to help. Our resemblance to erstwhile imperialists throws doubts on the side we are trying to help, and tends to push nationalism away from them. And beyond that, our very help often lets the regimes that we are trying to support turn their attention away from the pressing problems that have produced internal instability, and so they become less able to meet their problems because of our help than they otherwise would have been.

I might add, in view of the events or the disclosures of recent days, we have another inability in trying to do this sort of thing. We have a continuing, perhaps unconscious, racist attitude that we bring with us to Asia. The very fact that the Song My kind of massacre could occur—and it did not in the European theatre—I think is an illustration of that point.

Racist Thinking

There are many other illustrations. The assumption of our military that North Vietnam's will would buckle if we bombed them—when we knew perfectly well that this had not happened (25 years ago) in London or Berlin — was a product of racist thinking. We take with us there, I am afraid, all too often what you might call the "gook" mentality. The word "gook" was not invented in Vietnam, it was invented in Korea. In that war, too, we had an attitude of looking down, despising, hating the people we were trying to help. How can you help when you take that sort of attitude with you?

The most shocking revelation of this came in the official indictment of the men that are being tried for the massacre, in which it says they were responsible for the deaths of, and I quote, "oriental" human beings. What is that adjective doing there? If we were referring to (the different) tal" human beings. What is that adjective doing there? If we were referring to (the different) sexes, this might mean something. If we were referring to old age, old men—or children—it might mean something. But "oriental" as opposed to "occidental" in front of the words "human being"? It shows the depth of our unconscious racism, and we have to correct this sort of thing before we can play the sort of role we must play in the world.

Now, if we had been so seriously mistaken in what our interests were in Vietnam and Asia, then what are our real interests there, and in the less developed world as a whole? The answer is quite obvious: their long-term development, for various reasons. First of all, there is the moral imperative we have as those who possess things to help those that do not. We also can put it in terms of enlightened self-interest. Obviously, when these countries are more prosperous, more stable, more peaceful, all of us will be the better for it. And finally, may I point out that if two-thirds of the world continues to be impoverished, underprivileged and deeply dissatisfied, in another generation or so we may not have a viable world for humanity. . . .

The Real Tragedy

There is something very great to work on here. Now the real tragedy of Vietnam and the policy it has embodied is that we, as the world's richest nation, have for the last twenty years or more misapplied most of our investment in that part of the world in basically unnecessary and often counterproductive military activities, when what we should have been doing was working on what was the great postwar American invention: the concept that rich nations will aid poor nations. We put very little into that, and yet that was what we should have been doing all this time and what we must be doing in the future if we are going to have a just world, if we are going to have any world for human beings at all.

Now, is there any defense role for us? I would say there is, but a vastly more modest, restricted one than the one we have seen in the past. We can't do anything about the internal instabilities of these countries and, in fact, we shouldn't try to do something about them, because most of them are not democratic countries, and they have no means of changing inefficient governments except by instability, and we should not stand in the way of that sort of change. In any case, if you want greater internal stability, it will not be done by external military defense, but through economic and technological aid.

Where does this leave the problem of subversion from abroad? Well, fundamentally, there will be no subversion from abroad unless there is instability within the countries. That is the primary problem rather than what somebody outside can do. Actually, our presence in a military way perhaps fans external subversion. Pick Thailand as an example. I suspect strongly that after we are out of Vietnam, Thailand will wish to have our bases in Thailand removed. They are associated with the war in Vietnam rather than with defense of Thailand and it will not want a military alliance with us because, as a country allied with us, they are more likely to attract subversive activities from the Chinese and others than if they are in a more neutral position. They are safer without our defense. This is a perception that countries like Burma and Cambodia and Indonesia have already arrived at and we should welcome. I do think, though, that there is something that we can do in trying to provide the countries of the rest of the world and particularly East Asia, with an external environment of stability.

To Prevent Aggression

What do I mean by that? The safety of the seas is necessary for everyone. The presence of some military power which gives us an option to try to stop some blatant form of aggression if this seems possible and wise, I think, will keep aggressions from happening. An example from recent history is the case of Sukarno's confrontation with Malaysia. A fairly small British military presence, based in Singapore, helped this from becoming the major military tragedy it would have become for both Indonesia and Malaysia. There are probably some limited commitments that at least in these troubled times of transition will still be necessary. I have in mind the commitment to South Korea,

In Korea we had two highly militaristic regimes, each anxious to attack the other. Some external effort to play down this confrontation and keep it from developing into war, I think, is a contribution to peace. Now, some day this should all be done by the United Nations—even short of that distant day perhaps some international organs will be able to handle these problems. But for the time being there are no such organs in the Western Pacific. I think there is this small residual role, which I might say can only be played through Japan, because Japan is the great country of that part of the world and without its support we can do nothing.

For this reason, 1970, when the Japanese reconsider their whole defense alliance with us, is a time of very vital crisis. It is for this reason that I am very happy that President Nixon and Prime Minister Sato came to an agreement for the return of Okinawa to Japan by 1972. And I might point out that Okinawa is another case of American racism. The concept that we could rule all this time a million of the citizens of our closest ally in that part of the world is really fantastic. We would never have tried to do this in Europe. It is late, but still better late than never, that we have promised the return of Okinawa.

Now, with this view of what our interests are, I must say that I welcome some steps that President Nixon has taken in declaring that he wants to move in this direction, and I am referring to what he has staked his reputation on by calling it "The Nixon Doctrine." He used that term in his speech of November 3 in which he briefly outlined again what he had said in an interview on Guam, on July 25.

No More Vietnams

Now, what is the essence of what he said there? First of all, that we would live up to our commitments. But you can't imagine any responsible leader in any government anywhere not saying that. We would provide nuclear defense, which is obvious, because we do this even if we don't say so. We hold the nuclear umbrella over everybody. The meat of the doctrine comes in number three: that we will not be involved in internal instabilities. Time after time at Guam he said we will not get into another war like Vietnam. And, as one who has been saying for years, No More Vietnams, I welcome him aboard. He said that we would not involve ourselves, even in aggressions, if these were not nuclear aggressions. He spoke of a role of providing economic and military aid. And, by military aid, I presume he meant weapons. This is a vast change of the American policy toward Asia, the policy of the 1950's and 1960's. It's a change, definitely in the right direction. I wish he had brought out as a corollary and stressed a little more the positive side of the policy, and that is that in place of military aid we are going to emphasize economic and technological development and do a great deal more than we have done in the past.

Now the great problem is (while this has been held up as where we want to go and it's the right direction) how do we get there? How do we extract ourselves from the Vietnamese quagmire? What is at stake in the way we get out of Vietnam and bring this war to an end? Let's look at that.

First of all we have a deep moral obligation to the Vietnamese. We may not have brought tragedy to them, but we certainly greatly heightened the tragedy of the war for them, and we owe it to them to do our best to make amends in a physical way and try to help to produce the best possible solution of the war there. I think it even more important though that we have to bring an end to our involvement there in a way that does not bring new and greater disasters for us. I'm not being just selfish about that. We are one-third of the world. And a disaster for the United States is a disaster for the whole world in a way that a disaster for Vietnam does not affect the rest of the world.

McCarthy-Type Reaction

What do I mean by a disaster for us? Well, if we are too slow in getting out, I think there will be grave disruptions of our society, a grave weakening of it and its role for good in the world and its ability to handle its own domestic problems. On the other hand, we could have an end to the war that is perceived by many Americans, maybe the less sophisticated type of Americans, as a humiliating defeat, as a dishonorable solution, as a betrayal of the people we said we were going to help all this time, the people in Saigon. This would present intolerable problems for any administration. I can't imagine them opting to act in that way. This perception could also produce a Joe McCarthy-type of reaction that would be vastly worse than what we suffered through ten years ago. It could produce, as it's already starting to produce, a swing toward isolationism in terms of our interest in providing aid to the less developed parts of the world.

We've given very little that was not really

Engelhardt in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The Silent Majority

basically some sort of a military involvement. And even that little we are in the process of cutting down right now rather than expanding. The tragedy is that both liberal and conservative are all too likely to join in such a policy; the liberal because he perceives the terrible problems within our own society and therefore turns his back on ones that seem more distant; the conservative because he has never believed in giving aid to the other parts of the world.

There is another cost of doing it improperly. We could have a worldwide loss of confidence in our reliability and in our predictability. And, being the greatest ship of state, all the other ships of state chart their courses by us. And if we are doing something unpredictable or irresponsible, this will throw international order into chaos.

Well, in that case, how do we do it without paying these prices, and negotiate a settlement that's obviously most desirable but is very hard to achieve? Up till now we've held forth what has been a reasonable point for Americans—that there should be elections supervised by somebody outside that will produce a new government in South Vietnam. But this would really be under Saigon because this is what government there is in the South. Obviously Hanoi and the NLF would never accept that. For one thing, they don't believe this is the way to decide things, so why would they opt for elections in which they lose?

More Flexibility

Let us remember that it was in 1956 that we backed Diem in torpedoing the concept of elections to decide the fate of Vietnam because he felt he was going to lose then. And we who believe in elections backed him up in not accepting them, when they had been agreed to two years earlier. So why would we expect Hanoi ever to do that? Obviously, if we are going to have a negotiated settlement we have to have a great deal more flexibility than we've had in the past. I think it is quite clear we won't stay forever in Vietnam. It's quite clear that Saigon may not be a viable entity for long after we're gone. We can't be sure of that. It certainly is better for us to show flexibility in trying to help the Vietnamese reach the best possible solution rather than having it a prolonged military solution ending up in a fight between the North and South after we're gone.

Now what would this greater flexibility be? First of all, we have to accept the concept of a greatly broadened Saigon government with a bigger base including other people—not necessarily a coalition government but certainly something broader than we have now. Assuming we had this flexibility, which up till now we have not shown, can we influence Saigon enough to accept it? I wonder. Do we know enough to mastermind this? I have grave doubts about our own wisdom. And would it work once achieved? There are serious doubts as to whether we will ever get a negotiated settlement.

And this leads us to President Nixon's statement on Nov. 3, that he has another plan to bring peace which he gradually expounded under the name of Vietnamization. He linked it to the Nixon Doctrine of where he wants to go in the long run and it spells quite clearly a unilateral withdrawal, though he didn't want to call it that. However, as he built up the story he came to the final punch line: that "we will withdraw all American forces according to our program"—and I'm quoting it directly. Oh, he has a tremendously difficult job even to pull this off without further catastrophes. He has to go through a sort of Scylla and Charybdis of going too slow or going too fast. If he goes too slow, then I think we will have a blow-up in this country. If he goes too fast, then you'll have this sense of a humiliating defeat, a dishonorable end, that will bring grave problems for us and the world. He has to do it in a way to put adequate pressure on Saigon either to reform or to negotiate a settlement on their own, but not so much pressure that they collapse in the process, which will be looked upon as having been dishonorable. He has to make it worth Hanoi's while to let us withdraw gradually and not seem to be staying there forever — and yet not doing it so fast that they just look upon it as a simple takeover by them, so that something better than that might emerge.

Out in 1970?

No one can predict how this will come out—it's extremely chancy, extremely perilous. My own guess as to what the President has in mind, and what is perhaps the most likely possible of many possible outcomes, is that we will be out of combat some time in the course of 1970, and in the process may have achieved a stand-still ceasefire. You can see the situation gravitating slowly in that direction already and that we will be out completely, if not in the course of 1971 at least in the earlier part of 1972. Some of the timing is linked with the fact that there is a national election here in the autumn of 1972. . . .

As I say, there are dangers, great unclarities. But let us, as a people, try to bear in mind the important points in this period of great change of American policy towards Asia. First of all, we do have this deep moral obligation to do the best we can for the people of Vietnam after we've done so much that has been bad for them. Second, we must eliminate our unwise military commitment in the less developed countries of Asia, or at least reduce it to very different proportions from what it is now.

At the same time, let us not overreact, because we cannot help being a great country and there are great responsibilities. And let us not give up the useful residual roles that may still be there in that part of the world. Most important of all, in our frustration or unhappiness over all that has happened there, let us not in disgust turn our backs on Asia and the less developed parts of the world. That would be the worst form of racism of all. Let us realize that we must do more for them in economic and technological aid, and we must do it better. ■

VIETNAM: THE CHURCHES SPEAK AGAIN

In A Resolution, NCC's General Assembly States:

1. The Dangers of Oversimplification

The Vietnamese people have struggled for centuries against foreign encroachment, and have developed a complex national identity and society. In the contemporary situation, three factors are of particular importance. The first is a social structure based on family and communal relationships complicated by sharp ethnic, religious, regional, political and class divisions. Second is a national identity based not only upon a proud culture but also upon a long history of resistance to foreign intrusion—Chinese, Mongol, Spanish, French, Japanese, American, Russian. Third is the fact that modern great powers have become involved for their own reasons, largely unrelated to the motivations of the various groupings of the Vietnamese people.

The National Council of Churches, from the beginning of the Vietnam conflict, has attempted to keep these and other elements in the struggle clearly in view and to resist simplistic caricatures of the situation in Vietnam. Neither the Republic of Vietnam nor the Provisional Revolutionary Government adequately represents the people of South Vietnam; there are oversimplifications on both sides of the struggle. We do not agree with the historical explanation which the present United States Administration and previous administrations have given as to the origins of the Vietnam conflict and the justifications of United States intervention. In particular, the notion that the Vietnam War is essentially a case of Communist aggression and of American and allied defense of freedom and self-determination against aggression, is misleading and has failed profoundly to do justice to the complexity and diversity of the historical, political and social conditions of Vietnam.

2. The Limits of Military Power and Disengagement

There has been a tragically mistaken and self-defeating tendency on the part of both the United States and Saigon governments to rank military priorities ahead of political goals and processes. The result is that the weight of our policies in South Vietnam has tended to undermine the very possibility of a government in the South capable of establishing institutions of social change and freedom. At terrible cost, we have learned in Vietnam the lesson that there are severe limits to what military power can achieve in United States foreign policy.

Although we welcome the President's statement on November 3 that "our timetable for withdrawal is more optimistic now than when we made our first estimates in June," we believe this statement contains uncertainties which are not worthy of the moral responsibility of our nation in this crisis. We call upon the President urgently to seek a cease-fire, with or without the consent of the RVN (Saigon). This act together with troop withdrawal would provide needed evidence of determination to secure negotiations for a just peace in Vietnam. We trust, furthermore, that all troops may be withdrawn not later than the end of 1970, and we hope that the President will not construe the support which many have given to his statement on November 3 to mean that the American people are not deeply concerned to bring United States, participation in the war to a very speedy end.

3. Dissent

We welcome the Administration's commitment to peace, its withdrawal of some United States forces and the present scaling down of offensive operations. These measures, however, do not justify appeals for national unity which tend to suppress dialogue and dissent. Government, and its officials, should encourage conscientious dissent in the name of democracy, not deprecate it in the name of unity. The possibility of bringing American intervention in Vietnam to an end derives, in large measure, from the force and cogency of dissent and to defend the rights of dissenters.

4. The United States and the Republic of Vietnam Government (Saigon)

The policy of complete support of the present (Thieu-Ky) administration in Saigon is a hindrance to the ending of the war and the development of social and political institutions responsive to human rights and needs. We urge the United States government:

— to replace the policy of "Vietnamization of the war" by a policy of ending the war on Vietnamese initiative with United States help. It appears to us that the U.S. will basically lose control of its own policies if they are determined either by the ability of the RVN to conduct warfare (i.e., Vietnamization of the war) or by the decision of the DRVN to intensify fighting.

— to insist that the present Saigon administration be greatly broadened to include representatives of large segments of the population not now represented, with a view to hastening negotiations for a cease-fire and peace.

5. Paris Negotiations

We believe that new initiatives of the United States in Paris to secure a cease-fire must also be directed toward a comprehensive interim government in South Vietnam, arrangements for the prevention of reprisals, and procedures concerning the formation of a new government broadly representative of all major elements in South Vietnam.

6. The Role of the United Nations and Other International Agencies

Just as the National Council of Churches has been consistently disturbed by the unilateral exposure of the United States intervention and consequent neglect of the United Nations and other authentically multilateral agencies, so now we urge the fullest possible involvement of the United Nations and other appropriate international agencies in peacemaking, necessary supervision, and the reconstruction and development of Vietnam and Southeast Asia. While the United States must be prepared to share generously in the costs of reconstruction and development, that participation must not become the rationalization for a prolonged unilateral American intervention.

7. Risks for Peace

The United States can neither stay in Vietnam, nor withdraw from Vietnam, without incurring serious risks. Any plan for the extrication of the United States from Vietnam, whether rapid or slow, runs the risk that there will be loss of confidence in the United States on the part of some other countries. On the other hand, any prolonged United States presence in Vietnam, we believe, carries a far higher risk of loss of confidence abroad and dissension at home. If it be feared that peace will involve confusion and turmoil in South Vietnam, we believe that the present fighting causes worse confusion and turmoil. Peace entails risks; war entails risks that are greater. ■

Mauldin in Chicago Sun Times

"Don't worry—we won't sell you guys out. Nobody'll buy you"

A Buddhist View

NEW YORK, N.Y. — On December 9, five days after its General Assembly concluded sessions in Detroit, the National Council of Churches was in receipt of a lengthy cable from representatives of the top Buddhist leadership in Vietnam.

Its central message and appeal: nationwide U.S. support for a unilateral U.S. ceasefire in that war-ravaged country to take effect on Christmas Eve in order, the Buddhist leaders confidently anticipated, to elicit a favorable response from the North Vietnamese.

"We want to join you in honoring Christ on the day of His birth in the most significant way by celebrating together an unconditional ceasefire declared by your government on Christmas Eve," the Buddhist leaders said.

The message, which the NCC transmitted promptly to the White House for its information, was signed by the eight-member Vietnamese Buddhist delegation to the Paris Peace Talks. The full text follows:

"WE speak to you not from the side of the Saigon Government nor from the side of the National Liberation Front (NLF) but from the midst of the war where we find our lives to be more important than any ideology or political position. What we need most in Vietnam is a ceasefire. To the majority of Vietnamese a ceasefire is peace. Ceasefire means an end to the senseless killing of our women and children, burning of our homes and poisoning of our soil. We know that the United States can enact a ceasefire and save the lives of Americans as well as Vietnamese.

"In 1967, the United States stopped bombarding North Vietnam. This drew the initiative of the peace talks. Now the declaration of a ceasefire will draw an equally rapid response, because the majority of Vietnamese will support it, and because the pressure of the whole world weighs upon it. You know that the United States can declare a unilateral ceasefire without risking American lives. Once the killing is stopped we will not be so impatient about negotiations and withdrawal will be easier, smoother and even quicker.

"Most Americans profess the Christian faith. Most of us are Buddhists. Now you see the atrocity of this war. We know that you do not want to continue destroying our country. We want to join you in honoring Christ on the day of His birth in the most significant way by celebrating together an unconditional ceasefire declared by your government on Christmas Eve. The power to bring this about lies in your hands."

Respectfully, Thich Nhat Hanh, Thich Minh Tam, Thich Phap Kien, Thich Thien-Qua, Thich Thien Thang, Thich Tri Quang, Thich Chon Hoa, Thich The Tinh, for the Vietnamese Buddhist Delegation in Paris. ■

Some Views from The Top

Introductions, Please: NCC's Gracious New President

by Dorothy Rensenbrink

THE scene was a quiet corner—virtually the only one—in the crowded, noisy press room in Cobo Hall, Detroit.

The time was moments after her election in the adjacent meeting hall as President of the National Council of Churches.

Cynthia Clark Wedel had slipped away from the formal session, with the easy informality which characterizes her actions, to take on her first duty — explaining herself and how she feels about the NCC to the press.

In itself, that is the kind of appearance that puts many a newly spotlighted leader uptight, causing him to "perform" in carefuly calculated ways, with an eye on his position, on the great silent public, and on what might and might not be politic to say.

But if Mrs. Wedel has a theme for the NCC for its next three years —the theme is OPENNESS— and she herself is the first sterling example of it.

She was called "Cynthia" immediately by every reporter there, and she was so ready to comment on any subject, made herself so available and helpful, that she became a hard subject to write about. Because she's hard to peg.

When people take carefully defined positions, one can write about their conservatism or their liberalism or their radicalism or in theological terms, their fundamentalism or their modernism.

But Cynthia Wedel somehow escapes all the "isms". She's interested in them all—sees some value in them all—wants to listen to them all—wants to include them all in the life of the Church.

She went from high praise for the Rev. Albert Cleage, her black militant opponent whom she called "brilliant", to kind words for representatives of the American Council of Christian Churches with their penchant for labeling their opponents "Communist."

SHE stood up with the other women delegates to the Assembly in the demonstration of support for woman power but she's personally not terribly militant about that cause. "I've been one of the few lucky ones who've always had positions of some power—but I understand the frustration that leads some women to extreme militancy and think it's a good thing—that's how things get changed."

Before her election—the only contested one in the history of the Council—she almost appeared to be campaigning for her opponent. Although she personally felt there ought to have been a black president, the Nominating Committee could not agree upon a candidate, and she admitted that perhaps the time was not yet here when this would be good for the churches.

But her anxiety about the National Committee of Black Churchmen, who promoted Mr. Cleage for president, was very apparent. "I only hope they'll stay with us—keep fighting—keep pushing the church. We need them."

As for the Black Manifesto and harsh anti-white rhetoric, she thinks it "honest" and therefore good. "For too many years, we've hidden our feelings—black and white. Now it's coming out in the open, and just like in a marriage, nothing good can begin to happen until people begin being honest with each other. We mustn't draw back in fear, but try to understand the cause of hard words."

In theology, she's for more. Although the NCC is no church and therefore has no doctrine, she thinks it must do more to stimulate theologians and must do much more to explain social action in terms of theology.

"We have a generation of theological illiterates," she says and hopes that theology can be taught in the public schools as an important part of American culture and history—although she supports the Supreme Court position against worship in public schools.

She thinks that the reason so many in the churches take a position against any kind of church involvement in social action is that they "don't know their theology, the Bible, or what Jesus was doing on earth." And so she's for a strong push in adult theological education.

POSSIBLY because she is a woman, Mrs. Wedel can get away with much stronger statements on issues than most male ecclesiastics dare make. But her punches are always accompanied by so much enthusiasm, charm and humor that they lose their hurt. She has a way of turning things upside down—making friends out of enemies, cheering up the dismal, getting the sour-faced to laugh. And people wind up being grateful to her without quite knowing why.

Rather than standing for any one philosophy, she seems to stand for humanity—in its widest most inclusive sense. At a time of polarization in the church and in the world, she seems to want only to open doors, trusting that when people of wildly different views meet, what will happen will not be bad, but good for them, for the Church, for the NCC.

One reporter from a woman's magazine asked Mrs. Wedel what she thought was the most hopeful factor in the U.S. today. Her answer was: "The sudden burst of interest in religion and what it really stands for. Young people today are concerned with the true meaning of human life, of joy and love. The old materialistic concerns have far less value now than they once did. This is a religious phenomenon. All that is needed now is for the churches to catch up with them." ■

Curriculum Vitae - In Brief

CYNTHIA CLARK WEDEL (Ph.D. in psychology) has been working for the past 40 years in the Church and other related institutions with such dedication that when wifely duties kept her from being a paid staff executive she was perhaps an even busier volunteer.

Raised in Evanston, Ill., where her father was a civil engineer, she graduated from Northwestern U. with an M.A. in 1939, and began her career as director of Christian Education for St. Luke's Church, Evanston. Moving to New York in 1935, she took charge of youth work for the Episcopal Church, in an office next to the Rev. Theodore O. Wedel who was in charge of college work. Dr. Wedel was a widower with two children and four years later, shortly before he began a distinguished career as dean of the College of Preachers at Washington Cathedral, they were married.

As a Washington housewife, her pleasures came from volunteering for the Red Cross, the Girl Scouts, the Public Welfare Advisory Committee of D.C., as president of Church Women United, as a vice-president of the National Council of Churches, chairman of its Broadcasting and Film Commission, president of Episcopal Women in the Diocese of Washington, delegate to the World Council of Churches and observer of Vatican Council II. Somewhere during her Washington stay she also managed to slip in the Ph.D. from George Washington University. She was appointed by President Kennedy to the Commission on the Status of Women, which she served during his administration.

In 1960, Canon Wedel retired and went to Union Theological Seminary, New York, as Visiting Professor. Mrs. Wedel then joined the NCC staff and became associate general secretary for Christian Unity, a position she held until May, 1969, when the Wedels moved back to the Washington area. She is now an associate director of the Center for Voluntarism of the Institute of Applied Behavioral Science, formerly the National Training Laboratory (she winces every time she explains it: "I thought NCC titles were bad."). She also heads the Church Executive Development Board. NTL pioneered in the sensivity training field and CEDB is a management training program for church executives.

With that sort of background, it is small wonder that she looks blank when reporters ask her, "What are your hobbies?" Gamely struggling to help them out after being elected president of the NCC in Detroit, she began, "Well, last year I was one of the leaders of the Jeanette Rankin Brigade, a coalition of women's organizations that marched on Washington to protest the war, and I love to cook. . . ."—DR.

Future Directions:

BLUEPRINTING NEW MISSION BY THE WHOLE CHURCH TO THE WHOLE SOCIETY

by R. H. Edwin Espy

While it would appear that "radical renewalists" and minorities representatives stole the stage and the delegates' attention during the NCC Assembly week in Detroit, serious if quiet focus was brought to bear on a sweeping proposal that may well chart the course of America's churches as they reorganize for their work together in the coming decade and longer.

The proposal, centered on a concept of an all-embracing General Ecumenical Council to take the place of the National Council of Churches, was put forward to delegates on the Assembly's first day of business, by NCC's General Secretary, Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy.

Shortly afterward, the Assembly went on record as commending the plan for a wider and more inclusive Christian fellowship in line with Dr. Espy's ideas, authorized both the General Board and General Secretary to encourage a national consultation on the subject, to seek local and lay involvement, to make structural changes in the NCC in accordance with the proposal, and to formulate a complete blueprint that can be dealt with by the General Assembly at its next session, December, 1972, in Dallas, Texas.

The proposal's context was a 50-page comprehensive review of the Council's record to date together with outlines of three courses the ecumenical movement in the U.S.A. might in future take. Space limitations dictate that TEMPO cannot carry the entire text of Dr. Espy's presentation, single copies of which may be obtained through the NCC Department of Information. However, we are able to print that part of the text which embraces the proposal he favors and which, he predicted, may take three to ten years for the church to implement.

TO meet needs of the order of magnitude of those now confronting our people, half-measures will not suffice. We must have a profound re-ordering of our national and church priorities if we are to cope effectively with the issues of war, race, poverty, technology, the urban crisis, ecumenism and the erosion of faith.

We must be equally bold if we are to empower the conciliar movement to exercise its full potential as an effective force to these ends.

The conclusion of my analysis of the possible futures for conciliar Christianity in the '70s is that it can rise to the challenge of the great issues which now grip our society and the great potentialities which now well up in our churches only by unfurling rather than trimming sail, by going forward rather than backward. The decade ahead demands of American Christians not a diminished interdenominational agency or one more private fellowship of the specially concerned but something like a General Ecumenical Council, or Conference, in the United States, a portent of that Universal Ecumenical Council which was the vision of the Uppsala Assembly of the World Council of Churches last year.

The past ten years in the life of the Church have been a period of profound rapprochement, even reconciliation. To the local efforts of Christians to be true to the New Delhi Assembly plea that "all in each place" manifest their unity in Christ have been linked the summit level efforts of Church leaders to join hands and hearts and minds in the spirit of Pope John XXIII, Vatican Council II, Patriarch Athenagoras and the World Council of Churches, and far seeing churchmen in the United States. In this decade, all of the worldwide Orthodox Churches and some of the Pentecostal Churches, as well as the largest indigenous African Church, have found meaningful fellowship with the main-line Reformation Churches in the World Council family, and Roman Catholic representatives have begun to participate fully in several key ecumenical bodies in the world, the nation and the community.

In the next ten years the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America should reorganize its life and labor in such manner as to offer all the Christian Churches in this country a common home for the sharing of reflection and concerns, and all the vital forces among the people of Christ the specialized channels they need to carry forward together their diverse ministries to humanity.

Faith and Churchmanship

Such a re-ordering of the National Council should be undertaken in full lucidity concerning our actual ecumenical situation. The thirty-three communions that now comprise the Council membership gladly recognize the faith and churchmanship of the great Christian traditions not among their number, and are especially aware of the Conservative Evangelicals, the Pentecostals, the Southern Baptists, the non-member Lutherans and the Roman Catholics. There have been many indications that at least some of these groups are also ready to recognize the faith and churchmanship of the member communions of the Council.

Has the hour not then come to begin planning a pluriform *General Ecumenical Council in the United States*, of which the most comprehensive organ might be a Consultative Assembly in which all Christian communions and agencies could regu-

larly gather to share their views on major issues in the life of the Church and the nation, speaking to their own faith with a common voice whenever agreement is given to them. Such a Consultative Assembly might have two manifestations — one an official legislative body or parliament, the other a gathering of the people of the Church on the orred of the Kirchentag in Germany.

Within the broad framework of such a General Ecumenical Council there should be designed on the analogy of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, highly focussed instrumentalities for the particular spiritual, educational, theological, social, communications, or service objectives to which only those communions and groups should belong that are deeply concerned with the objectives sought. The By-Laws of such Divisions and Departments of the General Ecumenical Council should provide for them to be largely autonomous, with membership open to denominations, denominational agencies and para-ecclesiastical organizations of all sorts.

In the work of these Divisions and Departments, every vitally concerned working-group of Christians in the country should be provided appropriate means of affiliation. Basic to the gathering of the General Ecumenical Council, the Consultative Assembly and these specialized agencies, should be the internal understanding and public notice that each such Division and Department, while enjoying the sponsorship and support of the Ecumenical Council, speaks and acts only in its our name unless and until the Council as a whole has taken similar action. This would be a difference only in degree from the present measure of autonomy enjoyed by the Divisions of the National Council. Within this broad framework, provision would also be made for the clustering together of denominations or confessions in whatever groupings they might desire.

This would be a pluriform organization. The plan would combine inclusiveness with diversity and flexibility, allowing for the exercise of all three roles or styles of operation outlined in the Report on Mission in the Seventies: the forum role, the faciliation role, and the outreach role. It would also encourage joint action in mission, and would provide a large degree of freedom, specifially for the appropriate units of the Council, to forge ahead in the cause of racial justice and other social objectives of Christian obedience. It is projected that in this and other ways the roles of social action and advocacy would be not only protected but strengthened in the new organization.

Under such a plan the membership basis would in a sense be reversed from what it is now in the National Council. At present, 33, communions are members of the Council as a whole, while the agencies of 22 others are members of Divisions or Departments. Under a General Ecumenical Council, all 55 (and others) would be members of the whole, but some of them would not participate in particular programs (which in practice is the case tooday).

The new structure would achieve two objectives — it would witness in maximum ways to the wholeness of the Church of Christ in the United States and it would enable those that are prepared to do so to move forward in social action, liturgical experimentation or anything else within broad policy guidelines without being held back by those that are disinterested, unable, or even opposed to a particular course of action. This would correspond more realistically to the structures of Church power and pluriformity in the United States, and yet would allow for an inclusive ecumenical witness and a progressive growing together of the various forces of a highly fragmented and institutionalized American Christianity.

It is obvious that such a pattern abandons the attempt that has caused so much frustration in our present National Council of Churches structure, namely to subordinate every aspect of Divisional and Departmental program to priorities established for them by a General Board constituted by proportional representation from the official member communions. We must of course continue to try to determine and implement such priorities so long as we have our present structure, but we must not be surprised if these continue to be shipwrecked on the rock-like realities of power which inhere in our fragmented denominational structures and hence in the structure of the National Council of Churches itself.

Persuasive Expertise

Since a few if any of the member communions exercise, in fact, complete subordination of their specialized denominational agency programs to their top judicatorial priority planning, we have had abundant proof that the NCC General Board cannot successfully order the Council's continuing programs in terms of those priorities adopted by the General Board at its brief triannual meetings, or even by the General Assembly at its brief triennial meetings. There is a prior kind of overall growth that must first be encouraged, and until it has had a chance to occur, the principal way to influence the program decisions of diverse Divisions and Departments is through the persuasiveness of such expertise as may characterize communications addressed to them by more inclusive Council organs.

The National Council or a new General Ecumenical Council under this third option would not only provide a "United Nations umbrella" for a wide diversity of mission now relegated to fragmented boards and agencies of the denominations as such, it would encourage the participation of independent movements and agencies directly or indirectly related to the churches which have the capacity to contribute to the unity, mission and renewal of the Church. One thinks of such groups as the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the American Bible Society, the National Committee of Black Churchmen, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Catholic Interracial Council, ecumenical institutes, urban renewal projects, experimental ministries, the American Friends Service Committee, Greek Orthodox Youth of America, organizations of Conservative Evangelicals, laity programs, and other instruments of Christian mission. They could become a part of the ecumenical whole while retaining their identity and power of self determination. The structural forms and operational guidelines to make possible the contribution of such forces by the people of the Church would have to be designed with a creative blend of organizational realism and program freedom.

Such a General Ecumenical Council would be a kind of "National Council of the Church" in the broad sense, composed of representatives of all participating communions, of all the Program Divisions of the Council, all the boards, agencies, societies and organizations that are admitted in accordance with clear criteria, plus such co-opted expert consultants as might be agreed upon. One of the purposes of this "National Council of the Church" should be to demonstrate and further the actual growing together of the various communions by a sharing of the work and plans of the main branches of each denomination's activity, and the part of this work which it is ready to pool with such other denominations as are similarly ready within the framework of the appropriate Program Division. The text for all deliberations of this National Council of the Church might well be the golden questions addressed to the Churches by the Faith and Order Conference at Lund seventeen years ago: Are you doing all you ought to do to manifest the oneness of the people of God? Should you not act together in all matters except those in which deep differences of conviction compell you to act separately?

The "Golden Questions"

In such a General Ecumenical Council, representatives of the communions, the Program Divisions and independent Christian bodies might learn to think together as co-responsible partners in the total mission of the American Churches, at home and overseas. Others might become a movement rather than just an organization. More and more, denominations might come to act like particular communities of a Church latently but genuinely one. The functional integration of their ministries in special sectors of thought and action might become an actual goal rather than a hazard to be conjured.

Even as a United Europe may eventually grow out of the functional integration of iron, steel, agriculture and markets, so the shape of a United Church in the United States might gradually arise out of serious, continuous joint-action-for-mission. nurtured in the atmosphere of a General Ecumenical Council. The United Church would be solidly founded on the experience of an ecumenical movement of united mission by the whole Church to the whole society.

The Way Ahead

Such a General Ecumenical Council could not, of course, arise full-blown from where we are now ecumenically. An immediate strategy of action equal to the scope of this concept would require us:

1. To inspire within the Churches a deeper understanding of, dedication to, and participation in the ecumenical movement, in multiple organizational forms, as a movement of obedience to the Holy Spirit in the Church, applicable to every aspect of life in the Churches.
2. To reinvigorate the Churches, both within and outside the National Council, in their struggle for social justice. With major emphasis on the black and other minorities, the poor, the plight of the cities, the ending of the war in Vietnam and the re-ordering of national priorities.
3. To continue to undergird the present National Council of Churches. The Council would have to play a key role in the transition to a more inclusive Ecumenical Council. It would provide the elements of continuity, experience, fellowship, and representativeness, and at the same time could be equipped to perform a livelier catalytic function in the direction of creative change.
4. To increase joint action for mission at every level, within and beyond the National Council. This would not only be obedience in mission but it would represent further fellowship and collaboration as a background for deeper unity in an emerging Ecumenical Council.
5. To begin the process now of specific planning within the National Council and with representatives of other Churches looking toward the creation of the more inclusive, logical, representative, realistic General Ecumenical Council. The present National Council would indicate its readiness to support the larger concept and structure, bringing its unique contribution but standing open to its own transmutation.
6. To keep steadily before the Churches the sobering but inspiring claims of Christian obedience in our time, with special reference to the needs of men in the decade ahead. The people of the Church would need to be helped to understand the particular meaning of ecumenism as a movement of service by the whole Church to the whole society, and hence to sense the urgency of a truly Ecumenical Council of Churches.

Christian Obedience

Such a vision may, at first sight disquiet the advocates of the limited conciliar theory and the partisan conciliar theory alike. A General Ecumenical Council would raise questions about even the interim validity of present structures, both

denominational and interdenominational. Nor would it bring instant restitution for all the accumulated wrongs the blacks and the poor have suffered across the years. But the best tests of its validity will not come from either the fears of the oppressor or the hopes of the oppressed. It will come from a return to the very grounds of Christian obedience and a sober appraisal of the towering issues our American society confronts — the initial standards of love and justice evoked in this address. Only a total ecumenical commitment will enable us to hear Christ speaking to our age. Only a total Church witness and service can be an obedient Christian response in the '70s to the awesome challenges already affronting human dignity and threatening human survival.

Is an "ecumenical movement of service by the whole Church to the whole society" a real-life possibility today for conciliar Christianity in America. Or is it a Utopian dream? It would be easy for this General Assembly, painfully aware of the multiple fractures new and old inflicted upon the Body of Christ, to dare no great advance, to be content if it safeguards the present Council from the regression of program dismemberment on the one side, and the deformation of political sectarian captivity on the other. But I am persuaded that in the next days together, we could instead begin a breakthrough to a higher, nobler demonstration of God's saving mission among men. I believe that the National Council will take this better course because —

Scripture and history have long been preparing this generation of Christ's people on this continent for this hour;

American society in deep crisis demands of Christians far more than their present broken denominational and racial witness can ever provide;

Renewal is already a fact of the heart among countless Christians who yearn to rise above every parochial bond;

All the churches, classes and races in our land know in their very bones that they must join their forces speedily that our nation may be healed and that justice may prevail;

Leaders of the Churches, such as are gathered in this place, long to clear the way for Christ's ministry of reconciliation, that the world may believe.

We have therefore no option but to choose for this Council and its service to mankind the ecumenical course that leads most surely to more abundant life. ■

it says here . . .

DR. FLEMMING ASSESSES PAST AND FUTURE

ST. PAUL, Minn. — (RNS) — The retiring president of the National Council of Churches says he anticipates that the NCC may be supplanted "before many years" by a new conference of churches.

"I feel it's altogether possible that the Roman Catholic Church may be participating in the new agency along with some Protestant denominations not now in the NCC," said Dr. Arthur Flemming, who is also president of Macalester College. St. Paul. (SEE PP. 12 & 13.)

In a wide-ranging interview with the Minneapolis Star, Dr. Flemming made the following replies to other questions:

Q. How would you characterize the past three-year period for the NCC?

A. It's clear that two issues have stood out in the period—Vietnam and the urban crisis, and it seems to me that the NCC has been trying to provide leadership to its member denominations and country generally on both issues. The latter issue took an interesting turn as a result of the Black Manifesto. It's fair to say that the council has endeavored to keep on the cutting edge of major issues that affected us on the domestic and international scene.

Q. The NCC budget in 1970 is the lowest in five years. To what do you attribute this?

A. Look at the budgets of the member denominations. NCC income will always follow the curve of member denominations in view of the fact it's a council of denominations. Denominations are finding it necessary to cut back for their program boards. That's where the bulk of NCC contributions come from.

Q. A NCC-sponsored survey found that the most regular church attenders were the most familar with the NCC, but they were also the most unfavorable to it. Why is the NCC so unpopular with so many church-goers?

A. To me, this is a result of the communications problem that confronts the NCC. Because of the nature of the Council, we are supposed to communicate with the local churches through the denominations and this does not always work. It seems to me the conciliar movement has got to work at some kind of program which will make it possible for the NCC to communicate, at times, directly with the local churches. My feeling is that when people at the level of the local church get to discuss basic NCC policy statements, such as those on Vietnam and the urban crisis, they develop entirely different attitudes toward them than they might get otherwise.

Q. What about the controversy over NCC policy statements?

A. Typically they are pretty well balanced. They reflect a thorough process of preparation and consideration. The General Board never attempts to speak for denominations—but rather to them. No denomination is bound by anything the General Board does. The basic policy statement about Vietnam was issued by the NCC General Board in December, 1965, and has stood up pretty well through the years. When NCC policy statements are studied by laymen, not all will arrive at the same conclusions, but they will come to better conclusions than they might have done without them.

Q. Has conservative discontent with the NCC been growing?

A. I don't sense that the situation is much different from what it has been throughout the life of the Council. If that kind of tension didn't exist, it would be an indication that the Council wasn't doing what it should.

Q. What was the NCC response to the Black Manifesto?

A. While rejecting the ideology of the Manifesto, the NCC General Board in September asked its member communions to give at least $500,000 in new money to be expended through the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) and the National Committee of Black

"IT SAYS HERE THE ECONOMY NEEDS COOLING OFF"

Churchmen (NCBC). There are indications that this money will be provided the two agencies. In addition, the NCC is seeking to develop a black-led corporation (combining a World Bank and Ford Foundation type of organization) that would make loans to and invest in minority development, Hopefully, this corporation would attract "tens of millions of dollars" from the churches.

Q. How do you feel America's churches have responded to the nation's racial crisis? Are confrontations effective?

A. The churches are deeply involved in American society's failure to respond in a compassionate, sustained manner to the nation's ghetto crisis. The confrontations are a natural result of mounting frustrations on the part of the black community. These failures grow out of our failure to respond in a massive manner to needs. I believe the church should respond to the confrontations by recognizing the need for getting behind action programs designed to meet the need. Continuous mediation is needed in the field of race relations and will help there as it did in the area of industrial unrest.

Q. What about the criticism that the NCC has neglected evangelism in favor of social action?

A. In every address I have made as NCC president in the past three years, I have stressed that the church's top priority must be its ministry of reconciling man with God. The NCC does render staff service in the field of evangelism but doesn't carry on any operating programs. Basically, it depends on the denominations and local churches to carry on evangelism, although its division of Christian unity is concerned with such issues as salvation, evangelism and conversion. I think the evangelical denominations and those in the NCC are trying to find a common goal, and the recent U.S. Congress on Evangelism in Minneapolis was evidence of this. It's not a question of evangelism or social action for the NCC.

Q. Many city councils of churches are disbanding to join in new organizations. What is your reaction to this development?

A. I think it is a very positive movement. Essentially the new organizations are associations of judicatories (dioceses, districts, presbyteries and other multi-church units) rather than local churches. I think this will strengthen religious cooperation on the local level.

Q. How do young people regard the NCC?

A. Young people have not been brought into the structure of the NCC the way they should. The NCC constitution was amended in Detroit to make it possible for them to vote as participants. Denominations which make up the NCC should have a good representation of delegates 18 to 25. The day of youth movements within churches may be over, but youth will respond to invitations to become involved in the governance of local churches and they should serve on local church boards.

Q. What should the NCC do in the 1970s?

A. I'd favor having the NCC continue to stay on the cutting edge by providing leadership on major international and domestic issues and continuing to render maximum service and helping local churches in carrying forward their programs of evangelism.

* * * * *

NATIONAL COUNCIL FINANCES "ESSENTIALLY SOUND"

DETROIT — The National Council of Churches will end 1969 with income half a million dollars below last year's record receipts, Dr. Leroy Brininger told a press conference during the General Assembly here, stressing however that the financial situation of the NCC is "essentially sound."

The NCC's associate general secretary for administration pointed out that receipts last year were the highest in the Council's history, making it a "banner year."

"Despite rumors to the contrary," Dr. Brininger explained, "denominational support of the Council has been steady, but income from individuals, corporations and foundations declined during the year."

Of the $250,000 budget for the "Crisis in the Nation" program, "$152,000 now appears to be the best we can expect to receive by the end of the year," he told the press.

On the other hand, budget reductions made since mid-1969 have been aimed at underspending the Council's $22 million budget for '69 by $2- to $2½ million, and other deficits are being covered by "rainy day" funds, he said.

The National Council has eliminated about a dozen of its 180 elected or professional staff positions, said Dr. Brininger, and another 25-30 of some 500 appointive positions have been dropped, either by termination or attrition.

* * * * *

UNITED CHURCH EFFORTS HELP STAY MARIE HILL EXECUTION

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The North Carolina Chief Justice has ordered a stay of execution for a black girl accused of murder in 1968. Execution of the 17-year-old had been originally set for January 3, 1969. After a year-old fight to save her life, it was again set for December 26.

The Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ was instrumental in obtaining a stay of execution just one day before she was scheduled to die last January 3. Since then the Commission established a defense committee in Raleigh, in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, to aid the girl and to bring an end to capital punishment in the state.

Miss Hill maintains she was not at the scene of the murder of a grocer in Rocky Mount. No new date for the sentence has been set so that her case can be appealed before the U.S. Supreme Court.

* * * * *

PRESBYTERIANS READY TO DRAW UP MERGER PLAN

PHILADELPHIA — A 24-member joint committee of the United Presbyterian, U.S.A. and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., met here recently to take steps to end their rift of more than 100 years.

The group announced that future sessions will draw up merger plans and set Jan. 26-28 for the next meeting in Washington, D.C., when the views of blacks, young people, women, conservative and liberal members will be heard.

NCC's NEW PRESIDENT ACCEPTS

AS I think everyone here can understand, this is a sobering moment, not one for rejoicing or triumph. I am very well aware of the burdens and the problems facing a President of the National Council. And I have to carry the added burden of having refused to withdraw from the contest in favor of a black man. Frankly, that would have been easy to do, and I might have won considerable acclaim by doing it. I even think, as I know the Nominating Committee did, that we should have had a black president this year. But when a capable and conscientious committee of black and white churchmen asked me to serve, and I accepted, I could not bring myself in good conscience—to make a unilateral decision to withdraw. I may have been wrong, but I tried to follow what seemed to me to be God's leading. I hope and pray that my black brothers and sisters here, who may feel that I have done wrong, will understand and stand by.

I want to express on behalf of all of us, our deep gratitude to Arthur Flemming for his superb leadership in the past triennium. Can you think of anything harder to do than to follow him?

In times past, a newly elected president may have been able with some confidence to outline plans for the years ahead. No one can do that today. We don't know what new crisis will arise tomorrow, or next week. My hopes and plans are only to be as open as possible, to try to really *hear* what important p e o p l e—the young, the blacks, the poor, the oppressed—are saying; and to work with all of you in the churches and in the NCC staff to make this Council of ours a better instrument for God's rise.

This Assembly has certainly told us—loud and clear—that our old ways of doing things are not adequate. There must be big changes, and they must be made faster than we think possible. I'm quite sure that God—along with the young, the blacks and others—cares very little for our traditions, our accustomed procedures, or maybe even for Robert's Rules of Order.

I don't know tonight what these changes will be. But I do know a few things.

1. There is a great vitality in this movement in which we are engaged. The liveliness of this Assembly attests to that.

2. There are great moral dilemmas facing our nation and the world today. The Church must not just "speak" to these. We have to find ways to *act!*

3. We have in the churches and in the NCC great reserves of ability, creativity and good will. We can and we must mobilize these for bold new thrusts for peace, justice and unity.

No one person can lead the NCC. From tonight until three years from tonight, this must be a team operation. One concrete proposal I want to put forward is that we figure out a way to have permanent caucuses of any groups which feel underrepresented in the General Assembly or the General Board, and that we provide opportunities for these caucuses to feed in their ideas, proposals and criticisms of all actions or proposed actions. I can imagine a black caucus, a youth caucus, a women's caucus, an Indian caucus, a Spanish-American caucus, a laymen's caucus. Through this route, I would hope these groups would gain enough power to influence all the life of the Council. Indeed, they might become so powerful that the white, male ecclesiastics would have to form a caucus too! ■

A Text . . .

THE BURDEN OF BLACK RELIGION

By Charles G. Adams

THE black church is predicated on the union that exists between the spiritual and the physical, the body and the soul. Either a black man is a member of the black church or he is not fully a member of any church. Either I can join the church with my complete self—my selfhood, my talents, my strength and my zeal or I can only pretend to have joined.

If I cannot bring all of this with me when I join your church, I'm not really there. If I face the same restrictions and prejudices in the church as I confront in the world; if I am limited and devaluated; if I am not free to move around freely in the church, to be on any committee, to sit on any board, to rise to positions that I am qualified to hold, to partake freely of the church's life and power—then to join your church would be an ironical decision for, instead of choosing life, I have chosen death. I can only choose life by choosing to be a member of the black independent church. This was the only option open to me during slavery and it is the only option open to me today.

Now, you will let me in to your church as an individual provided I let you shape me in your own image. I can come to your churches as long as I leave on the outside my spontaneity, my enthusiasm, my ecstasy, my spirituals, my gospels and my people. You will let me in if I leave myself on the outside and identify with your white middle-class values. You will let me in if I display the credentials you honor. I can preach and lecture to you but I must be able to rattle off white continental theology. I must know Barth, Brunner, Bultmann, Tillich, whether or not I ever become competent in my own selfhood as reflected in Langston Hughes and James Baldwin. The more I sound like you, the more you will accept me. But you haven't accepted *me*, only what you have made of me. That's why the black church was compelled into existence.

The foundation of our racial solidarity is not the family but the church. Our families were destroyed, our kinsmen were torn from us, our mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers were sold from plantation to plantation, driven from one master to another, bred forcibly, like cattle. Our families were torn asunder, our schools disallowed, our businesses were crushed. Only the church endured. The church, too was persecuted, but it endured because of its nature.

It is the nature of the church to endure under persecution, to stand firm under fire, to walk through furnaces of trial and come forth like gold. It flourishes under strife. It is strengthened through suffering. It is quickened under oppression. It is more powerful in its hiddenness than in its openness. It gave our people meaning and value, faith to persevere, courage to resist, and love to lift our sons and daughters from bondage to liberty.

This is still the burden of black religion—to make everybody somebody in Christ and in the church. Everybody is loved in the free black church, the low and the high, the young and the old, the rich and the poor, those who think they are sophisticated and those who know they are not. We love them all. We accept them all. That's why we get happy in church because at no other time are we more aware of being loved and accepted. At no other time do we feel more intensely the love of God and the love of our neighbor.

The first burden of the black church, therefore, pertains to the acceptance and healing of black people whose rejection by white society willed and compelled the black church into existence. (But) the ultimate burden of black religion is to save white religion. We must expunge from white religion the heresy of dichotomy. This would want a man to believe that he can be a Christian on Sunday and a criminal on Monday; that he can worship God with his tears, prayers, songs and sermons, the beauty of his buildings and paintings in the gilded sanctuary and yet fail to serve God in his day-to-day relations with his brothers, who are also the children of God.

We must expunge the heresy that a man's life in Christ does not change his status in society; that the soul has no concourse with the body and the spiritual has nothing to do with the physical; that the saved individual can continue to be insensitive to an unsaved society; that religion is a personal matter only and Jesus is a personal Savior only and has nothing to do with structurized, evil-systematized injustice.

White religion must dump that doctrine—expunge that false dichotomy and relate religion to life and Christ to culture. It is the nature of the church to give its life to those who need it. It does not take wealth to keep it but to give it. Its life is preserved through giving. The church must pour out its strength among the weak, its wealth among the poor, its gospel among the estranged and its joy among the sad. This is the burden of black religion and the Christian faith. ■

From a sermon delivered before the NCC General Assembly, Dec. 1. Dr. Adams is minister of the Hartford Avenue Baptist Church, Detroit.

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IN THE BEGINNING, THERE WAS CALM — An expectant General Assembly gives full attention as His Eminence, John Cardinal Dearden of the Detroit Archdiocese, extends fellowship greetings to delegates.

THE COUNCIL CHOSE TO LIVE
(Continued from page 3)

more, after the more than five hours of debate and, looking even more alone in the glare of the television lights said: "I feel you are the Church—the people gathered here in God's name. And I will respect your decision. I hold no personal grudges against the people who in conscience voted against me." The intensity of discussion that his request had provoked, he said, proved that "there is life in the Church. I have taken my stand with the Church."

He thanked the delegates for their consideration and before returning to his seat with the Reformed Church in America delegation, added prayerfully: "May God help us all."

Delegates, who had spent five hours debating young Rubins' request, found the young man's problems could not be wiped from their consciences by a vote that lacked a necessary two-thirds majority. "Isn't there something we can do?" anguished an elderly black delegate. "Can't this great Assembly offer moral and spiritual support to this young man?"

A Splash of Paint

The Rev. Richard York of "Jonathan's Wake" leapt to the rostrum microphone, crying that "blood drips from the minutes of this meeting" for its failure to support Rubins, and drizzled a can of red paint the length of the speakers' table—an action that a spokesman for the Wake later disavowed. The delegates scarcely seemed to notice.

Dr. Marion de Velder, secretary of the NCC and stated clerk of the Reformed Church in America, spoke for many delegates when he said: "It seems ironic to me that we can be so eloquent in our statements in counseling a young man to follow his individual conscience, even if it means violation of the law . . . yet we cannot bring ourselves to any corporate action of civil disobedience."

In the end, a group of 240 delegates and others, acting as individuals, agreed to accept and hold the card.

While the Rubins debate was in large part a debate on the war, that issue was dealt with in several formal actions. The Assembly recommended guidelines for channeling funds and pastoral services, in cooperation with the Canadian Council of Churches, to aid some 60,000 U.S. draft refugees now living in Canada.

A statement on the Song My massacre in Vietnam called for a full inquiry "under the aegis of a disinterested international agency such as the United Nations or the International Red Cross in order that an aroused world conscience may be fully satisfied."

Protests Commended

The Assembly commended President Nixon for his renunciation of biological and chemical weapons and reaffirmed its stand on peaceful dissent by recommending such protests as the Vietnam Moratorium in October and the New Mobilization last month.

A resolution on "No Christmas As Usual" called on churches to urge their members "not to celebrate Christmas as usual with oftentimes lavish expenditures on Christmas gifts." Instead, the Assembly called for the holding of religious services for peace, giving money for religious and peace causes and a moratorium on war toys as Christmas presents.

A resolution on the Vietnam war itself urged President Nixon to "replace the policy of Vietnamization of the war" with a policy of ending the war "on Vietnamese initiative with U.S. help."

(See full text on page 10.)

While acknowledging the danger of over-simplifying the issues in Vietnam, the resolution said it did "not agree with the historical explanations which the present U.S. Administration and previous administrations have given as to the origins of the Vietnam conflict and the justifications of U.S. intervention." Specifically, the body took issue with the view that the war "is essentially a case of Communist aggression." This view, it said, "is misleading and has failed profoundly to do justice to the complexity and diversity of the historical, political and social conditions in Vietnam."

There were resolutions, too, on domestic social issues. Early and equitable settlement of land claims of Eskimos, Indians and other native Alaskans was urged.

In response to an informal presentation made by Robert G. Clark, the first black man to serve in the Mississippi House of Representatives since Reconstruction, the Assembly adopted a resolution dealing with disaster relief for victims of Hurricane Camille last August. The resolution attacked racial discrimination, which, Mr. Clark reported, was evident in the distribution of aid funds and in plans for rehabilitation of areas destroyed by the storm. The statement supported a U.S. Senate investigation into inequities that have developed in the aftermath of the tragedy.

Another action gave the green light to an Indian Board within the National Council, to work along with the Indian people "and to advance their cause on the basis of self-determination."

Black Differences Surface

While there were no resolutions dealing with racial justice as it affects black Americans, this issue never strayed far from the delegates' minds. For the first time in any NCC Assembly, the differences between militant blacks and the "gradualists" of all-black denominations surfaced in open debate.

The Rev. Calvin Marshall, Brooklyn, N.Y., president of the Black Economic Development Conference, first raised the issue in derogatory reference to "the Negro middle-class churches." Later Mr. Cleage, in a brief, abrasive comment after the results of the elections had been announced, also touched on the differences among blacks. To the bishops and other leaders of black churches he said: "I want to tell you that the time that remains for you to preside over your black churches is short." And to the "white leadership" of the NCC he said: "You'd better make the most of these Negro churchmen while you've got them because we're going to take those churches away from them."

The Detroit Assembly marked the first time elections were ever contested. Though the slate proposed by the NCC nominating committee all won in the end, candidates backed by caucuses of youth, racial minorities and women also made the race. The principle of open and contested elections was so firmly established by the Assembly that the new General Board, in an organizing session held the day following the Assembly's close, went one step further and rejected both the slate offered by the nominating committee and the nominating committee itself, on the grounds that they were not representative enough. An entirely new nominating committee was picked, headed by Miss Theresa Hoover, associate general secretary of the United Methodist Board of Missions' Women's Division.

Madam President

The Assembly elected its first woman president, Mrs. Theodore O. Wedel, who defeated Mr. Cleage, minister of Detroit's Shrine of the Black Madonna, 387 to 93. Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy defeated the Rev. Leon Watts of New York City for the post of general secretary, 382 to 100.

Both the Mission in the Seventies document and Dr. Espy's own proposal for creation of a new, more inclusive general ecumenical council failed to get the attention that was scheduled for them because of the decision to remain in open session and hear those who wanted to speak. The task of determining the goals and directions for the Council's future was handed back to the General Board.

Always before, the General Assembly has issued a Message to the Churches. Delegates decided this year not to spend valuable time on this task. And anyway, as Mrs. Wedel commented, "They've already heard our message loud and clear."

It may be that in an age when so many mistrust the establishment—whether it be religious, industrial or political—the style of the Detroit meeting itself was message enough. By opening itself up to whoever would be heard—friend or foe—the Eighth General Assembly in a very real sense risked its own life in the interests of the poor, the oppressed, the voiceless.

It's hell on agendas, but it adds up to a pretty good message. ■

Miss Hyer, a free lance writer specializing in religious affairs, appears frequently in TEMPO among numerous other journals.

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REFLECTIONS ON DETROIT

by Cynthia C. Wedel

It has taken a little time to get perspective on the General Assembly in Detroit. Events and impressions came so fast there that it was hard to sort them out. I find, however, that my basic feeling has not changed. Detroit was upsetting and often painful to one accustomed to the solemn and orderly routines of traditional church conventions. Inability to carry out the agenda to which hundreds of hours of preparatory work had been devoted was distressing. Yet there was so much that was hopeful and good, that I cannot feel unhappy or discouraged.

The most serious problem which the churches and the NCC face today, in my opinion, is the alienation of so many young people, intellectuals and others from the organized church. Predictions of the death of the NCC and of the churches are frequently voiced. Yet it was precisely some of the most alienated groups who came to Detroit to present their pleas or demands to the churches through the NCC. Certainly they would not have wasted this time and money on organization for which they had no hope! Indeed, I only wish the Council and the churches had the power and resources they assume we have. When traditional church people see only negative results from Detroit, I would urge them to see a trust and confidence in the churches which may mean a great deal for the future — if we are wise enough to deal with it constructively.

All of us in positions of leadership have a great deal to learn — this was certainly a second lesson from Detroit. It became clear there that we have, for a long time, structured our meetings in such a way that dissent was not open and apparent. People who did not like our actions or our ways of operating either stayed away, or left embittered. This time the dissent and challenge was open and unequivocal, and it was allowed to be. Having been, perhaps, too rigid in the past, we may have been too permissive this time. One does not deal honestly with differences by merely "giving in." We will have to learn how to listen to criticism, to weigh it dispassionately, to express disagreement — if we disagree — frankly and openly, and endeavor to work **with**, not against, our critics to discover the right course. As Father John Courtney Murray once said, "Disagreement is not an easy thing to reach." We will all need to learn the art of defining areas of disagreement precisely, and then submitting our disagreements to the judgment of the common Lord whom we all worship.

A third clear lesson from the Detroit Assembly is that we are now living in a world in which everyone wants to be in on the decision-making. Through most of human history, the majority of people have been content to have a small group who had position, power, education or experience make decisions and hand them down for the rest to follow. Often the decisions have been wise and for the common good. But the ethos of today is one of individual dignity and the right of self-determination. This is seen everywhere — in the newly independent countries, in the universities, among women, ethnic groups, the poor. Governments, educators, business leaders as well as the churches are having to learn how to work in this situation. Although it is disruptive of many customary ways of operating, there is within it something of great importance — especially for those of us who believe in a God who numbers the hairs on the head of "even the least of these."

A final concern which I brought from the Assembly — which has been reinforced since then by many questions asked of me — is that hundreds of thousands of the good Christian people who belong to the churches across this land are deeply troubled. They were taught, in Sunday School and through sermons, an understanding of the Christian faith which may well have been adequate for the more stable world of several decades ago. Since then, theology and theological education have gone through several major periods of ferment and change. But little of the new insights and understanding have been carefully and thoughtfully communicated to the laity. With no real preparation, they suddenly hear their preachers saying things which they never heard before. Worse yet, they may see their ministers taking positions and acting in ways which a clergyman of a generation ago would never have done! To many devout church members, the faith of their fathers seems to be in danger of being surrendered. The need is to help them understand that the basic Christian gospel is being brought into dialogue with the rapidly changing world. This cannot happen without struggle and pain.

This tension within the churches is not healthy. There is only one choice. We cannot turn the clock back. We are living in a new world both historically and theologically. It is the responsibility of church leadership to discover new and vital forms of theological education for the laymen and women of our churches. People who can comprehend modern concepts in science, politics, economics, can also understand modern theological concepts and biblical interpretation.

There is a pastoral and educational task before the churches and the NCC of massive proportions. If we recognize and admit it, we have the skill and the manpower to perform it. But we can probably do it only if we work together more earnestly than we have ever done. This may be the area in which lies both the greatest danger and the greatest promise for the Church in the 1970's.

Mrs. Wedel, internationally known ecumenical leader, was last month elected President of the National Council of Churches.

Danger signals of coming trouble are flying at top mast all over Latin America, as authoritative writers appearing in this issue of TEMPO make clear. For help and guidance in securing authors and articles on this crtical subject, TEMPO thanks Friendship Press, the imprint under which 65 Protestant and Roman Catholic mission and education agencies publish cooperatively planned education resources on the Church's mission. Dating back to 1902, this publishing venture now functions under the operating aegis of the National Council of Churches' Department of Education for Mission. The insert in this issue describes the resources coming off press in the next two months, all keyed to the ecumenically-determined emphases or themes: "The Americas — How Many Worlds?" and "How The Word Gets Around". TEMPO's contents this time reflect the concerns of the former. Additional insert copies are available from your denomination, or from Room 753, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

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ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler
PROMOTION: David Poindexter
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull
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"They're Your Kids, And It's Your War"

THE CASE FOR U.S. DRAFT AGE REFUGEES IN CANADA

by L. Alexander Harper

REUNITED for the first time in three years were Robert Bilger (R.) veteran of World War II from Sebring, Fla., and his son Michael, 20, Vietnam war protester and deserter from the U.S. Army. They met on the Canadian side of the Peace Bridge, near Niagara Falls.

AT the time it hardly seemed the historic occasion it really was. Without fanfare or publicity on December 2nd, 1969, five rented cars left Detroit's Cobo Hall where the National Council of Churches was holding its General Assembly. We paid a tunnel toll three blocks away, disappeared under the Detroit River, and emerged minutes later in Windsor, Ontario. "Anthing to declare?" asked a customs official. "All right, drive on." Three blocks later two dozen U.S. church leaders, including heads of four major denominations, disembarked and entered the Central United Church of Canada.

If the U.S. church leaders had nothing to declare to customs on entry, they had plenty to declare to their constituents when they returned. They had come as invited guests of the Canadian Council of Churches to discuss an increasingly troublesome situation—the veritable flood of young emigrants from the U.S. pouring into Canada for the past three years. The emigrants were escaping conscription or military service in what they found an intolerable war.

Canadian citizens, hospitable to political refugees by long tradition, had been giving heroic emergency aid to these latter-day refugees as best they could. Counselling and aid centers had been established—twenty in all so far, with the strongest in Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal. Yet as numbers had mounted, needs had increased to the point of acute embarrassment. "We dare not refuse, but how can we support so many?" the Canadian churchmen candidly asked their counterparts from south of the border. They frankly turned to the churches in the United States for assistance. "After all," they intimated, "they're *your* kids, and it's *your* war!"

What U.S. Churchmen Learned

The Windsor consultation went on all afternoon and evening. U.S. churchmen were astonished by what they learned. In sharp contrast with lower U.S. government figures, the Canadians estimated that fully 60,000 American men of draft age are now in Canada, with their numbers increasing by 20,000 a year. (Aid centers can account for about half of these; immigration statistics suggest that, for every young man seeking help from the centers, another enters with adequate resources of his own.) The Toronto Anti-Draft Programme alone was receiving forty-five *emigrés* a day last summer. "Until recently," reports its senior counselor, William Spira "most of them were escaping the draft. Now most of those seeking help from us come directly from the armed forces, especially the Marines."

Canada is not a party to the Vietnam war, has no conscription, and its treaties with the U.S. do not include draft evasion or military desertion as extraditable offenses. Nonetheless, emigration to Canada can be painfully complex and uncertain. Even "landed immigrant" status (preparatory to citizenship in five years) requires credentials, certified education and skills for employment, and several hundred dollars to tide a man and his family over until officially "landed" in several weeks or months. Few American youth, in flight from the draft or military service, have all these in hand when they arrive. If they go on public welfare, they may be deported; if they are likely to, they are not accepted. Hence the critical need for counselling, help with credentials, and emergency funds to keep the wolf from the door. As in the U.S., aliens in Canada may not even hold a job until first steps towards citizenship are officially approved.

Help from home is rarely forthcoming. One counsellor from Toronto estimated that 90% of those seeking his help reported being "disowned" by their families. "If you don't come home by the end of the month," one mother from Kentucky wrote her son, "then as far as we are concerned, you are DEAD. You will never hear or see us again."

Perhaps because of Canada's heavy economic dependence on the U.S. (Canadians say, when Washington gets a cold, Ottawa sneezes), official action by Canadian church bodies to help the young U.S. refugees of conscience has been politically delicate, especially so without a clear appeal from U.S. churches. Still, hundreds of churchmen have taken our sons into their homes and opened their pocketbooks as well. Some churches have opened their buildings as temporary shelters and feeding stations.

In spite of liberal Canadian immigration laws, border crossings for U.S. servicemen and conscriptees seeking asylum became all but impossible last spring. Officials of the United Church of Canada, led by their plucky moderator, Dr. R. B. McClure, took the matter publicly to parliament and got the borders re-opened according to regulations. (See TEMPO, Sept. 1, 1969)

The main burden of assistance to the flood of U.S. emigrants, the Windsor consultation made clear, falls upon the handful of volunteer aid stations in larger Canadian cities, not sponsored by the churches but manned by concerned citizens. Most of them are volunteers; a few have full-time staff serving for $50 a week. Counselors laid open their books to show their precarious hand-to-mouth budgets. Yet even to maintain present inadequate programs of aid in Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal requires over $100,000 annually. Minimal emergency grants to the neediest of the Americans seeking refuge would easily triple that amount. As Canadian resources were exhausted, would help from the United States be forthcoming?

A Call from Macedonia

U.S. church leaders in Windsor made their way back to Detroit late that night with a heavy heart. A Christian "call from Macedonia" to the churches of this country was unmistakable.

Two days later, they released to the NCC's General Assembly and to the press their Report to Churches and Synagogues of the United States and Canada. Americans thanked Canadians for "receiving and assisting these young refugees." They besought the religious community in Canada "to welcome the new immigrants into their fellowship and to assist in their adjustment to Canadian life." They asked Canadian church bodies to "establish procedures for receiving and channeling funds to organizations effectively serving the refugee community" and to continue setting "guidelines for American participation in ecumenical aid and pastoral care to these refugees."

Canadian spokesmen at the Windsor conference, led by Dr. Floyd Honey, General Secretary for the Canadian Council of Churches, appealed to the religious community in this country "to understand and to respect these immigrants for their moral courage." They beseeched us "to render pastoral care to their parents and friends in the U.S. and thus help to heal the alienation of families." They requested help in obtaining "information and documentation necessary for landed immigrant status in Canada for those who elect this course." They requested "funds to supplement Canadian efforts to meet emergency needs of the refugees and their wives and children."

Young expatriates at the Windsor conference added their own appeal to churches and synagogues back home to develop "improved counselling services related to conscription and military service." They begged U.S. churchmen "to expose and to correct Selective Service and military violations of the legal and human rights of men facing conscription, in uniform, or in military prisons." They called on religious bodies to require chaplains in military service to "fulfill their primary religious obligation in compassionate pastoral attention to those who report indignities or violations of legal rights, or who come to them with problems of conscience arising from the war."

The General Assembly Acts

Obviously moved by these appeals, the NCC's General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to establish recommended guidelines for a program of pastoral service with U.S. draft-age emigrants in Canada. The Canadian Council was asked to form a "coordinating body" to assess future needs of U.S. expatriates, to develop a pastoral ministry to them, and to disburse forthcoming gifts from this country. Commended to member communions of the NCC was the task of providing "substantial support for such services" and that of "interpretation and pastoral care to the parents and families of the refugees" (with special help asked from Church Women United). Attention to the neglected role of military chaplains was also commended to member churches, as requested by the expatriates themselves.

Reactions to press reports of the Windsor conference and the Assembly's response were mixed. Letters of commendation for "an act of compassion" were matched by angry denunciation of "proposed help for traitors." One distorted report by William S. White, the syndicated columnist, led some church groups to react with dismay. The church councils, wrote White, adopted "a policy to aid and abet lawless and clandestine flight to avoid not only military service but also the just claims upon the law violator of the very government which protects his rights."

Church officials were quick to correct misunderstandings when inquiries were made. "I mentioned our proposed ministry to the refugees

(Continued on page 14)

The Coming Revolution In Latin America

WE CLAIM OUR FUTURE

By Jorge Lara-Braud

ANYONE WHO puts his ear to Latin American soil today will inescapably hear the swelling clamor, "We claim *our future*." Even allowing for a great deal of undeniable diversity, the bulk of today's Latin American people share the common indignity of a colonized condition. They continue to be suppressed by the awesome dominance of a national oligarchy, which is itself subservient to irrepressible foreign interests.

The situation is not unlike Palestine in the days of the Nazarene. Indigenous Herodians rule by proxy for foreign lords. The Herodians and the empire progress while the people of the earth regress. But surely, you will say, the language of Herodians and empire is not applicable to the non-Communist world. After all, do we not refer to it as the "free" world, a designation inclusive of Latin America (minus Cuba, of course)? Let us think for a moment about this curious rhetoric. Is it legitimate to apply the blanket designation "free" to the countries south of the Rio Grande when at least ten endure actual or virtual military dictatorships, while an additional half dozen are run as private fiefdoms of an ostensibly civilian aristocracy? Apparently, the Herodians who garb their regimes with the trappings of democracy and sustain a holy crusade against communism have secured indefinite tenure as partners of the "free" world, no matter how brutally they betray democracy or outdo the ruthlessness of the opposite camp.

'Your Rate of Growth Hasn't Been Too Good'

The Alliance in Historical Perspective

On March 13, 1961, President John F. Kennedy announced the launching of the Alliance for Progress, the most imaginative program of inter-American cooperation in the history of United States-Latin American relations. The significance of the timing could escape no one. It came 23 months after the shock of the Cuban revolution. Among friends and foes it was seen as the peaceful revolutionary alternative to the violent revolutionary challenge of Fidel Castro. Kennedy was acting out his famous dictum, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable." In retrospect, one marvels at both the euphoria and the naivete with which the venture was undertaken. It was supposed to be an alliance, not a foreign aid program. At Punta del Este, Uruguay, in August of that year, the United States pledged $20 billion and Latin America $80 billion for the rest of the decade. No less than a revolution was envisioned—the complete overhaul of the social, political and economic structures that until then had reduced to virtual serfdom 80 per cent of the Latin American population. This meant in essence a massive agrarian reform, the incorporation of the masses into political participation, the growth of democratic institutions, an emphasis on civilian rather than military rule, an equitable system of taxation, an expansion of educational facilities to provide at least universal primary education, a larger enrollment in secondary schools and universities and an end to inherited privilege and arbitrary class divisions. Indeed, the commitment was thoroughly revolutionary!

Since the emphasis was on the peaceful character of such a revolution, it was assumed no major social or political dislocation could be countenanced. The euphoria of the planners is understandable; their naivete is incredible. The very Herodians whose interests would be most directly affected would themselves be expected to lead in the execution of the Alliance reforms. Perhaps the fear of seeing their country become another Cuba would impel them to such unprecedented altruism. Actually, the opposite became their response. In April, between Kennedy's announcement in March 1961 and the signing of the Alliance charter at Punta del Este in August, the tragedy of the Bay of Pigs occurred. The sign was unequivocal. The specter of another Cuba could be raised by any Latin American regime facing revolutionary pressures, and protection from the United States could be counted on.

This is precisely what took place four years later in Santo Domingo. The attempt by indigenous revolutionary forces to reinstate the deposed Juan Bosch, the first democratically elected president of Santo Domingo after the Trujillo dictatorship, was quelled by 25,000 United States marines. Fifty-eight Communists were individually identified among the constitutional forces. No further evidence was necessary to legitimize the invasion. It did not matter that the charter of the Organization of American States had been violated in the process or that the staunchest and most democratically oriented countries (Mexico, Uruguay, Chile) had condemned it. Santo Domingo was not to become "another Cuba." Ironically enough, Bosch had been deposed while visiting John F. Kennedy, the prime mover of the Alliance. Five months after the Santo Domingo intervention, the United States House of Representatives passed the "Selden Resolution" by an overwhelming vote. Thereby, the House went on record as considering legitimate any *unilateral* intervention by the United States in any Latin American country deemed threatened by Communist subversion. No action by the House since September 1965 indicates that its position in this matter has been changed.

The fiasco of Nelson Rockefeller's visit to Latin America was not necessary to persuade all that the Alliance was dead. It never became an alliance and failed to meet its own standards of progress. What should be of concern is whether something can be learned from its demise. It is a bitter disappointment for all genuine inter-Americanists who had regarded it as the best solution to our seriously deteriorated hemispheric relations. Perhaps the truest sign of maturity is the ability to work out an alternative after the best effort has failed with an insightful calm. Blessed are the Canadians who have made many friends throughout Latin America by being helpful, shying away from grandiose plans and not engaging in the dichotomy of "free" world vs. "the others!"

We might begin by dealing with the role of hemispheric arbiter the United States has played since December 2, 1823, when United States President James Monroe sent a message to Congress in which he warned the European powers against establishing their political systems anywhere in the Americas. Ostensibly, President Monroe wished to protect the independence of the former Spanish colonies and Brazil from attempts at reconquest by Spain and Portugal. Few Latin American statesmen were grateful for the Monroe Doctrine. They were not at all sure the guardian would not in time become an interventionist and even an expansionist. Their fears were confirmed by the Mexican War of 1846-48. Between the end of the war with its immediate southern neighbor and the Santo Domingo incident, the United States has intervened militarily in Latin America no fewer than 70 times. Tragically, in practically every instance, it was to safeguard important United States economic interests administered unilaterally by United States entrepreneurs or jointly with a local Herodian coterie, and more often than not in the name of freedom and democracy. Against this backdrop, it is not hard to see why millions in Latin America were skeptical about the launching of the Alliance and not especially disconsolate about its failure.

Colonialism and Imperialism

United States citizens are understandably irritated when Latin American nationalists state or imply a heavy burden of United States responsibility for the disaster area constituted by the bulk of people living south of the Rio Grande. The fact remains, however, that through United States omnipresence in every nook and crook of Latin American life, successes as well as failures must be credited to a country that has made of its southern neighbors a virtually unchallenged "sphere of influence" since 1823. Understandably also, United States citizens are chagrined to hear the language of imperialism and colonialism applied to the foreign policy of their government as it relates to the Third World (the poor nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America). Webster's dictionary defines imperialism as "the policy, practice, or advocacy of extending the power and dominion of a nation especially by direct territorial acquisitions or by gaining indirect control over the political or economic life of other areas."

History amply documents the power gained by the United States through direct territorial acquisitions in the nineteenth century and at the turn of the twentieth (the Texas War of 1836, the Mexican War of 1846-48, the Spanish-American War of 1898). Likewise, more recent history amply documents, though perhaps not as clearly to the untrained eye, increasing United States power in Latin America through indirect control over the political or economic life of the area. Except for Cuba, and to a much lesser degree for Mexico, Chile and Uruguay, no Latin American government can incur the displeasure of Washington without serious political and economic consequences. The Herodians exist as Herodians, and not just as insensitive ruling elites, because there is an empire to which they are subservient.

Colonialism, in turn, is defined by Webster as "control by one power over a dependent area of people." To deny the present dependence of Latin America on United States foreign policy is an unseemly evasion. Let us, then, squarely face the tragic inter-American relationships by going beyond the euphemisms "developed" vs. "developing" or "underdeveloped" societies. Let us rather gain insight by a more honest articulation of the human dynamics of the hemisphere, which *historically* have favored the dominant and penalized the dominated. No clever manipulation of terminology can any longer hide the fact that in this hemisphere an awesome empire with local Herodian enclaves presides over the fate of neighbors reduced to colonial dependence.

Let us illustrate. The United States owns or controls from 50 to 75 per cent of all firms in Latin America and consumes 75 per cent of all the raw materials and primary products exported by its southern neighbors. Despite repeated pleas, there is no preferential provision for these exports. Rather, they are subject to the exigencies of a balance of payments favorable to the United States so that their price remains low or is pressed downward, unless these commodities are produced by firms owned or controlled by United States interests. This is precisely what has recently been stated by the representatives of 19 Latin American republics, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados at the May, 1969 Viña del Mar meeting of CECLA (Special Coordinating Commission for Latin America). Moreover, CECLA has made it clear to the Nixon administration that Latin America can no longer shoulder the burden of $2.5 billion a year in payment for *interest* alone on current loans, most of them made by the United States. Nor can these countries afford their growing indebtedness to the United States, if they continue to be forced to obligatory purchase of U.S. goods as a condition for further United States loans when the same commodities can be bought elsewhere from 50 to 200 per cent less.

The following figures are further illustrations of the dominance of the United States in Latin American economies. In the period 1950-1961, the investment of foreign capital in Latin America, most of it from the United States, reached $9.6 billion. It earned $13 billion, a gain of $4 billion. If we add to this figure losses caused by price reductions of Latin American raw materials and price increases of industrial products from the rich nations, an additional $10 billion must be taken into account. Hence, from 1950 to 1961 $13.9 billion flowed from Latin America to the affluent countries. In an economic context subject to no effective controls of taxation or anti-trust legislation, capitalism becomes greedy beyond measure. Exorbitant profits made by private investments in Latin America would assuredly be cause for legal prosecution in the United States. During the postwar years, according to official reports studied by a German economist, the following are typical examples of United States profits: Standard Oil of New Jersey made 11 per cent in the United States and 33 per cent in Latin America; in 1948, General Motors received 25 per cent in the United States and nearly 80 per cent through its Latin American subsidiaries; Anaconda Copper Company obtains a profit in Chile that is 200 per cent higher than in the United States; Firestone Tires made profits that were four times higher in Latin America.

Capitalism and Corruption

To some, the bitter denunciation by Latin Americans of capitalism appears like a page torn out of Marx's writings. The impression is not wrong. It is not that the critics are necessarily Marxist. Rather, they echo the critique Marx made of the grotesque capitalism he saw in England in the nineteenth century, because today's Latin American capitalism is just as grotesque, if not more so. What can private enterprise mean in a country where a handful of families, subject to no control but their selfishness and the demands of

their foreign partners, exercise total control over the means of production, financing and transportation? The rich of Latin America and their foreign cohorts are no more evil than the rich anywhere in the world. Their corruption stems from the virtually unlimited power they enjoy.

Many non-Marxists assail Latin American capitalism, among them the bishops of Latin American Roman Catholicism. At their Second General Conference (August 26-September 6, 1968) on the occasion of the Pope's visit to Colombia, they stated:

"The liberal capitalist system and the bent of the Marxist system are apparently incapable of transforming economic structures. Both militate against human dignity. The former is predicated on the primacy of capital, its power, and its selective use for the sake of profit. The latter, though in theory advocating humanism, in fact is oriented toward collective man, and in practice it becomes a totalitarian concentration of the power of the state."

Significant as they are, the bishops' directives are still largely in the realm of the untried. The fact remains that, apart from the peculiar case of Cuba, few if any countries in Latin America have succeeded in curbing the greed of national and foreign capitalism. The results are disastrous to those outside the economic stream—the peasant, the illiterate, the slum dweller, the seasonal worker, the women, the children, the elderly, the infirm —which is to say the vast majority.

The pattern of local colonialism becomes increasingly acute: the urban center, led by the business sector, reduces the countryside to one-crop cash production and to total political and economic dependency. Social services such as schools, hospitals and recreation centers, which require long-range investments, are sacrificed in favor of short-term lucrative ventures. An automobile factory, a steel mill, an oil or mining complex employing a tiny number of workers and serving almost as tiny a percentage of the population may require such a huge investment as to postpone indefinitely a long-announced agrarian reform or a program of agricultural diversification. Such a tendency is reinforced by the marked predilection of foreign capital for quick cash industries requiring small units of labor.

It is no surprise to find United States capital concentrated in oil, luxury items, consumer durables and mining. These industries pay quite well by local standards and generally favor their employees with fringe benefits that make them the envy of their national fellow-workers in other types of employment. But their very distinctiveness as a privileged minority makes them an anomaly and an unwitting contribution to perpetuating patterns of national dependency.

Violence and Counter-Violence

Latin American nationalists, rejecting the false alternatives of "free" vs. "Communist," are increasingly restive over the strangehold of national elites at the service of extranational monopolies. They marvel at the naivete of national and foreign defenders of the status quo who recoil in horror at the prospect of violent revolution. Is not the present situation itself the result of legal violence, legitimized by the language of stability, democracy, Pan-Americanism and anti-communism? Is it not violence that a man should die of old age at 28, that a woman should not feed the weakest of four children because there is just enough for the three who may survive, that 500 out of 1,000 children should die in the countryside before the age of two, that a maimed mine worker and his family should starve on the pittance of their indemnity, that student protesters should be tortured, that political prisoners should be shot, that half the children of school age should have no school to attend, that millions should be landless while one family owns acres by the millions, that more than half of the adult population should be illiterate, that one-third of the national budget should be spent for late-model weaponry, that 80 per cent should live on a yearly per capita income of $80? Active resistance to this pervasive violence should be called by its right name: counter-violence. How much of it shall become necessary so that nationalists may claim their future shall largely depend on how protracted may be the struggle between them and the Herodians. The longer the delay in the radical transformation of the present structures the larger shall be the explosion of repressed aspirations.

Can We Uphold Each Other's Future?

The future of Latin America as an indigenous reality faces two formidable challenges: Herodians bent on protecting and enlarging their wealth, and their cohorts in the United States public and private sector. The latter rely for their position on a woefully uninformed citizenry trapped in the messianic simplism of "he who is not for us is against us." This is an attempt to offer the alternative of a third position: a future Latin Americans can really call their own. In our highly interdependent hemisphere, the future of one nation is safeguarded by the measure in which the future of all others is upheld. If the United States should live up to its own revolutionary heritage, it would have no problem understanding and even supporting the revolutionary nationalists. Nor would it be difficult for the United States to find among Latin American nationalists the likes of Patrick Henry. "Give me liberty or give me death" is another way, often repeated by Latin American libertarians today, of saying, "We claim our future."

How long will people in the United States allow their reactionary politicians and their irresponsible entrepreneurs to confuse Latin American Herodians with the Lafayettes and Pulaskis and Latin American Patrick Henrys with the Benedict Arnolds or Bolsheviks? We trust not for much longer. When the revolution comes, it will engulf us all in one way or another. Let us make sure we support the people rather than their exploiters. There is no other way for each of us confidently to claim our future. Thankfully, from 22 years of enduring friendships with North Americans, there are countless men and women of conscience, integrity and courage who are already laying down the foundations of a day of righteousness in inter-American relations. ■

Dr. Lara-Braud is director of the Hispanic-American Institute, in Austin, Texas. His article is based on a chapter he contributed to OUR CLAIM ON THE FUTURE *(to be published early in 1970 by Friendship Press), a symposium which he also edited.*

Exploit And Repress—Or

HOW TO CAUSE A REVOLUTION

by Richard Shaull

NEWS reports from Latin American in recent months have left many of us disturbed and perplexed. The increase in the number and power of military governments; the repression of political opposition and the torture of political prisoners in Brazil and elsewhere; the widespread reaction of hostility to Nelson Rockefeller's visit; the expropriation of North American companies and the threats of further expropriation; the kidnapping of the American ambassador in Brazil: all these are only signs of a profound social and political crisis and a breakdown in relations between the United States and Latin America.

There is nothing new about this, and the reasons for it are not hard to find. Two years ago, after an extended visit to a number of countries from Mexico to the River Plate, I wrote a brief report in which I tried to indicate some of the actors contributing to an explosive situation:

"Many of those who are working most intensely for the economic development of their countries have concluded that development depends upon fundamental structural changes that can be brought about only by political means. As there are now no political instruments by which such changes can come, the only alternative they can see is armed insurrection. And as the U.S. stands to lose most by these changes and is the main bulwark of the old order, the struggle will be ultimately against North American military power.

The logic behind this was best expressed by the intellectual leader of one of the new Roman Catholic movements. He said:

"We now see that underdevelopment is not the natural condition of a nontechnological society, destined to disappear as that situation is overcome. It is rather the product of the whole colonial relationship of the past. Over the years, the great powers have used us for their purposes, and have helped to produce economic and political structures in each country in line with their interests.

"As this entire order is not geared either to rapid economic growth or to the improvement of the lot of the masses, we have no choice now but to concentrate our attention on changing the whole system. For us, development means that we, as a nation, take our destiny in our own hands, set our goals and mobilize our resources toward their achievement. This involves comprehensive national planning, capital accumulation and the mobilization of labor, administrative and land reform, control and, in some cases, nationalization of foreign enterprises.

"In order to develop, we must do what Japan and other countries have done in the past: restrict our contacts with the formerly dominant nations until the old relationship gives way to a new one. We had hoped to accomplish this by the democratic political process. As this is no longer possible, the only road open before us is armed struggle. And let us have no doubts about one point: in this struggle American military power will be the major force working against us."

When he finished his presentation to a group of rather prominent middle-class professional people of deep religious conviction, not one in the group challenged his basic argument. The question they discussed was whether, given their comfortable bourgeois life and their reluctance to adopt violence, they could respond to the challenge presented to them.

The shift in perspective that this represents for many people is the result of the interaction of certain subjective and objective factors. On the subjective side there is the growing sense of national self-identity evident everywhere, with all this implies in terms of the longing for greater independence from outside control, the desire on the part of a new generation to build a new social order, and the deep sensitivity of many to the profound insecurity, poverty and suffering of the rural and urban masses.

Discouragement and Desperation

These elements are present at all times and color all reflection on the situation. But the important thing is that, for those who look at their society from this perspective, the picture before them is a very discouraging one. Several elements stand out:

Revolutionary priest Camilo Torres (shown center above police helmet) is surrounded by crowd of supporters. Fr. Torres was later ambushed and slain by an army patrol in Colombian mountains where he sought refuge.

1. There are no models of dynamic economic growth, capable of meeting the population explosion and the rapid growth of urban centers. In many countries, the emphasis has been on stability and the control of inflation, at the expense of economic growth. Consequently, each year the housing crisis grows more acute, the number of people entering the job market who cannot be absorbed increases and the real wages of the lower and middle classes decline.

In Brazil, the almost desperate situation of many white-collar workers and professional people is apparent everywhere. Some argue that this is the sacrifice that must be made for the sake of development, but their argument makes very little sense in a situation in which basic reforms have not occurred. It is by no means clear that the sacrifice is leading to development, and everyone can see that those most prepared to bear the burden of development are often those who make the least sacrifices.

2. At a time of rising nationalism, the dominance of U.S. power is more and more evident. This is especially true in the economic sphere, where Brazil is an interesting case in point. A leading economist in Sao Paulo told me that practically all the major new industries are under foreign control. Brazilian industries have been forced to sell out to foreign economic groups; equipment is being imported that is already produced there. Newspapers carried the protest of the Brazilian association of electrical equipment producers stating that funds from "the World Bank and other international financial agencies" were being used to import the basic electrical equipment already being produced in the country, thus forcing these industries out of existence.

What is resented even more is the way in which local capital from the Government and private banks is being used by foreign economic groups to develop their industries. One director of a state planning authority told me that his organization, which originally prohibited loans to foreign companies, had been forced to remove this restriction. As a result, even the present limited economic development is not the type that Latin Americans want.

3. In many places, the young who want to contribute to their country's development and to build a new social order find it increasingly difficult to do so. The obstacles to getting an education are formidable for lower-class young people. For those who do get into the university, the picture is by and large discouraging.

Students have traditionally been the major force working for the reform of archaic university structures, but they seldom play this role now. In Argentina it is estimated that between 1,000 and 1,500 university teachers were forced out in a recent year. In Brazil a more limited exodus occurred; and the one new experiment in university education, the National University of Brasilia, has departed from its original objectives and is in a permanent state of crisis.

Precarious Situation

Many who finish university and get further training abroad find it difficult, if not impossible, to use their skills. Everywhere I heard the same complaint. Either the jobs available are of slight significance to them in their social objectives, or they are suspect and persecuted because of their commitment to the creation of a new social order. Those who can work in the university, the government offices or with private firms are constantly aware of the precarious situation in which they find themselves.

In Columbia, Brazil and Argentina laws have been passed aimed at controlling "subversion" and "communism." But the terms of these laws are such that they can be used against anyone who threatens the established order. In Brazil, anyone accused of violating the "Law of National Security" will immediately lose his job; in Argentina the law, as one young intellectual put it, "creates a category of second-class citizens," on a very broad base.

4. Most serious of all, at a time when dynamic political action is called for, there are no political forces that seem to offer any basis for hope.

The military dictatorships have little popular support and have failed to win the confidence of a new generation. In order to govern they have chosen to rely almost entirely on those groups that represent and defend the old order: the army, the tired and corrupt politicians, the old government bureaucracy and those economic groups that are most threatened by the winds of change. Since basic reforms are practically impossible, nothing very significant happens, even when the technocrats are given wide powers and unusual freedom to act.

The old liberal, democratic parties are in a state of increasing crisis. They have failed to break the dominance of the old elite, to overcome the lethargy of the masses or to capture the imagination of youth. The rapid deterioration of the situation in Uruguay and in Colombia is a sign of the prospects these groups offer for the future.

With the Frei victory in Chile, the Christian Democratic "revolution in freedom" was at least a live option. In spite of all the money being spent to publicize Christian democracy in Latin America and to establish it as a serious political force, I found no significant group of young people anywhere who look to it with much hope. There is a new generation in these parties, but closer in outlook to young people of other political persuasions than to the older leadership of the Christian Democratics. Thus, their future within their own parties is problematic.

The Promised Revolution

I was surprised to discover that the Chilean participants in the international discussions I participated in were among the most radical. When I tried to pin them down as to the cause of this sudden change, they usually said: "Frei promised us a revolution; what we have is just one more government." The fact that this government has taken the initiative in bringing about certain reforms is not enough to sustain the hope that it will be the instrument of revolutionary change.

Add to this the sclerosis of the Communist parties, victims of their own slogans and their own bureaucracy, and you have a picture of the present political wasteland. In the face of this, some of the young have decided to forget about the political struggle for the present, get the best preparation they can in their chosen professions and serve their countries that way. But many others ask themselves if the pilgrimage of Father Camilo Torres from his professional work as a sociologist in the university to participation in a

(Continued on page 15)

Resources for the Church in Mission: 1970-1971

Friendship Press

Friendship Press

Image and Impact. ● **$1.50**
How Man Comes Through in the Mass Media
William F. Fore

What is man — in his freedom, his essential humanity, his values? William F. Fore explores two roads to answering that question, the Bible and the mass media. He points out that the media can uniquely open up to man his own world and his own nature, yet can also seduce man into accepting a false image of reality. Through comparison of biblical and media images of man, he helps the reader discover how to evaluate mass media from a Christian perspective. 377-00061-2

Probe Probe ● **$1.75**
Jane Day Mook

How does the Word get through to people in our day? A quick, perceptive probe into some significant ways people — youth and adults, individuals and groups, in settled and in shifting situations — are expressing their deepest understandings of their world and of their faith. Sometimes uncomfortable, always provocative, with brief text and striking photographs. 377-62051-3

Man, Media and the Message ● **$1.75**
Merrill R. Abbey

Communication of the Word is most effective when individuals are gripped by the meaning of the gospel for their own lives. Yet in today's world of instant information, communication must take place on many levels — between individuals, between groups, between nations and even planets. Dr. Abbey takes the reader through the maze of communications and sets forth a theological perspective. He emphasizes the role of the media in relation to such crises as poverty and race relations, and affirms that service is necessary to Christian communication. 377-00051-5

The See-Sound Show ● **$5.95**
by Mary O'Hara

This multimedia kit will help the study of "How the Word Gets Around" to get off the printed page and into the lives of the students. The kit includes a filmstrip that introduces church work in communications; a recording, with folk songs and an introduction to communication; three devotional posters; one graffiti poster; materials to use in making liturgical banner; and guidance material to aid the teacher in helping the class to understand that communication takes place all around them, all the time, and that they are themselves important communicators. 377-058069-4

Good News, Anyone? ● **$2.75**
Jean Louise Smith

A group process book for early teens and those who work with them — third in the series made popular by **If I Were You . . .** and **High Wall? Low Wall? No Wall?** Helps junior and middle highs analyze ways in which contemporary artists, musicians, television writers, authors and others, both "traditional" and "avant-garde," may be helping us to understand what life is all about. 377-00451-0

Unrest on the Campus: A Christian Perspective
H. Lynn Jondahl **$1.50**

Relates campus turmoil to American culture and to biblical insights into freedom and power. Events on campuses throughout the nation mirror what is happening to all of us, whatever our generation or way of life. Mr. Jondahl calls Christians to commit themselves to achieving more human institutions. 377-29101-3

Resources For the Church in Mission
- **Friendship Press - 1970-1971**
- **How the Word Gets Around**
- **The Americas: How Many Worlds?**

For You

Keep this resource list handy!

It describes tools you need to develop greater vitality in all aspects of your program — helping people to see and to move into their mission.

Order additional copies for key leaders from your source for this one or from:

Friendship Press
Room 753
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

HOW THE WORD GETS AROUND

For Children

How Do You Spell TV? ● $1.95
Bruce and Dottie Mosher

TV is a shorthand word, but how do you spell it in Morse Code? That was Inko's question when he sought aid for his Arctic village.

This collection of seven short stories gives primary children a glimpse into the varied ways the gospel is communicated. Situations include a rooftop school in Hong Kong, Fun School in a big city ghetto, the American Bible Society's work with the blind, literacy in India, agriculture improvement in the Philippines, radio broadcasts in the Navajo language. 377-00751-x

Primary Teacher's Guide on "How the Word Gets Around" ● $1.35
Bruce and Dottie Mosher

"Everyone is a communicator." Through the activities in this guide, children will discover what this means. Guide includes brief background information about communications, resource lists and material for ten sessions. 377-91071-6

Come In, World ● $1.95
David and Marian Poindexter

When the Bradley family moves to Brazil, eleven-year-old Mark accepts his father's challenge to be a Christian communicator. Through a series of exciting adventures Mark comes to realize that the very best way he can tell of God's love is to live it everyday. Work of RAVEMCCO, Lit-Lit and Church World Service is highlighted. 377-00651-3

Junior Teacher's Guide on "How the Word Gets Around" ● $1.35
David and Marian Poindexter

This study was designed to help juniors recognize their own day-to-day activities are the most important ways to communicate the word. 377-91051-1

See previous page for *See-Sound Show*

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J. Carter Swaim 377-86201-0

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Set of all principal resources ● — $29.95. See Showcase Suitcases.

More Resources

Adult Program Guide on "How the Word Gets Around" ● $1.35
William A. Slater

Suggests ways of relating study to experience and of developing group activities in the basic process of "getting the Word around." Provides ideas to generate and guide planning, discussion questions and things to do. Calls to worship from contemporary sources are included plus a bibliography of printed and other resources. 377-91001-5

Don't Church Me In ● $5.00
Text by Allan E. Sloane

A record that presents, in dramatic narrative, the conflict between those in the church establishment who distrust new forms of mission and those who seek every possible way to get the Word to the world. 377-57007-9

The Bible in Art Around the World $10.00
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Ten lovely color art prints from various countries. Each artist has interpreted a biblical subject reflecting his cultural orientation as well as his individual talent. An insert sheet gives biographical information. 377-67029-4

This Dramatic World: Using Contemporary Drama in the Church $1.50
Alfred A. Edyvean

An examination of secular drama and what it has to say about the condition of man, with guidelines for relating its insights to Christian teachings and mission. A check list of dramas suitable for church production or study. 377-00071-X

Time for Choice 95¢
Harold Bassage

A one-act play about the struggle of students and a young teacher against what they believe to be a badly administered school system. Raises questions regarding authoritarianism and tactics permissible to combat it. 377-80601-3

Youth Guide on "How the Word Gets Around" ● $1.35
Ruth Douglas See

What's new in communications theory? What makes the Christian gospel "good news" to modern man? How can young people relate the gospel to the situations they face day by day? What responsibility do we Christians have for communicating the gospel beyond our immediate little world? This is the broad range of this basic program piece for all young people and their adult advisors. More than a study guide, it stresses action related to insights, as these arise out of the Christian faith and an understanding of how communication takes place. 377-91021-x

Twentieth Century Afro-Americans (Pictomap)
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Louise E. Jefferson 377-70051-7
(rolled) $3.25
377-70061-4

This 1969 edition updates the "Twentieth Century Americans of Negro Lineage," which has been acclaimed as a teaching tool in many church and public schools. The map is an outline of the United States with drawings superimposed of prominent Afro-Americans and their work. 40" x 30"

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"Mass media and you — a write-in, read and think thing for you to do." May be used by individuals or by groups — but always with mind alert and pencil in hand. Parts 1 and 2, dealing with how we perceive things, are titled, "Setting — Don't let the background fool you," and "Mind-set — Your bias is showing." 377-82941-2

Bring Us Together: Third Living Room Dialogues
James J. Young, editor $2.50

Stimulation for ecumenical dialogue — in the style of the earlier Living Room Dialogues — in six aspects of American cultural change:

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Sense and Nonsense About Race
Ethel J. Alpenfels $1.25

Anthropologist presents facts that explode racial myths. 377-05091-1

Mission with Integrity in India $1.25
Renuka Mukerji Somasekhar

A realistic, contemporary appraisal of the mission program in India as it has been and is now. Deals with relationships of church agencies in sending countries and in receiving countries, as well as with the responses of people in this country. 377-49011-3

In the Spring and Other Seasons $10.00

A filmstrip with recording that uses color photographs of young people in many parts of the world to show variety in courtship customs and other contemporary youth activities. A panel of young Americans and their moderator talk about the pictures and the concerns of youth today. 377-52246-5

Time Bomb in the Middle East $1.35
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Historical background, chapters setting forth the points of view of an Arab and an Israeli, the view of a prominent world churchman and a breakthrough statement by a committee of concerned American Christians. 377-19031-4

The Death of Dialogue and Beyond $2.25
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After the Arab-Israeli war of June 1967, Jewish-Christian dialogue appeared to be at a dead end. Yet from this new possibilities have developed for deeper conversation and exploration. The book brings together papers and articles on aspects of the dialogue. 377-39021-6

The Churches and Cruelty Systems $1.50
J. Edward Carothers

A compassionate people have produced a cruel society. This book sets forth the ways Christians are implicated in social systems that inflict cruelty on others, and tells what we can begin to do about it. 377-09021-2

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P. Y. Luke and John B. [illegible]

Raises key questions about [illegible] life in a non-Christian en[illegible] in Andhra Pradesh, South India. World Council of Churches. 377-82551-[illegible]

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Additional Titles

Related to "How the Word Gets Around"

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A renowned missionary and World Council of Churches leader draws on wide experience to show how churches may contribute to a saner future for the world. 377-38001-8

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A new approach to learning about human relationships. Through this game young people and adults may gain new insight into today's social problems. "Fulfills its educational purpose while retaining the full interest of a game," says Colin Williams of Yale. 377-88909-1

This Is Latin America 85¢
Howard W. Yoder

Through pictures and words, a composite portrait of people and lands south of the Rio Grande. 377-83031-3

Fun and Festival from Latin America 35¢
Ella Huff Kepple

Popular presentation of songs, recipes, games, stories and other authentic material. 377-81001-0

Sounds of the Struggle $1.95
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Lively essays on lively issues and some of the very lively people of our time in history. The author is Chairman of the Black Academy of Arts and Letters and author of *The Black Muslims in America*. 377-08021-7

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Stories of noted contemporary laymen who communicate the gospel through daily living. 377-85611-1

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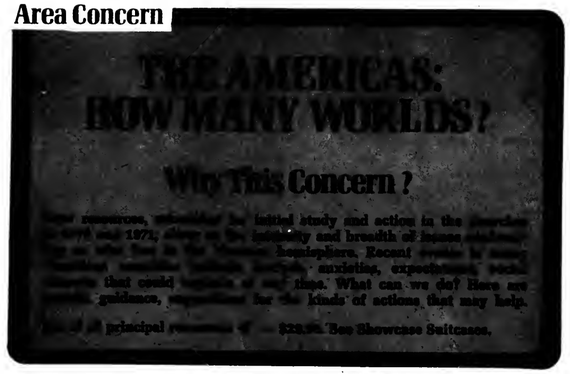


Where Tomorrow Struggles to Be Born: The Americas in Transition ✱ **$1.75**

Thomas J. Liggett

As the people of Latin America reach out toward the future, urgent pressures for change come up against static social, political and religious institutions. Thomas J. Liggett brings lands and peoples vividly to life. He calls for a creative response by the U.S. government, for appreciation of Latin American desires for self-determination and for new relationships with the Roman Catholic Church. 377-10051-x

Our Claim on the Future. ✱ **$1.95**
A Controversial Collection from Latin America

Jorge Lara-Braud, editor

A swelling clamor arises from the Latin American countries for the right to direct their own future, without interference from foreign powers. And its loudness forces us to pay attention to its validity. This book brings together six writers who can speak authoritatively about the Latin American situation — its social and economic revolutions and the role of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. 377-10071-4

A Problem of Power

(film), color, 16 mm, approx. 45 min.

Set in Colombia, this motion picture focuses on the problems of Latin America and the effects North American government, business and mission policies have south of the border. Striking photography. Candid interviews with Latin Americans from all walks of life. Check your film depository for price and date available.

LP Record

Listen to Us, North America! ✱ **$5.00**

Coordinated by Wesley Adams

A record on which a moderator interviews Latin Americans on problems of vital interest to them. Also included are selections of Latin American music. 377-57017-6

Out of the Hurt and Hope **$2.25**

José Miguez-Bonino, editor ✱

Through the pages of this collection, individuals and groups in North America may have a listening encounter with Latin American youth as they tell about their dreams and their frustrations and what makes them think the way they do — about justice, about politics, about sports, about the meaning of life, about their own countries and about the U.S.A. Illustrated with photographs. Dr. Miguez-Bonino, who has also lived in New York, makes his home in Buenos Aires. 377-10261-x

Chasms in the Americas **$1.95**

Dana S. Green, editor ✱

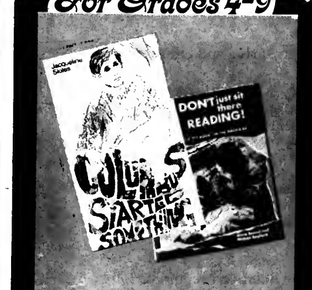
In a hard-hitting symposium, seven authors who know the Americas well — inside, outside, North and South — tell how Latin Americans see "norteamericanos," what it's like to live in Latin America today, and other insights on the political, economic, cultural and religious struggles we all face. They deal with the chasms that alienate and separate us from one another and, while setting forth no easy solutions, do take the first big step: to recognize our common problems and to call for a serious search for new understandings and action — *now!* Illustrated with contemporary cartoons. The editor heads the Latin America office of the National Council of Churches. 377-10251-2

The Center Forward Died at Dawn ✱ **$1.50**

Agustín Cuzzani

What is it to be a man? The star center forward of a popular Latin American football team, deprived under bizarre circumstances of the chance to play football, discovers that he cannot function as a human being unless he is allowed to use his unique abilities. The author has published this and other dramas in Spanish in his own country, Argentina. 377-80621-8

For Grades 4-9



Columbus Started Something ✱
Jacqueline Skiles **$1.95**

Through stories of the people of Latin America the reader discovers how the countries of the Americas are different and how they are alike, major problems of Latin America, and why our countries don't always get along. The reader meets Ramon, who leaves school at twelve to go to work; Antonio, who wants to help the poor people of Brazil; Camilo Torres, the guerrilla priest; and others. 377-10651-8

For Grades 1-3

Don't Just Sit There Reading! ✱ **$2.25**

A Fun-to-Do Book on the Americas
Myra Scovel and Phillda Ragland

A primary-age child anywhere in the Americas can put himself into this book, designed for reader participation. As the reader picks out the characteristics that identify himself and his home, adds his own pictures and poems and plays games, he comes to feel a closer identification with all the Americans in the hemisphere. Excellent photographs make the pages come alive. 377-10751-4

Look, Listen and Learn! **$5.95**
A Primary Class Activity ✱
Packet on the Americas

This multimedia kit contains a filmstrip on "Indian American Neighbors: South and North"; a recording with songs from Latin America and "Hello" in the different languages of the Americas; picture cutouts; song sheet for the song "Which American Are You?"; extensive guidance material closely correlated with Primary Teacher's Guide. 377-58079-1

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As Seen From Cuba

THE CUBAN LESSON

by Rafael Cepeda

CUBA is an extraordinary lesson in history for the contemporary world and specifically for Latin America. A tiny island in the Caribbean Sea, with its scarcely 45,000 square miles (smaller than the state of Pennsylvania) and its eight million inhabitants (fewer than the single city of New York), it has created expectancy and concern, become a potential enemy, symbolized hope and destroyed established myths in the last decade. The events of January 1, 1959, began a revolution that, with its achievements and its errors, has opened new perspectives in the approach to the most complicated and urgent contemporary problems.

By the end of 1958, Cuba had reached the saturation point in graft in high places, dirty politics and abject indifference to the most elemental needs of the great masses of the population. There were over 600,000 unemployed; almost 40 per cent of the adult population was illiterate. Gambling and prostitution were legalized, begging accepted as unavoidable and the deaths of peasant children considered inevitable. The best land, the most profitable companies, the most productive mines and the most prosperous businesses were all in foreign hands. Governing authorities bowed before the Ambassador of the United States of America, the Alpha and Omega of politics and economics in a would-be republic. The army, the prop of those in power, was nothing more than a caste of idle men, almost always corrupt and corrupting. The Christian churches, molded according to imported patterns, were content to practice occasional charity without determining the causes of or proposing effective solutions to the social ills.

The official tourist publicity and propaganda did not reveal the conditions. Wealthy visitors saw great gambling casinos, exclusive beaches and aphrodisiac delicacies, but the hidden side of the national coin was a dirty, sad story of misery and desperation. The Cuban people, divided classically into a minority that has everything, a majority that has nothing and an intermediate group of those who are eager to climb the social ladder, all *knew* intuitively that the great injustices could only be solved in a violent manner. Earlier desperate and sporadic attempts had been made, but they had always ended in frustration and temporary defeat. At the beginning of 1959, it was too late to seek a solution through elections or other conventional means. Only a complete overthrow was capable of changing the plight of the Cuban people.

Revolution—Not Coups d'Etat

A nation is born as a consequence of a genuine revolutionary period, and a revolution is channeled along hundreds of small tributaries, formed separately but flowing into one river of powerful, uncontrollable water, which washes away everything in its path.

General Fulgencio Batista governed Cuba off and on between 1934 and 1958, when he reached a climax of excesses, despotism and tyranny. Backed by bayonets, by ecclesiastical blessing (Cardinal Arteaga was a steady visitor at the presidential palace), and by United States support (Ambassador Morgan was his main partner in obscure deals), Batista was the worst of the worst in a land where the badmen flourished. During the Batista era a new generation sprang up, "The generation of the centennial." (Fidel Castro's 26th of July movement was named for the attack on the Moncada fortress in 1953, the year of the centennial of José Martí, the great Cuban hero in the fight against Spain.) This generation of rebels was composed principally of young unknown intellectuals and simple workers, who defied Batista and made him and his formidable repressive apparatus totter and fall under the guerrilla drive and a genuine revolutionary morality.

The world believed, and specifically the U.S. State Department, that it was just one more in the traditional series of classical Latin American "coups d'etat." But it is necessary to recognize a revolution when it breaks into the historical scene. The Cuban revolution was a genuine revolution, a daring, radical, convulsive effort to eliminate the errors of the past and produce justice among forgotten and disinherited men. It freely put arms in the hands of all the people and trusted that they would use them well. It was capable of withstanding economic, diplomatic and military aggression on the part of the leaders of the most powerful country on earth, only 90 miles from its shores. It planned the future without looking back.

Nationhood and Development

Under the spell of their revolution, the Cuban islanders suddenly became passionate participants, highly integrated and achieving a collective personality. What until then was blurred and distant now took on a sudden and clear focus: the image of destiny, a specific sign of a nation that has become a nation. Suddenly, unexpectedly, the Cubans knew what they wanted and where they were going, Defensively, they became dangerously aggressive. Cuba now has to be reckoned with in the processes of change of the world today; her historic thrust will leave permanent marks.

As the tenth year of the revolution is ended, it is possible to evaluate what has been done to bring the country out of its underdeveloped state: the beginning of 1969 found a more just distribution of tillable land with a clear sense of agrarian cooperative farming: equality of opportunity and ample facilities to offer an education to all children of the country with required learning through the tenth grade; encouragement of literate farmers and city workers to continue their education until they reached at least the sixth grade level; schools of crafts, music and dramatic arts, with a marked emphasis on Cuban culture; electricity, theaters and movies reaching the most remote regions; scientific and highly productive development of agriculture and the cattle industry; a new and well-organized metallurgical industry; intensive technological cultivation of sugar cane, coffee and tobacco and a wise utilization of their by-products; reforestation of millions of lumber and fruit trees; elimination of the luxurious gambling casinos, the small clandestine gambling places in the slums and the national lottery; elimination of prostitution and rehabilitation of exploited women; organized protection of children and absolute suppression of begging; special attention to sports activities with free admission to all spectacles; massive practice of preventive medicine and the absolute elimination of sicknesses such as poliomyelitis and yellow fever; construction of hospitals in rural zones with free services for all; construction of dams for irrigation and thermoelectric stations; total elimination of unemployment with work opportunities for all; old age insurance for each and every citizen of the country; free hospital and medical attention in every city and free funeral and burial services.

All the population of the country has not joined in this creative effort; there has been a constant flow of exiles out of the country, reaching a total of 250,000 persons, including the guilty as well as humble workers, employees and peasants. (Cuba is the only Socialist country that provides legal means to leave the national territory for good.) This exodus has ridded the nation of its worst human elements, but it has also reduced the number of technical specialists. Graduates of universities and technical schools are only now beginning to fill the void effectively. There is also a sector of the resident population that remains indifferent or negative toward the revolutionary thesis.

Nevertheless, the majority of the population now knows what it wants and what its destiny is. The egotistic individualism is giving way to a collective desire of final triumph. It is now typical to see hundreds of men, women and children going out to the country (generally for agricultural tasks) with a gay spirit and in a sporting mood, desirous of reaching set goals. The government and the majority of the people have joined together in a sacrificial, optimistic, hopeful venture toward high, but not unreachable, objectives.

The Wolves at the Door

When Fidel Castro triumphantly entered Havana on January 8, 1959, he pointed out in his first speech: "Let's not fool ourselves by thinking that from here on, all will be easy." Unfailingly in every successful guerrilla instruction, unrestrained euphoria abounds in the naiveté of believing that the revolution triumphed. What has triumphed is the insurrectional phase, the rebellion against the status quo. At that point, the revolution begins its most difficult task: the building of a new society; the final triumph of the revolution is still far off. When internal and external interests join together and enter into a conspiracy in a counter-revolutionary front, the worst moment for the revolution has come. In Cuba, this began to happen only a few months after the triumph on January 1, 1959. The wolf, although disguised as Little Red Riding Hood, soon made visible its ears and its intentions were discovered. More than just one wolf, it was a pack of wolves. The most powerful and best known were the North American industrial companies with economic interests in Cuba.

Other less fierce ones were the defeated army (now lying low), the native industrialists and businessmen, the professional politicians and the ecclesiastical organizations. Behind some of these institutions could be seen the sinister hands of the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency). The result was a stifling economic blockade, diplomatic isolation, interference in commercial trade deals with any country in the world, the infiltration of mercenaries to carry out sabotage and, as a desperate climax, the surprise invasion attack in April, 1961. The military aggression at the Bay of Pigs has been called, and rightly so, the "first defeat of imperialism in America." Never has a powerful country made such a costly mistake, completely underestimating the moral forces of a people in the midst of a revolution and falling into complete discredit.

All the attempts to destroy the revolution have been fruitless, but they have slowed down its progress. Another hindering factor has been the tactical errors of the revolution as a whole and the costly mistakes of the revolutionaries as individuals. It is true that not only Fidel Castro but other leaders of the revolution have publicly recognized their inexperience in the management of the government and even their errors in certain decisions. It is also true that a mistake has sometimes been repeated over and over until it becomes a peculiar ill with no signs of rectification. Even more true is the fact that when officials act irresponsibly and the error is discovered, it is necessary to undo what has been done and to begin again.

The tremendous commotion that a radical revolutionary movement produces is felt also in the Church. José Martí declared that "sometimes it is necessary to shake the world, so that all that is rotten falls to the ground." All that was fragile has been shattered into a thousand pieces. The golden calves have been melted. The unsteady scaffoldings have fallen to the ground. Sanctimoniousness, prudery, inconsequential verbiage, curtains of piety have disappeared or disintegrated. The revolution lays bare the bones and reveals the insipid presentation of the Gospel, the sluggardly sacrificial service, the apathy, the indolence, the comfort loving, the egotism.

Looking at it another way, the Church prepared us to understand the revolutionary process better. Some churches taught of the urgent need to eradicate gambling, houses of prostitution, administrative dishonesty, insanitary shacks, urban overcrowding, infant parasitism, begging, the *latifundia* (large land estates), the peasant misery, the wasteful cutting down of our best forests. Now in revolution, the impression exists that these evils are being obliterated.

Cuban Protestant churches are children of eighteenth-century pietism with its tremendous emphasis on the "salvation of the soul," and the first Christian missionaries were themselves the products of an accentuated pietist movement. The primary emphasis was always on the person with very little on the collective effort and structures of society. The church saw the ills of the world, but did not see itself with a transforming social responsibility.

Therefore, the revolution surprised the church and caught it completely unprepared to find itself

(Continued on page 14)

WASHINGTON REPORT

Hunger And The White House

by David M. Ackerman

ON December 2, 1969, the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health convened at the request of the President in the plush surroundings of the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington, D.C., to explore and discuss a variety of subjects related to the issue of nutrition. After three days and two nights of intensive deliberations in a highly charged atmosphere, the 3,000 conferees went home, fully aware that the key issue was *not* nutrition but *hunger* due to poverty. Some left hungry themselves from having taken part in a symbolic fast during the conference; some were disgruntled about the conference tactics used by the National Welfare Rights Organization and about the conclusions reached in the conference; but most left awakened to the reality and the seriousness of the problem of hunger and malnutrition due to poverty in this country and found themselves newly committed to work for ways of meeting the problem.

In its final plenary session on December 4, the conference adopted as its primary document a strong statement of priority recommendations to the President, entitled the "Task Force Action Statement." (*See box*) The statement calls upon the President to take emergency action under existing authority to get food to hungry people this winter, to work for a guaranteed adequate income of $5,500 a year (family of four), to revise and greatly strengthen his legislative proposals on the food stamp and school lunch programs, and to transfer the administration of food programs from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. What many conferees on December 2 might have thought to be radical came by December 4 to seem eminently reasonable and, indeed, necessary.

As this is written, the President had made no positive response to these recommendations. It is not clear whether he ever will. Some believe the White House Conference has become an orphan, its recommendations rejected or at best ignored by the cost-conscious White House. Others think the President needs more time.

But whatever the President's response, the White House Conference stands as something of a landmark. It brought together 3,000 people of diverse backgrounds — businessmen, educators, poor people, farmers, political activists, nutritionists, researchers, and so forth. That this diverse gathering of people successfully stayed together for three days within the framework of the conference to talk to each other strongly reflects the truly remarkable work done by Dr. Jean Meyer, the organizer of the conference, and by his staff. That this diverse gathering of people reached the consensus reflected in the task force action statement strongly reflects the compelling nature of the facts of hunger and malnutrition due to poverty in this country.

Calcium deficient youngster eats plaster to satisfy craving.

The Format and Dynamics of the Conference

In the several months prior to the convening of the conference, 26 panels had been at work drafting proposals on everything from breast-feeding to guaranteed income. Compiled in early November into a thick book that came to be known fondly as the "Telephone Directory," these recommendations were then reviewed and critiqued by five task forces, representing consumer groups, women's organizations, religious organizations, community organizations, and student and faculty groups. All of this material was then made available to every conferee when he arrived at the conference.

The conference had two plenary sessions, one on December 2 to hear an address by the President, and one on December 5 to hear speeches by Congresswoman May (R.-Wash.) and Senator Mondale (D.-Minn.) and to act on the statement of priority recommendations. In between these two plenaries, the conference broke down into about 20 workshops, each devoted to reviewing and revising the recommendations of a particular panel or group of panels. The day after the conference adjourned, the panels and task forces reconvened to revise their recommendations and critiques in light of the deliberations of the conference. These reports are to be compiled by the conference staff and released as the final report of the White House Conference in late December or early January.

Child suffering from rickets sits listlessly in the sun.

Obviously, with this format for the conference, the danger existed that each panel workshop would operate as a world unto itself, that the conference would have a series of pleasant discussion groups each isolated from all the rest and have no opportunity to reach agreement on a common set of priorities. That this did not happen is due to at least three factors: (1) the efforts of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) to make a guaranteed adequate income of $5,500 the chief topic conclusion of the conference; (2) the high level of awareness of the conferees of the politics of hunger; and (3) the efforts of the task forces to formulate a consensus among themselves that could be offered to the conference as a whole.

Guaranteed Adequate Income

The National Welfare Rights Organization came into the conference with the intention of making a guaranteed adequate income of $5,500 *the* issue. To this end, it held numerous press conferences, confronted several of the panel workshops with the issue and precipitated favorable votes, attempted to get a special conference plenary session devoted exclusively to the issue convened (through tactical errors it ended up sponsoring a well-attended session of its own instead), and tried to make the final conference plenary a hunger sit-in until the President acted. (Due to lack of support, this lasted only about two hours after the conference adjourned).

But the *merits* of the case were what proved most compelling to the conferees. The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor regularly computes what it costs a family of four persons to live in our society. It computes three budgets — a lower, a moderate, and a higher living standard budget. Its lower standard budget, based upon the needs of families of low incomes, says that a family of four needs, on the average, $5,915 a year to live decently in urban areas of the U.S. (figured at spring, 1967 prices). To some this figure seems high, and indeed, it is higher than any public assistance program now in use in the U.S. and a good deal higher than the President's $1,600 income floor proposed in his family assistance plan. But BLS itself says that "the provisions of the lower standard are conservative" (*Monthly Labor Review*, April, 1969). Food costs are based upon USDA's low-cost food plan; shelter is limited to rental housing; transportation is largely public (where public transportation is unavailable the budget assumes a used car with an average age of eight years); clothing costs are limited to replacement of worn-out clothes; and so forth. The budget does provide for some gifts and contributions and for life insurance. But even when these are not included and are subtracted along with taxes and Social Security deductions, the cost is still $4,862.

This is what proved so compelling about NWRO's position: a family of four simply cannot live decently for less in our society. It is a remarkable fact that this society is so wealthy it can even consider the possibility of providing that minimum income for all families. But having that possibility, it is a moral tragedy if we do an exercise in "double-think" and believe that less is enough. In his press conference of December 8, unfortunately, the President (who makes do with an annual salary of $200,000 and an expense account of $50,000) stated that he could not give "sympathetic consideration" to this recommendation.

Task Force Action Statement

I. A National Emergency

There is a hunger and malnutrition emergency in this country today. Therefore the President must immediately declare that a national emergency exists and, under existing authority, must now free funds and implement programs to feed all hungry Americans this winter.

II. Guaranteed Adequate Income

The overriding remedy for hunger and malnutrition is a minimum guaranteed adequate cash income with a floor of $5,500 annually (for a family of four). The Government must also guarantee a meaningful job with a living wage to those who can work, elevation of wages and benefits to those presently underemployed, the "adequate income" to those unable to work or find employment, and maximization of the purchasing power of the food dollar for all.

III. Interim Food Program

As interim measures only, present food programs must be reformed and expanded immediately in order to assure truly adequate benefits and participation by all who need them in all parts of the country.

IV. Universal School Food Programs

A national free lunch and breakfast program must be made immediately available to all children, through secondary school and regardless of income, that will provide at least 2/3 of the minimal requirements of the Recommended Dietary Allowance while respecting cultural food preferences.

V. Running the Programs

All administrative responsibilities for all hunger relief and nutrition programs must be shifted from the U.S. Department of Agriculture to the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, with corresponding shifts in Congressional committee responsibilities. The recipients of these programs must have responsibility for local administration of the programs under standards determined at the Federal level. ■

Politics of Rhetoric and Action

Participants readily observed that this conference was much more political than past White House conferences. In large measure, this was due to the awareness of the conferees about how the issue has developed.

Most conferees came to the conference aware that it has only been due to the impact of the Senate Subcommittee on Poverty's investigations in Mississippi; The Citizen's Board of Inquiry report, *Hunger, U.S.A.;* the Poor People's Campaign; the CBS special "Hunger in America," and, more recently, the hearings and reports of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs that hunger has become a public issue at all. Most came aware that for two years the Johnson Administration refused to respond to the issue, and that the Nixon Administration came out with a program only when Senator McGovern summoned Secretaries Hardin and Finch before his Select Committee to explain why they *didn't* have a program. Most came aware that the House and Senate Agriculture Committees and Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittees are starkly hostile to the food programs over which they have jurisdiction. Most came aware, in short, that hunger is a highly political issue, deeply involved in matters of Congressional prerogatives, bureaucratic inertia and Presidential ambitions.

A Florida mother who doubles as a migrant farmworker prepares skimpy meal for her small children between hours of crop picking. She earns $25 a week and pays $15 for use of trailer.

Some Presidential advisers apparently wanted the conference to be a cheering section for the Administration's proposed welfare and food stamp legislation. But an excellent document put out during the conference by the National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition made clear why this could not happen. The document clearly shows that the Administration's rhetoric (in public, at least) has gone far beyond its actions on the issue of hunger. On May 6, the President said with noble eloquence, "The moment is at hand to put an end to hunger in America itself for all time." But in July, the Administration returned unspent to the treasury $36 million of the fiscal 1969 appropriations for the food stamp program, after informing 150 counties that wanted to start the program that no money was available.

In August, the President announced his decision to eliminate the food stamp program as part of his welfare reform, even though the $1,600 floor proposed in that plan is little more than the amount necessary for a family of four to purchase an adequate diet, let alone other necessities. In September, the Administration lobbied (unsuccessfully) in the Senate against the McGovern-Javits substitute food stamp bill in favor of its own more restricted measure. In October, the Administration refused to support a Senate-passed $750 million authorization and appropriation for fiscal 1970 for the food stamp program and instead said it wanted no more than $610 million. In December, the President failed to provide support for the Office of Economic Opportunity authorization bill in the House, despite the fact that the bill contained a $92 million authorization for emergency action against hunger.

The record is not entirely negative. The President has, unlike his predecessor, committed his Administration to end hunger. He has announced plans to have a food program in every county in the U.S. by the end of this fiscal year. He has improved the cost-benefit ratio of food stamps. He has held a White House Conference to make recommendations on the issue. But, on the whole, the Administration's record reflects the cost-conscious cynicism voiced by the President when he told Secretary Hardin last March what he could do about hunger: "Use all the rhetoric, so long as it doesn't cost any money," (quoted by Nick Kotz in his remarkable new book, *Let Them Eat Promises: The Politics of Hunger in America*, p. 210).

In short, the political sophistication of the conference inevitably led it to adopt a stance based upon the needs of the hungry and not upon the needs of any particular politician or Administration, and to move toward a consensus.

This emerging consensus was given concrete form through the efforts of the five task forces organized before the conference, representing consumers, women, community groups, religious organizations, and students and faculty, plus two new task forces representing health groups and Labor. Meeting separately the day before the conference opened, these task forces readily saw that they, and they alone, had had the opportunity to gain an overview of the conference, and that the conference could easily be fragmented unless they worked to give it unity.

Consequently, representatives of these task forces met several times during the course of the conference to hammer out a statement of priorities that could be presented to the whole conference. The statement they finally agreed upon is strong, and well reflects the sense of urgency that permeated the conference (*see box*). It was overwhelmingly ratified in the final plenary.

Conclusion

The White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health is now over. The problems it discussed persist. Between 15 to 25 million persons are estimated to be hungry or malnourished due to poverty in this country. To provide purchasing power adequate for a nourishing diet would cost between three and five billion dollars. Currently this Government spends less than $1.5 billion on its food programs. It is clear this nation has the resources. It must find the will. The conference has made its recommendations. The actions of the President and the Congress in the next month will tell whether it helped find the will as well.

it says here . . .

SOUTH AFRICA CANCELS U.S. BANK CREDITS

NEW YORK, N.Y. — South Africa's Consulate here has announced that the 20-year-old credit arrangement between it and a consortium of U.S. banks has been cancelled by the Vorster Government.

The credits have been a key target of American church and civil rights groups who oppose the **apartheid** policies of South Africa. The current agreement, which expires this month, is for $40 million.

* * * * *

CATHOLIC BISHOPS CALL FOR END OF NIGERIA-BIAFRA WAR

LAGOS, NIGERIA—The war-created famine in Biafra, was called "a disgrace for Africa and a most shameful crime on the part of those responsible" in a document issued during Christmas week by the Roman Catholic bishops of Nigeria.

The statement, released by Archbishop Francis Arinze, expressed the bishops' distress over "this tragic war," and noted that more than two million people have died from hunger or enemy action in Biafra while, on the Nigerian side, casualties number in the hundreds of thousands.

The message included a plea to all nations involved in the conflict to "strive for peace based on justice and respect for man's fundamental rights."

Simultaneously, the Catholic bishops of Biafra appealed to President Nixon and British Prime Minister Harold Wilson to use their influence to end the conflict. They claimed that after 31 months of blockade, mass starvation threatened the Biafran people.

* * * * *

NCC AND JAPAN COUNCIL HOLD TALKS ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS

TOZANSO, Japan — A Consultation sponsored here by a unit of the National Council of Churches and the National Christian Council of Japan to discuss U.S.-Japanese relations "in 1970 and beyond," developed into a broad discussion of all of Northeast Asia including China and Okinawa.

The second such meeting of U.S. and Japanese church leaders, the Consultation was chaired by the Rev. Dr. Robert S. Bilheimer, executive director of the NCC Department of International Affairs, and Yoshiaki Iisaka of Gakushuin University who is chairman of the international affairs committee of the NCC of Japan. Delegates of the Japan Catholic Council also took part in the discussions.

A major emphasis was put on avoiding military treaties as guarantees to peace and security in the Far East and in concentrating instead on greater contributions by both the U.S. and Japan toward the development of the Asian nations.

There was also a strong consensus that the problem of co-existence with Red China is crucial to the long-term security of both Japan and the U.S., and the Consultation called for the recogniton of mainland China by the United Nations, stating: "It is time for us and our governments to accept the fact of the Chinese revolution."

As to Okinawa, the delegates called for the removal of all "offensive weapons"—nuclear, biological, chemical and B-52 planes from the island.

* * * * *

NIGERIANS BOMB BIAFRA AIR STRIP KILLING FIVE

SAO TOME — A Joint Church Aid plane was destroyed and five Biafran relief workers killed in a bombing raid by Nigerian planes on the Uli air strip in Biafra on Dec. 17. The JCA Lockheed Superconstellation, owned by the Canadian Canairelief, carried food and medicines on its flight from here. The four-man crew, all Canadians, escaped unhurt but two Caritas relief trucks were also destroyed and a Boeing C97 Stratofriegher was slightly damaged.

Despite the attack, JCA reported, nine planes landed with 110 tons of relief supplies. Eight others were forced to return here without landing.

The Joint Church Aid relief flights are supported by Church World Service, and Catholic and Jewish agencies in the U.S.

* * * * *

AFSC CAUTIONS ON OPTIMISM OVER CBW DISARMAMENT

PHILADELPHIA, PA. — Stating that President Nixon's statement banning chemical and biological warfare "served more to disarm his critics than to disarm the United States CBW capacity," the American Friends Service Committee has issued a report on what was banned and what was not.

It points out that biological weapons constitute less than 10 percent of the U.S. arsenal of CBW agents, the rest being chemical. Also it charges that the U.S. does not consider ratification of the Geneva Protocol as imposing any strictures on the use of tear gas and defoliants. Both are used in Vietnam. The report adds that two-thirds of the signatories of the protocol, including France, Great Britain and the USSR, consider such agents to be prohibited under the pact. The AFCS report states that the Senate has not ratified the General Protocol "largely due to pressure from the chemical industry, the American Legion and the Army Chemical Corps."

In a report on the subject in the New York **Times**, Robert M. Smith wrote that "the forsworn weapons are probably unusable."

"Both the incapacitating agent BZ and the arsenal of germs have very dubious strategic value," he wrote, "and it is only these weapons the President forswore the use of."

THE CUBAN LESSON

(Continued from page 11)

and its road of love and service in the midst of a changing society. It can now be understood why the highest number of exiles corresponds to Christian believers, both Catholic and Protestant. They came to identify the Church as the sanctuary of an easy and comfortable life, a place of refuge. In addition, the Cuban church administratively was a carbon copy of the Mother Church in the United States. For some, faithfulness to Jesus Christ and to his church came to be identified with a fidelity to the policy followed by the United States Government in regard to Cuba.

While Christians were singing hymns and praying long prayers, the revolutionaries were studying and fighting. (In the interest of fairness, there are innumerable examples of Christians who manifested a correct attitude of social concern and revolutionary action.) During the years of rebellion, the revolutionaries were aware that one day they would obtain power, but the Church continued its life and its customs as if the status quo were unchangeable. This is one lesson that the Latin American churches should learn from the Cuban Church: the Church should desire change, support the uprooting of the established situation, cooperate with the establishment of justice and visualize here and now its mission in a transformed society. If the new society is of Marxist orientation, as in Cuba, it is most probable that the Church will have to go through a long period of misunderstanding and hostility. Only the Church itself can change this perspective. In a genuine revolution, the future of the Church depends on a wise and responsible attitude on the part of the believers—not necessarily a tacit acceptance of all the revolution says and does, but an honest mental openness, a desire to understand, a serious interest in the whole man of our times, a resolution to serve without proselytizing, and an unsanctimonious solidarity with all people who undertake the task of becoming a nation.

What has not been learned in Cuba is that the mission of the Church is also indissolubly a part of history, just as the mission of Jesus Christ is destined to the service of man and his circumstances and surroundings. It is impossible for the Church to carry out its mission in the name of Jesus Christ unless it recognizes the historical fact of this time and the man of this epoch. The historical fact in Cuba is revolution. It is not possible for anyone to carry out any task in Cuba today with his back

(Continued on page 16)

THE CASE FOR DRAFT-AGE REFUGEES

(Continued from page 3)

at a gathering of churches in Washington, D.C.," said President Robert Moss, Jr., of the United Church of Christ. "With many high-ranking military officers present, very few were upset when I explained what it really meant." Episcopal Bishop Ned Cole of Syracuse made his own inspection tour of American expatriates in Canada's capital city at the behest of diocesan youth. "In Ottawa," Bishop Cole observed on his return, "I was reminded that Canada and much of the U.S. had been settled by persons who fled their home country because of political or military reasons."

To churchmen upset over the proposed ministry to refugees and their families, Everett J. Jessen, general secretary of the Washington State Council of Churches, explained: "The Church traditionally has stood with the lonely, the condemned and the alienated. . . . Condemned murderers and convicted felons are granted the ministry of the Church. Is it impossible for us to share concern for 60,000 young Americans with whom we may completely disagree, but who are still human beings and still sons of Americans?"

Meanwhile, in a collateral effort by Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam, over $5,000 was raised in ten days for humanitarian aid to destitute American refugees. On December 18th, as the fund was presented on the Canadian side of the Peace Bridge at Buffalo, a father and his son, an Army deserter, were reunited for the first time in three years. Pastors and area social action chairmen like the Reverend Graham Hodges of Watertown, N.Y., broadcast appeals for Christmas gifts to U.S. youth across the border.

It is natural that churchmen may question some aspects of a program that, international as it is, would encourage aid to deserters and draft evaders. Such questions deserve serious answers. Here are three.

Are those who flee the U.S. really acting out of conscience?

Without doubt some are and some aren't. Some would articulate their convictions in religious terms, some merely political. Some can't abide conscription; none of them can stomach the Vietnam war. Bill Kasner, a deserter and copywriter now repatriated in Toronto, asked the writer, "Whenever a man follows his conscience, it's not such a bad thing, is it? That's what the church once taught us. Why is it silent now?" One deserter in Sweden put his case to Lutheran pastor Richard John Newhaus of Brooklyn: "It was only

(Continued on page 16)

HOW TO CAUSE A REVOLUTION

(Continued from page 6)

subversive movement is not the more responsible act.

As time goes on, the economic and political situation becomes more desperate, and an increasing number of people of different social classes become aware of the impossibility of moving ahead within the present structures. At the same time, the most capable and concerned of the younger generation, who could be using their time and energies creating new structures for economic development and for political order, have no choice but to concentrate on the immediate task of survival as they lay the basis for a long-term revolutionary struggle.

The situation is so serious that some of the military leaders find that they can no longer ignore it. In Peru, for example, they have worked out and proclaimed a vast program of structural changes. But they have already discovered that there is no easy middle road to the future. Either they must back down on the major reforms proposed or else they will have to carry them through against the bitter opposition of the traditional social and economic ruling groups — and the USA.

But by and large, the tired old men now in power try to keep the old order going as they limp from one crisis to another. To do this, they must become increasingly dependent economically on the United States at the same time that they resort to more repressive measures against all political opposition at home.

At the moment, Brazil provides the best example of how far they are willing to go along this road. A recent report in the New York Times mentioned that 1,500 people were arrested in Rio de Janeiro alone over one weekend. Reports abound from across the country of extreme tortures, including the raping of young women, castration of men, and beatings that, in a number of cases, have resulted in death. In fact, those arrested are so terrified by the prospects of torture that several have committed suicide rather than face it.

Now that organized political opposition has been brought under control and the student movements have been decimated, repression focuses on the church, the one potential institutional base for opposition that is still intact. For their part in planning a demonstration to be held at the University in Medellin, Colombia, four priests were arrested, tortured and sentenced to 30 days in jail. Even one of the lawyers who tried to defend them was jailed for a 48-hour period. In Brazil, such arrests have been much more widespread. The Dominican Order has become a special object of such harassment, and many fear that the life of Dom Helder Camara, the distinguished Bishop of Recife, may be in danger.

Those of us in the United States who are concerned about these developments can do very little directly to change the situation in Latin America. At the same time, we need to realize that the economic, political and military power of the United States is one of the major factors maintaining the status quo. And there will be little possibility of change until our policy is changed. This means, first of all, that we decide not to use our power to preserve the old order. Sooner or later, Latin Americans are going to have to develop those economic, social and political structures adequate for the development of their countries at this stage of history and, to the extent that we block them, we will make the task more difficult and be hated for it.

But beyond this, we have no choice but to discover new types of economic relationships which break with the old patterns of colonial exploitation of poor countries for our benefit, and thus open the way for contributing eventually to autonomous and rapid economic growth. Given the power of our economy today, this is a price we can pay. It is, in fact, a very small price to pay for the privilege of living in peace in a world where the scourge of hunger and underdevelopment can and must be overcome. ■

Dr. Shaull is a widely recognized authority on Latin America where (chiefly Brazil) he spent a number of years as a United Presbyterian missionary. Currently Professor of Economics at Princeton Theological Seminary, he was elected Chairman of the World Student Christian Federation two years ago. His article is an update on a similar piece which appeared in "Christianity and Crisis," Nov. 15, 1967.

The Rockefeller Report: Excerpts

by Elsa Kruuse

"THE problems that developed during the course of the trip are clear evidence that all is not well and that there is urgent need for changes in our policies."

This was the opinion of New York's Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller on arriving at Kennedy Airport at the conclusion of his fourth and final trip to 20 Latin American countries, which began last May 11 at the request of President Nixon.

Protests and violence met the Governor and his party of 25 advisors wherever they set foot. Threats of violence cancelled his trips to Chile, Venezuela and Peru, while his stay in Bolivia lasted a bare three hours.

The official report of this special mission is now in the bookstores, despite some Administration reluctance to publicize it. What changes in U.S. policy for Latin America now lie on the President's desk?

Under the heading, "The Existing Situation," the report confirms that all nations of the hemisphere share rising expectations, and "fertile soil" is seen for the "ever-present disruptive forces ready to stir up those who are restless." As a result, says the Report, "the legitimacy of the democratic political system is under challenge."

To face this situation, the Report sees the need for the United States to undertake a major program of rehabilitation in its *own* cities. "This will meet the essential needs of our own people (and) will demonstrate to other American republics that this job can be done."

In several other cases, an effort is made to get away from the "we" and "they" approach, and an attempt made to see hemispheric problems as a whole, inter-related and interdependent.

Acknowledgement of many of the reasons for growing anti-American feeling in the Latin American countries is another break in the usual tenor of official reports to the Administration. These, says the Rockefeller Report, arise from loan restrictions, the encumbrances on U.S. assistance programs, tariff restrictions, and the provision that half the goods financed by the U.S. must go in U.S. freighters.

"It has been estimated that this (last) provisio reduces the effectiveness of each $1.00 of U.S. assistance by as much as 20c. It is one of the major irritants felt in developing countries. This is a disguised subsidy to United States shipping companies. Any necessary subsidy should be given openly and directly by Congressional appropriation," the Report says, adding that this provision should be repealed.

Also evident in the findings is an emphasis on multilateral rather than unilateral programs, using and augmenting the various United Nations and other existing agencies, and setting up new ones.

To start with, Gov. Rockefeller calls for "a major reorganization of the United States Government structure with clear lines of responsibility and authority to make policy and direct operations in the Western hemisphere." Unless this is done, he says, the effect of other recommendations would be "marginal."

Next would come the appointment of a Secretary for Western Hemisphere Affairs; a new Economic and Social Development agency in the Administration; an Institute of Western Hemisphere Affairs; and a Joint Congressional Committee to handle these affairs. The Report also recommends more regional organizations, and more inter-American and expanded international programs, while supporting the Organization of American States and most other organizations already at work.

"With the present U.S. structure, Western Hemisphere policy can neither be soundly formulated nor effectively carried out," the Report states boldly. "Delays in Washington of months and even years on decisions of major importance to their countries were reported to the mission in almost every nation we visited."

A new Western Hemisphere Development Committee within the OAS is strongly recommended to replace the present Inter-American Economic and Social Council, which would encourage cooperation in drawing up development programs in housing, education, urban and rural slums, and similar fields.

In another recommendation, the Report states: "The United States should press for the maximum feasible development of mutually beneficial trade with nations of the hemisphere. A doubling of such trade by 1976 is a realistic goal."

Tariff preferences, it says, should be phased out and, in return, the developing nations should agree to a gradual reduction in their barriers to imports from the industrial nations. Also called for are revisions in import-export restrictions by both the U.S. and the Latin countries.

The U.S. assistance program is given a rough time. It has become "increasingly encumbered with conditions and restrictions which seriously reduce its effectiveness." In addition to the complaint about shipping restrictions on goods purchased with assistance loans, the "provision that all such imports must be purchased in the United States, no matter how much more expensive; the earmarking of funds contrary to the needs of a country; and threats to withhold aid if U.S. investments are expropriated without appropriate payment" are seen as "seriously weakening our efforts to assist developing countries (while) some of them appear to violate the sovereignty of other nations."

They also increase costs, the Report warns, "by requiring for example, that imports for a construction project come from the United States and that U.S. engineering firms be employed regardless of cost."

In the area of security, the Report calls for a new civilian-directed Western Hemisphere Security Council "to cope with the forces of subversion." The U.S., it says, should step up its Training Assistance program for the security forces of the Latin nations; should drop the name "military Assistance Program"; should respond to "reasonable requests" for assistance by providing trucks, jeeps, helicopters, etc., but "should no longer maintain the permanent military missions in residence in other nations which too often have constituted too large and too visible a United States presence."

On the other hand, the Report says that the Executive Branch should seek modification of certain amendments in order to allow the U.S. to sell aircraft, ships and other major military equipment, "without aid-cut penalties," to the more developed nations in the hemisphere when they feel threatened. ■

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

"*BOB and Carol and Ted and Alice.*" Producer: Larry Tucker; Director: Paul Mazursky; With: Natalie Wood, Robert Culp, Elliott Gould and Diane Cannon.

I liked this movie when I first saw it but next morning something seemed sour; so I waited four weeks before writing a review. Now I don't like it so much. Here is Hollywood's first lunge at a target that has been fairly begging for a chic parody—the current national enthusiasm for T Groups, sensitivity training, encounter sessions, etc. B & C and T & A makes the effort and, for good measure, throws in a whimsical dig at group marriages, wife-swapping or whatever escutcheon is now wears.

It is HOLLYWOOD production. The costumes dazzle the eye. They are just ever so modern. ("It will raise a lot of eyebrows," says one handout ad, in part because of "Hollywood designer Moss Mabry' see-through blouses and plunging necklines.") It is as slick as a Tareyton commercial and as colorful as a Disneyland village. No hand camera stuff here. No intentional graininess. No flashbacks or flash-aheads. Either the director, Paul Mazursky, didn't know about such things or, more likely, he wanted this picture to make it in the big glossy downtown cinema palaces.

So Bob, Carol, Ted, Alice and you and I have all this stuff going against us in the first place in this movie. But somehow that isn't really what ruins it. I think I now know what does, but first let me reel off the story:

Bob and Carol, an affluent Southern California couple with a beauteous home and a beauteous child—he seems to be one of those stockbroker-film makers you meet nowadays—go to a sensitivity training center. It is modeled, I suppose on something like the Esalen Institute at Big Sur. At these 20th-century successors to Saratoga Springs and Chatauqua, well-off people bathe in mineral water, yell at the top of

Harvey Cox

their lungs, discover again their lost senses of touch and smell, and *encounter* other people. Sometimes they do the encountering in marathon sessions that run 24 straight hours without a break. This is what Bob and Carol do. Incidentally, the depiction of the sensitivity marathon is vivid, sweaty and tearful, showing how people really do often get swept into new and powerful modes of communicating with each other.

Well, Bob and Carol come home. But they decide that from henceforth *all* their relationships must and will partake of the candor, directness and concern of the marathon. A dubious resolution. They treat their friends Ted and Alice to dinner and over martinis and medium rares try desperately to tell them how their lives have been changed. Carol even attempts to be sensitive to the waiter, who suspects she is telling him there is something wrong with the soup. The scene reminds me of a remark by one visitor to a growth-and-sensitivity center who said he left it longing for the superficial chatter of a dissembling Manhattan cocktail party.

Now Bob steps out and has a weekend affair with a chick up in San Francisco. Converted to candor, he tells Carol. Carol converted to sensitivity, thanks him for sharing with her and tells Ted and Alice, who, turned on to neither candor nor sensitivity, have a fight about whether it was wrong for Bob a) to do it or, b) to tell Carol. Finally, however, Ted and Alice do catch on. The film ends with all four sharing a hotel suite in Las Vegas and deciding to climb into the same bed. They do. It is a bi-i-i-i-i-g bed. To tell what happens would spoil the suspense for anyone who, after my critical assassination-by-adjective, still feels he wants to see it.

What soured me on a film that, admittedly, has it hilarious moments, is that I felt some of the same anxiety everyone else in the audience was feeling. The laughter was often not Ha Ha boisterous but Tee Hee nervous. Who among us has not at some time cast a wistful glance at his neighbor's spouse? Are we not at once intrigued and threatened by the emergence of communal marriages? And, try as we will to put down sensitivity training, don't we all thirst for a little more intimacy, a little less phoniness in our human relationships? Outside of a couple of episodes that are jewels (like the awkward tete-a-tete between Bob and the tennis pro he finds in his bedroom when he pops home early one weekend), the film is disjointed and cautious. It strings together a series of funny skits, some of them dragged out way too long, allows us to pussy-foot along the edge of the serious issues but never really takes the plunge. To use the favorite word Bob and Carol bring back from their Found Weekend, "a cop-out."

We need a movie that has *chutzpah* enough to explore the real issues thrown to us by sensitivity centers. I've been to Esalen three times now, and I think they've got something. Admittedly the rhetoric can sometimes infuriate you, and the permanent gaggle of growth center disciples that troops from one encounter weekend to another is pathetic. But all serious and important movements are prone to abuse and overstatement — that's one of the things that makes them serious and important.

Also, the fact is, as Langdon Gilkey has just argued in his original new theological book, *Naming the Whirlwind* (Bobbs-Merrill 1969), there is a close relationship today between our loss of the capacity for intense feeling and the isolation of traditional religious symbols from the surging currents of life. Meaning, Gilkey insists, depends on a vital link between a felt experience and a shared symbol. Otherwise feelings lie mute and symbols remain empty. This means theologians, whose task it is to relate the archetypal symbols of faith to the experiences people are really having, should be especially concerned with what is happening at growth centers. They have great possibilities, but only if they are liberated from their effete privatism, get tuned into the political dimension of our alienation and link up eventually with the culture's religious symbols. Was director Mazursky trying to tell us something like that when he plays Handel's Hallelujah Chorus quadruple fortissimo while the couple is arriving at the center at the beginning, but settles for "What the World Needs Now is Love, Sweet Love" at the end?

What's going to happen to Bob and Carol and Ted and Alice? And to their children and ours? Margaret Mead tells us that the present tiny nuclear family is the "worst form ever invented" for family life and child-rearing. Something new is coming, and if Hollywood were interested in something more than see-through plots and plunging storylines, it might help us explore the possibilities. Instead it leads us into a daiquari-drenched double-dare-you in a plush Las Vegas hotel room . . . and then backs out on its own dare. ■

THE CUBAN LESSON

(Continued from page 14)

turned on the revolution, but there are Christians who want to live as if nothing had happened because the revolution confronts them and makes them uncomfortable. The elementary thing is to recognize the revolution as a historical fact, accomplished and irreversible. Revolutionary fact is a judgment of God on the past, and at the same time, a new opportunity that God gives to love and serve as Jesus Christ did. Only in this way is it possible to speak of a "mission of the church of Jesus Christ in Cuba." There are those who speak of the mission of the church as something that occurred exclusively during the period of the North American missionaries, but God continues to send his church in mission: not to the world of personal choosing but to that world where God has placed each individual at a particular place at a particular time. The process of Christian mission never stops, not even in the face of a Socialist revolution. Some find their mission in an accumulative, static, comfortable world. Others serve in the fragmented, unleashed, convulsive, revolutionary world. That is the only difference.

Dr. Cepeda, internationally known ecumenical leader of Cuba, noted author and theologian, now serves as President of the Council of Churches of Cuba.

THE CASE FOR DRAFT-AGE REFUGEES

(Continued from page 14)

when I was forced up against the wall and told I have to kill people I've never seen for a cause I don't believe in that I knew I had to split." "Why should I go back to the States," Tom Natum asked TRENDS editor Dennis Shoemaker, "and become vulnerable to the system that has broken faith with the blacks, the poor, and the people of our cities? I don't want to live in a country that tries to run the world and can't manage its own affairs. Besides, we've got real work to do here."

Is it right for churchmen to aid deserters and draft evaders?

For centuries the Church has rendered pastoral service to the needy regardless of circumstance, whether that need be for counsel or clothing, salvation or sanctuary. ("If his son ask for bread, will he give him a stone instead?") Summoned to be a supra-national society, that church is in mortal peril which can give succor only to dutiful loyalists of a political regime but not to the dissenters in its "loyal opposition." ("If you love only those who love you, what more are you than others?") In this case the summons would seem even more importunate. Having raised up so many of these young men of conscience to say Yes and No according to a Christian sense of right and wrong, many churchmen feel they simply cannot abandon them now.

Isn't it illegal to help those escaping military service or conscription?

Neither U.S. laws nor the probable limits of their enforcement are clear yet. In general, selective service and military regulations, together with the U.S. Criminal Code (Title 18, related to armed forces in wartime) make it an offense to encourage intentionally acts of desertion or insubordination. In past enforcement, this has not usually been applied to purely humanitarian aid. Should it ever be enforced upon those providing food for the hungry, clothing for the naked, or shelter for the homeless, Christians may have to choose between the Ultimate Judgment (Matthew 25) and civil obedience.

Like the late French writer, Albert Camus, Christians say, "I should like to be able to love my country and still love justice." If the options are finally forced, the Christian knows which he must choose. And those who choose justice, the law to the contrary notwithstanding, may yet save the honor of their nation as well.

Contributions earmarked for aid to "American draft-age emigrants" may be sent directly to: The Canadian Council of Churches, 40 St. Clair Ave. E., Toronto 7, Ontario, Canda.

The Rev. L. Alexander Harper is Director for Education Justice, Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ.

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Loyalty, Trust And Faith Today

by Hubert C. Noble

H. RICHARD Niebuhr defined the essence of Christian faith as loyalty to and trust in a good God who is trustworthy and loyal. This came to mind recently during a visit to a university where the ecumenical campus ministry seemed particularly vital and effective. The relationship of the campus ministers to each other and to students and faculty was marked by a high degree of trust and understanding. Integrity and honesty with each other seemed to be a basic assumption.

One wonders whether this is the fundamental level at which we must start if we are to restore communication and relations between the generations, the races, classes, poor and comfortable, in our fractured society. For too long, trust between persons has been eroded by prior loyalties to institutions, structures, denominations, ideologies, theologies, philosophies, stereotypes and prejudices. Whom can you trust to have a decent regard for your interests and needs and not exploit them for his own self-interest or sacrifice them to his prior loyalties to institutions or ideologies?

Students have come to distrust reason because they cannot trust those who claim to live by reason. (A fact that too many faculty cannot or will not recognize. They cannot see that, for most of us, reason modifies our loyalties only in certain limited areas.) Not that those committed to knowledge and reason are more untrustworthy than others, they just seem that way. Their superior resources of knowledge enable them to be more devious in rationalizing or concealing their prejudices. Whom can you trust to "come clean" in basic honesty and acknowledge his prior loyalties? For trust doesn't necessarily require that another put my interests first, but that he acknowledge my reality and value as a person, respects my autonomy and refuses to use me as an object. Integrity here means that when he must seem to oppose my interests, he will share his reason and admit his motivations. With such mutual respect there can be established basic ground rules of understanding and relation upon which may be developed justice, love, friendship, impersonal relations and civilized conflict.

SUCH mutual human respect is, of course, one of the fruits of a genuine monotheistic faith where God is recognized as the father of all men and mankind seen as a family. No man is denied his humanity and personhood. This faith has always had to struggle against the idolatries of institutions, ideologies, principalities and powers. Today it has been almost destroyed by ideologies that demand prior loyalty to state, movement or institution and a false individualism that encourages a contempt for persons as objects of advertising and economic exploitation or even of religious imperialism.

It is interesting to note how terminology reveals this dehumanization. Individuals are not persons, they are "a market," "souls to be won," "votes to be counted," "imperialists," "fascists," "pigs," "Methodists," "blacks," "the poor," "students." Such terms reveal our prior loyalties to institutions, dogmas or images that must be served, idols before which individuals must be sacrificed. No wonder Paul Goodman and others speak of the need of religious concepts to provide a frame of reference in which trust and human relations may be restored. A radical monotheism such as Niebuhr posited may help us recognize that these prior loyalties are our real gods and that we can be reconciled to one another only as we repudiate them and give our loyalty and trust to the God and Father of us all who calls us to trust and be trustworthy to one another. ■

Dr. Noble is Executive Director, Department of Higher Education, National Council of Churches.

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When we recently stated the bald truth that TEMPO could live only if its readers sent in paid subscriptions, a heartening several thousand responded with the modest $3.50 it takes to keep TEMPO coming their way twice a month for one year. (Nearly one thousand sent in $6.00 for two years.)

We thank you all, most sincerely. Your interest and support have made a tremendous difference.

Meanwhile, we face the cruel necessity of having to prune our lists and eliminating the names of other thousands who failed to respond with that modest check. Before the pruning process begins—and it must be very soon because we cannot finish 1970 in the red—we urge all who value TEMPO, but have yet to pay for it, to clip out the coupon on page 11 and send it in with an enclosed remittance. Please act promptly, before it is too late.

—The Editors

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CREDITS: Cover: "Epiphany". Sculpture by Frederick Shrady. Photos: Page 3, Ralph Heller and Bob Boyd; Page 5, photo of Peter Berger by Religious News Service; Page 7, RNS; Page 9, Church World Service (Derrick Garnier); Page 10, RNS.

Breaking Down The Wall Of Fear

Report on a Visit to The Delta

by Bob Boyd

THEY came and saw. For a fleeting instant they also conquered, in themselves and their hosts, that wall of fear and distrust which seem to bear so heavily on the human mind as to permit men to preside over the meaningless destruction of other men.

Whatever its effect, a two-day visit to the Delta early in the last week of December by 29 young Lutheran activists from Chicago and other points in the urban North was, in at least one way, unique.

It was the vehicle for what appeared to be the most meaningful and open embrace the National Council of Churches' Delta Ministry has received from a local white religious group in the six years Delta Ministry, which is headquartered in Greenville, has sought to soothe the plight of the poorest and most oppressed of the Delta's Negroes.

The visit of the young people—members of the Walther League, a youth organization of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, and Black Youth Unlimited, an organization within the League—was sponsored jointly by Delta Ministry and Greenville's Faith Lutheran Church.

Faith Lutheran became the focal point of the young peoples' two days of sight-seeing outings and meetings with a broad spectrum of Deltans. They assembled there to ponder what they had seen and heard, and for worship services led by the church's pastor, the Rev. Ralph Heller; the Delta's only other Lutheran clergyman, the Rev. David Mahn of Greenwood; and the Rev. Henry Parker, Delta Ministry's Director of Interpretation.

Some members of Faith Lutheran were among local people who housed and fed the young visitors, nearly half of whom were black.

Too, the trip offered the young people exposure to a wide spectrum of people. They trudged through the cold rain Monday and Tuesday to visit such black leaders as NAACP president Aaron Henry of Clarksdale and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville, who in the early sixties traded her simple job as a plantation hand for a temporary role of national prominence as a social and political revolutionary.

They spent part of a day in the small, black town of Mound Bayou in Bolivar County and viewed efforts there to alleviate health and malnutrition problems among the poor, and to change as well the economic structure which allows such conditions.

Then they heard Greenville Mayor Pat Dunne and Police Chief W. C. Burnley, Jr. articulate the suspicions shared by many local whites for Delta Ministry and its followers.

The tour, which included a talk session at the *Delta Democrat-Times,* was interspersed with visits to Delta Ministry-supported endeavors and discussion by the organization's personnel of Delta Ministry's concern in such fields of human development as health, housing, employment and education.

Hikes for the Hungry

The interest of the young people in what happens in rural Mississippi had its roots in reactivation of the Walther League recently along "student-oriented and student-led" lines, according to Mrs. Pat Krause, a staff member in the League's Chicago office who was instrumental in organizing the Mississippi trip.

In recent years, she said, the League had undertaken semi-annual "hikes for the hungry" in cities where the League is active. Funds raised in the 1969 hikes had been earmarked for six priorities, including Delta Ministry, which received $60,000 in League funds.

The hike leaders wanted to visit Mississippi and learn about Delta Ministry.

A MINI-CRISIS developed among young Lutherans during two-day visit to the Delta when they participated in a local television interview. (See text.)

Delta Ministry "did its best, and continues to do so, to polarize the races in Greenville," Mayor Pat Dunne told the young people, hardly changing the tone of voice in which he had just welcomed the Walther Leaguers to Greenville and a Tuesday morning meeting at City Hall. "I think they have probably done the blacks the greatest disservice ever," he added.

Chief Burnley said that, despite his police department's efforts to provide protection for Delta Ministry personnel since the early days of their unpopularity in Greenville, he felt Delta Ministry had selected the police as a target around which to organize black dissension.

They heard other descriptions of Delta Ministry's work from other sources, including Delta Ministry personnel, and saw firsthand efforts at improving the quality of life for the poor in which Delta Ministry had been involved.

MRS. PAT KRAUSE of the Young Walther League staff.

They sloshed through ankle-deep mud at such places as "Freedom Village," 12 miles southeast of Greenville, where they viewed an adult education class in progress and saw new clean housing built for and by displaced farm labor. They were also told that the gravel on the short road into "Freedom Village" had been purchased with the Walther League's first contribution.

But there was more to their trip than an ideological struggle between Delta Ministry and its adversaries for the young peoples' opinions about the methods and fruits of Delta Ministry's labor.

"We want to broaden our own minds," one Walther Leaguer said. "We want to see life first hand here, and decide for ourselves what we have in common with people here."

Intolerable Conditions

Their chance for broadening their own minds came during the closing hours of the trip. During an afternoon taping of a television interview, one of five Walther Leaguers appearing in the interview, Oliver Brewster of Southside Chicago, said he observed intolerable conditions of poverty and misery in Mississippi and saw no concern for alleviating them.

"I feel there is nothing (being done) other than Delta Ministry," he said, adding that "their hands are almost completely tied."

Mr. Heller and Mr. Mahn, shaken by the comment, later asked the group for permission to have the interview killed. They would be identified in the public's mind with Brewster's words, they argued, and the identification would make their work among local whites — who make up their congregations — impossible.

Brewster, 33, leader of Black Youth Unlimited, would not acquiesce. He had not asked for the television forum, Brewster said, but once offered it he would not be told what to say.

A tearful shouting match ensued among Walther Leaguers, the two Lutheran clergymen, and Faith Lutheran parishioners. It ended when Mr. Parker, armed with a small paperback titled "The Cottonpatch Version of Paul's Epistles," offered a plea for understanding.

"Those of you who are black have absolutely nothing to do with your blackness," he said. "And those of you who are white have nothing to do with your whiteness."

A third group at the church, he said, were those bound by a "commitment to each other." That group, "and I hope it includes everyone in this room," must be guided by love and tolerance above personal interest, he said.

The television tape had lost its importance as the evening wore on and found the Walther Leaguers, clergymen and local church members taking communion together.

The visitors began their drive back to Chicago Tuesday night. Had they been around the next day when the television interview was broadcast on a local news program, they probably would have found its contents—including the statement of Brewster who privately confided he would have welcomed a chance to "use a better choice of words" — bland and apart from the real significance of their visit. ■

From the Greenville, Miss. Delta Democrat-Times for which Mr. Boyd is a staff writer. Reprinted by permission.

Take up your cross—and relax

The State of U.S. Church, as Viewed by An English Observer

by Mark Gibbs

ANY visitor to the United States these days learns a great deal about the deep difficulties of the churches. This last year I have found much despondency, and indeed an almost masochistic wallowing in gloom. Some church leaders seem indeed determined to point out the worst points in the contemporary scene — perhaps in order to atone somehow for previous neglect of time.

> "Clergy and laity must learn together their mission for the days ahead."

Of course, there are many American congregations, and many church institutions, in serious trouble. Certainly there is division and dismay among both clergy and laity. Yet a visitor from abroad can also find many signs of hope and of growth, both in parish life and in experimental ministries; and I do not think it is accurate or fair to give too dark and depressing a picture.

In the first place, the bitter concerns and arguments now to be found in church after church are in themselves a sign of life, not of death. I must frankly admit that when I first made some academic study of American churches, in the 1940's, then I was disturbed and despondent about their attitude to racism, and to the deep poverty so evident both in the inner city and in many rural areas. They were not then alive with controversy on these issues; far too often they were apparently apathetic and callous. It is rather like the past history of slavery and the slave trade. When these beastly horrors were first publicized — and many Englishmen as well as Americans were profiting from the slave trade — then the nation and the churches seemed more divided and disturbed than in the "peaceful" days when slavery was taken for granted. But the disturbance was the beginning of the change. The American churches are perplexed by many controversies at this time, but they are in a much more healthy state than when they mainly bothered about the size of their rival sanctuaries. Spiritually, they are in much better shape than many quiet, dull and empty churches in Britain and Europe.

What is more, any balanced survey of the American churches today will, I believe, show some most encouraging signs of renewal, and some very promising models of church life for the future. This is true both of many parishes and of other kinds of church ministries. For instance, many Roman Catholics are sadly discouraged about the progress in updating their giant and sometimes unwieldy institutions. Yet the style of many Sunday masses is now wonderfully different from the formal Latin drone of only a few years ago—with the laity half asleep or slipping out the door as soon as it was legally permissible. Again, it is simply not true to say that almost all suburban Protestant churches are hopelessly racist or pietist. Their congregations are mixed in their attitudes and often caught in historical and social prejudices; but very many of the laity (and indeed many of those rather despised church women's groups) are quietly and effectively taking positions which would have seemed very far out only a few years ago. And many of the new styles of urban church work are achieving distinct, sober progress — for instance (to mention only three which I saw in the fall of 1969) the Boston Industrial Mission, the Chesapeake Foundation in Washington, D. C. — which concentrates on poverty questions — and the Centre for Urban Encounter in Portland, Oregon.

> "We live to be 300 years old, in terms of social change."

THE trouble is that somehow there exist horrible communication blocks which make it difficult for American church people to hear good news. Even major church committees may sometimes not know of important and promising new experiments — especially if they do not belong to their denomination. (There are even worse blocks which somehow stop news of experiments from the Netherlands, or Germany, or Africa — as if Americans were only prepared to belong to a world church if it was as bad off as themselves!) In an almost perverse and quite unbiblical way, there is a tendency to emphasize bad news, and to ignore the good. Of course, there is no room at all for complacency: of course, Christians need to face hard facts, no matter how unpleasant they are. But a diet of unrelieved disasters is neither nourishing nor necessary. It may be that some clergy in the States are suffering from something of a Jeremiah complex. Certainly it may have been right in the last few years to shock and shake complacent congregations out of their cozy apathy — for instance, about the ghastly tragedy of the Vietnam war. But now the tactics of congregational renewal need to be different.

In the first place, church leaders and parish ministers must make a very thorough and persistent effort to understand where the laity are at the moment. Some of the people in the pews are of course disturbed, bewildered and defensive. This is not just because of changes in the churches: the whole of American life (even in remote country areas) is changing so fast that perhaps three centuries of change are now squeezed into something like seventy-five years. We live to be 300 years old, in terms of social change. In actual fact, very many older American church people are adapting to the 1970's with great courage and skill; but some are frightened, and need much pastoral help if they are to find their true vocation for the future. It is not much use to shout at such people; and I suspect that sometimes church leaders and parish clergy must learn more courteous and effective ways of leading them on.

On the other hand, many other lay people are by no means so fearful about the future. American congregations include — thank God — many "strong" Christians, who are not proud or arrogant, but nevertheless still confident that even in these stormy days they will find a job to do and a life to enjoy. They are not frightened by change: in big ways or small, they are the change-makers, in industry, in city life, in their local schools and hospitals, and in their homes. Sometimes, indeed, they are unfairly impatient with the clergy because the church seems to lag behind, not because it moves too fast. Many of them are deeply involved in the structure of society — business, government, education — and they know quite well by now the defects of these structures and the possibilities of their renewal. Some of the younger ones have tough and fundamental questions to ask about American society. But young or old, these are competent, critical people, and if they can only be given a first class Christian education to match their secular sharpness, they will be a major strength for the churches of the future.

I suggest also that for their part, the laity in and on the fringe of the American churches must try harder to understand the struggles of the clergy today. The role of the priest or minister has changed radically since the days when he was the center in the parish of both theological knowledge and religious discipline. It is just as difficult for many older clergy as for many older laity to accept the pace of change today. It is not easy for a younger minister, eager for church and social renewal, to realize that he cannot "be the church" on his own, and that he must find a new role as an advisor and resource person for the laity, rather than try to be the leader in every situation. And, unfortunately, very few seminaries as yet train the young clergy for such new styles of church life, or even show him convincingly how valuable his new role may be in the future.

THERE is an urgent need for the American churches to offer far more opportunities for clergy and laity to learn *together* their mission for the days ahead. If this is to happen, it will require the acceptance of two principles for adult Christian education.

1. The clergy must learn how to *learn* from the laity as well as how to teach them. They must know how to stay sometimes in the background: they are not normally in the front line of business or political life. And the laity must learn how to treat the clergy as human beings, with minds and opinions and fears like everybody else, instead of expecting them to be drearily neutral on anything controversial.

2. The churches must offer a wide spectrum of different kinds of learning opportunities; and much more money will have to go into adult Christian education and training of all kinds. If I may say so, some dioceses and denominations suffer more than a little from fads and fashions in laity education (whether it be sensitivity training, racist studies, or prayer groups). There are a great many different ways in which Christians can learn together, and it is rather fine how many useful experiments and techniques have come to the world church from American pioneers. But an experiment in one city or parish is not automatically to be copied everywhere else, at least not before a very careful evaluation. No parish can do everything: every parish is different; it is stupid to expect too much uniformity. And, of course, not everything can be done in a parish setting. Some American cities have already developed a rich variety of experiments in non-parish groups and activities: very many clergy and laity should be encouraged to join in one of these, in addition to (rather than instead of) parish life.

> People of God can carry their burdens more effectively if they are confident and relaxed about what lies ahead.

In his very funny book *The Mackerel Plaza*, Peter de Vries has the phrase "Take up your cross and relax!" It sounds irreverent; but I venture to suggest that in fact, it is excellent advice for the people of God today. Certainly there are burdens for us to bear; but we shall carry them more effectively if we are a little more confident and relaxed about the months and years ahead. We need not be fearful: the church has been through worse things before. And there are a good many signs of hope if we look for them. ■

Mark Gibbs is an Anglican layman, a schoolmaster by profession until 1964. He then became director of the Audenshaw Foundation which encourages experimentation in laity education. Since 1958 he has been chairman of the Ecumenical Committee of the German Kirchentag. *With T. Ralph Morton he is author of* God's Frozen People. *A sequel,* God's Lively People, *will soon be published by Westminster Press.*

HOPE AND THE FUTURE

A Report on New Tends in Theology

by H. Elliott Wright
(Via Religious News Service)

Cox

Marty

Berger

ALL who come into the world live on hope, said Robert Bridges, the late poet laureate of England. As the 1970's open, hope is a theme which few who deal in theology are ignoring.

Hope has a way of emerging in religion's more unsettled times. The Sixties were turbulent, not minus hope but filled with change, revolution and challenges altering long-established religious patterns. Negations, perhaps necessary, arose to stand alongside affirmation. Many saw dark clouds on the religious horizon.

Religion, observed the prophet Jeremiah in the Sixth Century B.C., cannot live on negatives; hopelessness is vain and self-defeating. Out of anxiety-describing tracts of the early 1960s, the "God-is-dead" school of mid-decade and the often depressing conflicts between traditional and newer ideologies, a more hope-filled religious consciousness is emerging.

As Jeremiah knew, hope as a religious emphasis does not eradicate struggles. It scarcely obliterates theological differences, or totally stabilizes shaking foundations or automatically reconciles opposing views on ecclesiastical authority. It does give what Paul Tillich called a religious "ground" to stand on, and it points toward a future better than the past.

Current discussions of hope in religion are not all alike. Some stress the future; some the present. A number are conservative; others radical. There are philosophical and political approaches. Language dealing with God, the possibility of belief, social responsibilities, the human attainment of divine promises — all these are ingredients in the consideration of hope. Implications for technology, population explosion and environmental pollution are involved.

One common factor seems to be a refusal by a growing number of theological minds to be bogged down in religion's institutional problems. More relevant to the explorers of hope is whether religious insight, general and specific, can bear meaning for persons in an age of scientific marvels and social-environmental horror.

Hope as a theological theme is not as spectacular as rock liturgies nor as dramatic as some of the community-based experimental ministries. It does not have the thunder of civil rights and peace movement rhetoric. Theology probing hope may be more revolutionary for it asks about the content and direction of faith before it deals with structures or organizations.

Expectation that a linking of theology with psychology could give personal, and possibly communal meaning, was a mark of the 1960's. It remains a stress of maturing significance, as exemplified in Dr. Rollo May's 1969 book called *Love and Will*. (See page 12). The "secular theologies," and even some segments of the "God-is-dead" movement, presented a positive view of human ability to deal with contemporary problems.

However, hope as a particular theological topic gained its present prominence chiefly through the work of German scholars heavily influenced by the Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch. Among these are Dr. Wolfhart Pannenberg of the University of Basel, Father Johannes B. Metz of the University of Muenster and Dr. Juergen Moltmann of the University of Tuebingen.

The Ideas of Moltmann

Because of the publication of his major work in the U.S. in 1967 and a year-long visit in this country, Dr. Moltmann is the best known representative in America of the "theology of hope," which is only one of the theological streams focusing on the subject.

Dr. Moltmann, who is Lutheran, identifies the divine promises made to man with the future. He defines God in terms of the future. He sees God's future as propelling human beings into what "will be." In other words, the future is the background, and struggles with human identity and dialogues with science and economy are carried out for the sake of the future.

"This world is not yet finished," wrote Dr. Moltmann in his *Theology of Hope*, "but is understood as engaged in a history. It is therefore the world of possibilities, the world in which we can serve the future, promised truth and righteousness and peace."

The impact of the German-based "theology of hope" has been significant in the Western Churches and universities. The Moltmann ideology, often phrased in traditional language, has appealed to the liberal and the evangelical in Protestantism. It has Catholic enthusiasts, such as Gerald O'Collins in his new book, *Man and His New Hopes* (Herder and Herder). Mr. Collins finds that both Old and New Testaments present men as future-oriented beings for whom the fulfilling of hope is a natural inclination. Father Gregory Baum, also writing of hope and the future, gives a more psychological slant.

A "theology of hope" with the future as the main stage is not, however, acceptable to all theologians who are willing to be hopeful. Western religions most characteristically interpret history along a line from the past to present into the future. Making the future all important denies foundations to some. While far from traditional in many respects, Catholic lay theologian Michael Novak has noted that Catholic values include "memory, present and future" and he has called the "Germanic cult of the future . . . destructive."

Theology With Hope

Moreover, the preposition "of" in Moltmann's "theology of hope" bothers some thinkers who are doubtful that a theology about hope includes participation in it. Dr. Martin Marty, the well-known church historian and contemporary religious commentator, has suggested that a "theology with hope" might be more constructive than one "of hope."

This distinction between prepositions may seem like a small matter, but it is not when questions about the "open-ended" nature of human life—a phrase from Father Baum—are applied to present existence.

It is one thing to see God and man's freedom in terms of the future, as the "theology of hope" does. Something else may be involved when issues are raised about freedom in the present, or at least about the process of overcoming a past which has been unfree.

The present, therefore, receives equal, or perhaps greater, emphasis with future in the writings of a number of theologians "with hope." Such is the case in much heralded new books: Rubem Alves' *A Theology of Human Hope* (Corpus Books), Harvey Cox's *The Feast of Fools* (Harvard University Press), and Sam Keen's *Apology for Wonder* (Harper & Row).

Mr. Alves, sure to be one of the most discussed theologians of the early 1970s, strikes blows in the cause of liberating the oppressed in a manner similar to that of Archbishop Helder Pessoa Camera of Olinda and Recife, Brazil. Mr. Alves, like "Dom Helder," lives in Brazil. He is a Protestant, and his book has been received as a further indication that Christianity in the so-called "Third World" is finding its own distinctive identity.

The new theology in Latin America, as well as among many U.S. blacks, knows how essential hope is to survival and to attainment of freedom. Mr. Alves, like U.S. black theologians Dr. James Cone and the Rev. Albert Cleage, Jr., is not about to be totally future-directed. A righteous anger permeates these theologians and they are not afraid to let hope contain the possibility of revolution for the sake of freedom. Dr. Moltmann has also recognized that hope has a revolutionary edge.

The Joyful Noise

Joy and celebration is also part of hope-filled theologies. Mr. Cleage's book, *Black Messiah* (Sheed and Ward), vibrates with a joy in the realization that Christianity is not white by nature.

The new books of Dr. Cox and Dr. Keen, along with the final chapter of Mr. Alves', plead for what the Psalmist called the "joyful noise unto the Lord." A reviewer said in writing of Dr. Cox's *The Feast of Fools*:

"Celebration and festivity are needed if we are to be whole men again. A festive occasion has these essential ingredients: conscious excess, celebrative affirmation, and juxtaposition. Juxtaposition is crucial; the positing of life's 'possibility' against its 'reality' and the readiness to celebrate the resulting tension rather than attempting to resolve the tension in a falsifying sythesis."

In all of the various approaches to hope as the theological virtue which may save Christianity's relevance in the modern age, there is less hesitancy to speak of God, transcendence and timelessness than was true of theology generally in the 1960s. Dr. Pennenberg, Dr. Moltmann and Mr. O'Collins, among others, affirm the physical resurrection of Jesus, and they do so out of cultural contexts which have tended to de-emphasize the "miraculous" dimensions of Christianity. Dr. Langdon Gilkey of the University of Chicago has noted the "rebirth of God language."

Dr. Keen's *Apology for Wonder* attempts to recall theology to transcendence by linking that which is beyond man with imagination and the poetic dimensions of life.

Two of the best-selling religious books of the past year, in different ways, made the point that no joy can be found in a "secular world" divorced from power transcending human experience. Dr. Marty in *The Search for a Useable Future* (Harper & Row) noted that an outlook putting all the weight for finding meaning on man's own ability overlooks the very facts of existence.

And Dr. Peter Berger, one of the nation's leading sociologists of religion, argued in *A Rumor of Angels* (Doubleday) that little joy is found in a world divorced from the supernatural." While he does not cast his thought in totally traditional language, Dr. Berger sees the room and the necessity for "belief that there is another reality, and one of ultimate significance for man, which transcends the reality within which our everyday experience unfolds."

It is a reality transcending, and involved in, life that the explorers of hope are probing and on which they seek to build a modern theology. "And in the words of one clergyman, some dare call it God." ■

The Untold Story Behind

THE PANTHER KILLINGS IN CHICAGO

by Christopher Chandler

THE Black Panther phenomenon has a lot of people scared with talk in the press of guns and gangs and police raids on their headquarters in many of our cities. The recent shooting of two Black Panthers in Chicago finally brought about an inquest by the State's Attorney. Why should church people be concerned? Because as Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, wrote to President Nixon: "Even Black Panthers, whatever the charges against them, are entitled to due process of law."

In addition to his letter, denominational resolutions and personal messages to the President have been sent by the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, the United Presbyterian Executive Committee of its Council on Church and Race and several others. They call for full investigations of what has happened in Chicago and other cities of what they see as a pattern of police persecution of the Black Panther Party. Said Mrs. Cynthia Wedel, NCC President, who is a member of the independent investigations being conducted by former UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg: "I don't want to be a part of any action to discredit the police, but it is disturbing when the Panthers say 28 of their leaders have been killed in the past year."

The rights and wrongs of the Chicago Black Panther killings are spelled out in this article by Christopher Chandler, senior editor of the Chicago Journalism Review.

IT was 4:44 a.m. on the morning of December 4. The block on Chicago's West Side was cordoned off. Police stood guard on rooftops. State's Attorney's police were stationed at the front and rear of the first floor apartment, armed with a submachine gun and shotguns.

There was a knock on the front door, and then the sound of more than 200 shots echoed through the early morning hour. When it was over, Fred Hampton, chairman of the Illinois Black Panther Party, was dead in bed. Mark Clark, another member from Peoria, Ill., was dead behind the front door. Four others were critically wounded, and three were arrested unharmed. One policeman was slightly wounded.

State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan held a press conference later that day, displaying what he said was the arms cache recovered from the apartment (each bullet carefully placed on its end) and pronounced to the television cameras: "We wholeheartedly commend the police officers for their bravery, their remarkable restraint and their discipline in the face of this Black Panther attack—as should every decent citizen in our community." He stressed the word "decent."

Under normal circumstances, that would have been the end of it. Hanrahan, the key figure in Mayor Daley's 1968 election strategy, the man named to run the city's "war on gangs" last June, would ordinarily have enhanced his reputation as a tough crime fighter and as the most popular Democratic vote-getter.

But these are not normal times. The story did not end with that press conference, but grew into an international scandal. The glare of publicity that focused on every aspect of that eight-minute raid illuminated the workings of Chicago's law enforcement machinery and we glimpsed momentarily, as by a flash of lightning, the face of repression.

The story would not die, in part because of the stark imagery of the early morning raid by heavily armed police. "For those of us alive in the late '30s," said Professor Hans Mattick of the University of Chicago, "this brought back one of those nightmare images—the knock on the door at night, the Jews intimidated and dragged away."

It would not die because the Black Panther Party opened up the apartment at 2337 W. Monroe Street for the world to see, and the evidence was inescapable: police had massed a heavy concentration of machine-gun and shotgun fire at one living room wall and into two bedrooms. There was little if any sign of return fire.

Black marchers in Chicago demand greater job opportunities — one of the main aims of the Black Panthers who are now in conflict with the FBI and the police.

It would not die because Hanrahan, distressed by what he said were the "outrageous" and "slanderous" statements made to the press, decided to try his case in the *Chicago Tribune*. But evidence provided to substantiate his account of the raid turned out to be fraudulent, and the competing newspapers jumped at the chance to recover some honor by exposing the fraud. A picture purporting to show bullet holes where the Panthers shot at police in the kitchen turned out to be a picture of nail holes, and the bullet-ridden "bathroom" door turned out to be the inside of the bedroom door.

It would not die because the coroner's office misrepresented Hampton's fatal wounds, because Hanrahan would not permit the FBI to interrogate his men in private. It developed that the FBI was involved, having been wiretapping and tailing the Panthers, and that the Justice Department itself had set up a special task force on the Black Panthers last August, a task force aimed at countering the threat to national security.

Events had shaken the country's trust in the social order. Calls for a thorough and impartial investigation intensified to the point that there are now some eight bodies planning such a probe. But there is little prospect that findings of the investigations will convince any large spectrum of the population.

The Panther Party would not have it otherwise. They are not interested in the findings of a "blue ribbon committee" or a "grand jury investigation" designed, in the words of one newspaper editorial, to "restore confidence" in government, or, in the words of Attorney General John Mitchell, to "put an end to rumors and speculation that surrounded this incident." The Panthers' belief is that to restore confidence and end speculation is to mask the exposed face of a growing fascism. Last month's Chicago raid has given the party widespread new support for its viewpoint.

Fred Hampton said last June: "I just went to a wake where a young man had been shot in the head by a pig. And you know this is bad. But it heightens the contradictions in the community. These things a lot of times organize the people better than we can organize ourselves."

ALL of the investigations of the raid will be forced to sift through a mass of conflicting testimony. The police version, reenacted for CBS television in a special 28-minute program directed by the State's Attorney's office, must be rejected on the basis of the available evidence. One policeman in the reenactment, for example, describes three shots being fired at him as he enters the kitchen door, the film having been taped before those three bullet holes had been shown to be nail holes.

The Panther version may never come to light in its entirety. Defense attorneys for the seven surviving Panthers (charged with attempted murder) plan to retain their best evidence until the trial, and they may be in a powerful bargaining position to have the charges dropped. Panther officers have generally confined themselves to characterizing the raid as a "political assassination" and denying that any Panthers fired at police.

The hard physical evidence is sparse, but heavily weighted toward the worst possible construction of the raid.

► There are two bullet holes in the front door leading from a small anteroom into the living room. One is about heart high, and was fired through the door from the outside while the door was slightly ajar. This shot probably killed Mark Clark, whose body was found in a pool of blood behind the door. A second hole in the door, about a foot and a half below the first, may have been made by a shotgun blast from the inside of the apartment into a far corner of the anteroom near the ceiling. The crazy angle of the blast suggests that Clark's gun may have gone off as he fell.

► The right-hand side of the living room wall is covered with 42 closely stitched bullet holes, mainly from a machine gun. The shots were fired from the doorway and from the center of the living room, the shots from the center of the room penetrating the walls of two adjacent bedrooms.

► The back door was forced from the outside. Two rear windows, in the kitchen and in Hampton's rear bedroom, were broken in from the outside. There is no sign of gunfire in the rear of the house except for the bedrooms, which are punctured with bullet holes. Standing in the entranceway between the kitchen and the dining room, you can see that four shotgun blasts were fired from that area, three into Hampton's bedroom and one, penetrating two closets, lodging in the far wall of the middle bedroom.

► Hampton was shot from above while lying in bed. According to an independent autopsy conducted by the former chief pathologist for the County Coroner's office and witnessed by three physicians, two bullets entered Hampton's head from the right and from above, at a 45 degree angle.

Whatever happened in that apartment on the morning of December 4, it could not possibly have been the 20-minute "gun battle" that the police and the State's Attorney's office have described again and again. Clearly the State's Attorney's police went to the apartment heavily armed to do more than serve a search warrant for unauthorized and unregistered guns (a minor offense). But why now? Why the Panthers?

The answer furnished by many columnists and commentators—that the Panthers were an unpopular, probably dangerous group, and therefore the authorities may have overstepped the bounds of propriety in curbing their activities—does not hold up.

THE Panthers were and are a popular, successful group, and it is precisely because of that success that they have become the targets of a nationwide governmental campaign of control. This fact presents us with a far more serious issue of national policy. Theoretically we believe that any organization (and particularly any political organization) is entitled to win as much popular support as its platform and leadership permit, surely this is the democratic way. But we make exceptions to that rule, particularly during periodic "red scares." Then, any group associated with an "international Communist conspiracy" or, in the words of the *Chicago Tribune*, a "criminal conspiracy" are denied that basic right.

So, with the rapid spread of Black Panther Party chapters across the country in the past two years, and with the intellectual leadership that has made the Panther Party the ideological leader of most of the white radical left, and with the surprising organizational strength in cities from Hartford, Connecticut, to Peoria, Illinois, came increased governmental attention.

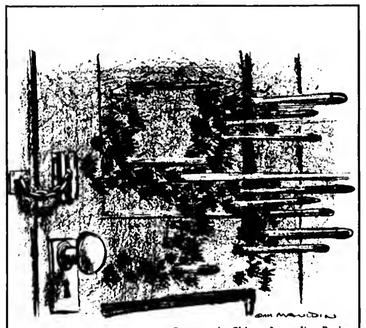
When Mitchell took office last January, the New York *Times* relates, he officially labeled the Black Panther Party a subversive threat to the national security—thereby authorizing the FBI to tap Panther phones and bug Panther offices. In July, J. Edgar Hoover gave the Panther Party the distinction of being "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country" among black militant groups. In August, the Justice Department took the extraordinary step of setting up a special task force on the Panthers, made up of representatives from its civil rights, internal security and criminal divisions.

The situation was similar at the local level. The Illinois chapter of the Black Panther Party was founded in November of 1968 by Hampton and by Bobby Rush, the current chairman. Six months later, the Panthers had become the strongest organization in Chicago's black community. Its influence extended beyond the ghetto to alliances with a variety of groups including the national office of the Students for a Democratic Society, an Appalachian white youth gang called the Young Patriots and a Puerto Rican gang called the Young Lords.

The Panthers were respected because they spoke of carrying arms for self-defense (although they never publicly bore arms in the city), because they had a coherent socialist ideology and because they had a genius for organizing and administration. In the March special aldermanic election they aided an independent candidate by stationing members outside of precincts where there were complaints of vote fraud. The candidate almost forced a runoff in one of the Democratic Party strongholds. In April, a party spokesman lambasted 5,000 peace marchers for not checking with the Panthers before conducting the march, and the march's leadership admitted its error. In May, they concluded an agreement with the Black P Stone Nation, Chicago's most powerful teen gang, after having converted its traditional rivals, the East Side Disciples, to full Panther membership.

Days later, Mayor Daley announced that the city was launching a "war on gangs," which would be headed by State's Attorney Hanrahan. Hanrahan listed the Panthers as prime targets in his campaign, and talked about soaring gang violence (although a study conducted by the *Chicago Journalism Review* revealed that gang-related youth crime had actually declined during the year).

Fred Hampton soon had 25 criminal charges filed against him, but only one conviction—the somewhat strange case of assault in connection with the robbery of $71 worth of ice cream. (Hampton commented: "I may be a big dude, but I can't eat no $71 worth of ice cream.")



Courtesy the *Chicago Journalism Review*.

DESPITE the constant arrests and the repeated raids on their headquarters the Black Panther Party continued to grow in strength. Favorable articles about the party's free breakfast program for schoolchildren were carried in three of the city's five daily newspapers, embarrassing city officials into launching their own, hopelessly bureaucratic free breakfast program. Plans were announced, funds raised and equipment procured for a free medical clinic, to be opened on the West Side. By October, Chicago newspapers did not find it unusual to quote Hampton's reaction to the "Weatherman" demonstration scheduled for downtown Chicago: he denounced them as "anarchistic" and "Custeristic."

On November 4, the Black Panther Party, somewhat weakened by arrests and raids, was still the most powerful single independent organization in the city. Its program of putting socialism into practice had attracted wide support. Its policy of analyzing problems by reference to economic class, not race, was working to depolarize whites and blacks during demonstrations, and erroneous descriptions of the members as "racists" or "black power militants" in the local press were beginning to be corrected.

The Black Panthers made the Federal subversive list, they became a prime target for Chicago officialdom because of their success. I don't suggest that Mayor Daley cynically set out to destroy the party because it might bring success to his enemies at the polls—or that the Justice Department set out to crush the party nationally because it wanted to protect the country's big businesses against socialism.

Mitchell and Hoover see the Panthers as an arm of an International Communist conspiracy that not Panther information minister Eldridge Cleaver visited Cuba and Algeria while in exile —even lavishing his highest praise on the North Korean government?)

Mayor Daley views the Panthers as much of the rest of the population views them—as "Communists"; and worse still, young black Communists who carry arms. (The Panthers are not reticent to express their views: they will explain patiently at a press conference that their political ideology is based on Marx and Lenin, and that they look to other revolutionary leaders, including Mao Tse-tung, for examples of how to translate ideology into political power.)

Policemen all over the country see the Panthers as their explicit enemies. The Panthers called the police "pigs," and even talk of killing pigs. (To the Panthers, "pig" means most importantly the "pig power structure," and secondarily the "pig police" who enforce the will of that power structure on the country's black colonies.)

There is a "conspiracy" to get the Panthers, and it is a conspiracy tied together by the mutual convictions of policemen, local government and Federal government. It is a conspiracy that puts the country's professed ideals to a hard test. Are we prepared to allow revolutionary Marxists-Leninists to campaign for public support and public office? Theoretically we are. Theoretically (at least according to a June 9, Supreme Court decision) we also cannot convict someone for merely advocating the moral propriety or necessity of using violence to overthrow the government.

But in practice we are not prepared to view the Black Panthers as a political party. One might argue that the Panthers should disarm if they are serious about politics and about only using their weapons for self-defense. The bearing of arms may be a fetish carried over from the formation of the party in Oakland in 1966, when it was called the "Black Panther Party for Self Defense," and when its primary goal was to defend blacks from police harassment. Undoubtedly, the very existence of arms does much to provoke the police. But there are problems with this argument: there is nothing illegal about carrying arms; that right is protected by the US Constitution. Twenty Panthers have died in gun battles with police around the country (although police have died also—two in Chicago just two weeks before the raid). The Hampton killing itself raises the grim possibility that the Panthers, even today in Chicago, do need guns for self-defense.

The State's Attorney's raid suggested another disturbing view—that this country is moving steadily toward the extreme political right. The proposed investigations of the raid provide an example of the extent of that shift. The FBI investigating? But the FBI has been involved in nationwide raids against the Panthers. The Justice Department? Attorney General Mitchell's approach to law enforcement is not reassuring.

The main investigation is to be conducted by a special US District Court grand jury in Chicago. A seven-man racially integrated team of Federal investigators, headed by Assistant Attorney General Jerris Leonard, will present the evidence to the jury. Leonard, head of the civil rights division, last May explained to Jay Miller, the executive director of Illinois American Civil Liberties Union, why Bobby Seale had been included among the Chicago Conspiracy trial defendants. "The Panthers are a bunch of hoodlums," he said. "We've got to get them." ■

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NEW WINESKINS FOR AN OLD SEMINARY

An Adventure in Renewal

by William A. Weisenbach

SHORTLY before he took over the presidency of New York Theological Seminary, George W. Webber went on record with this statement: "There is an almost desperate need for radical experimentation in equipping men and women for ministry and mission in the emerging world. Perhaps alone in this country, N.Y.T.S. with its unique history and location might venture the risks of such experimentation. The only other option is to close its doors for good."

In just these few words, Bill Webber said what had been felt by many of us students at the seminary: change or die.

The financial state was desperate. In order to meet its obligations over the last few years, the school (formerly called Biblical Seminary) had systematically liquidated all but a few of its assets. Year after year the student body dwindled while expenses rose. The continuation of "just another seminary" under these circumstances was not only impractical, but patently wrong.

With almost unanimous endorsement of trustees, faculty and students, Dr. Webber was elected president on March 3, 1969. Thus the trustees made a dramatic commitment to bring to reality a new vision of what a theological seminary should be and do. Only a radical program, authentically pioneering in theological education and able to attract first-rate students could justify any attempt to restore validity and vitality to this old Manhattan institution.

In implementing the new vision, two basic assumptions were made: (1) That students in a theological seminary are mature men and women who should be trusted to engage in solid and relevant study as partners in a learning community, and (2) that faculty members, accustomed to traditional models of professor, lecturer, scholar, could effectively embrace a new style of teacher-student relationship, one marked by partnership and collegiality in learning.

Many lengthy meetings ensued during that Spring of 1969 as we tried to design a new style of living and learning together. The committee, made up of administration, faculty and interested students, labored toward putting into shape a curriculum plan that embraced the goal we earlier stated for ourselves:

> The purpose of New York Theological Seminary is to provide a community of learning in an urban setting, rooted in biblical encounter and commitment to Christ which enables men and women to discover, and become equipped for, Christian living and mission in the contemporary world.

We took as our logo an overlapping three-ring design, we imagined each ring as one area of program: Basic education for seminary students (I), continuing education for clergy (II), and theological education for the laity (III).

Experimental curricula have begun in all three "circles" to relate theological study to contemporary life, biblical faith to social responsibility, and theology to practice in the Christian life. Our educational style is designed to help the student reflect on his involvement in the community, engaging in a process of interaction between scripture and tradition on the one hand and contemporary issues on the other.

For the B.D. program, the basic model is the "Curriculum for the '70s" — developed by the American Association of Theological Schools, but previously untested. Our S.T.M. program provides new hope for an effective ministry to a host of discouraged clergy.

Located in the heart of New York City, the school is just three blocks from the United Nations, and readily accessibl eto the 15 other seminaries in the metropolitan area. Another incentive to grow is the freedom to develop a pattern of teaching and community life appropriate today for the Christian clergyman and the congregation. In governance, in teaching methods, and in curriculum, we are breaking ground for the seminaries and the churches. Increasingly we are cooperating with other seminaries of MATS (Metropolitan Association of Theological Schools) in programs of study and action — cooperating rather than competing — discovering what we should do to complement and to innovate.

The style adopted by N.Y.T.S. is not a new gimmick for ministry in the 1970's, but rather a basic commitment toward learning how to learn. The premise is simple: seminary may be the beginning, but certainly it is not the end of one's theological education. It is only the training station where men are taught the skills of continued learning.

Now, all this takes into account the new breed of students who are not coming to seminary saying "I want to be a clergyman, teach me how to do it." Rather they are coming to ask questions about values, about the meaning of life to them and others. They are desperate to find their own identity — a revolutionary life-style relevant to all generations — without any prior commitment to the parish ministry.

To relate to these students new patterns had to be found. Accordingly, we asked ourselves, "Instead of aiming to give seminarians the vast body of theological learning that seems irrelevant to so many of them, why not begin by getting them involved in some part of contemporary life;—and then use their resulting experiences in encounter with scripture and tradition? For this interaction between the two, we use the phrase "doing" theology.

To meet the deepest, most urgent needs of students, the Metropolitan Intern Program (M.I.P.) was developed. The locus is the kind of job the person might have begun right out of college if seminary were not in the picture. The rationale is derived from Erik Erikson, who suggests that the achievement of maturity for the young person can best be attained by a "moratorium" period. Having been programmed and directed by adult expectations all his life, the young person needs a time to drop out of these systems, to earn his own living and determine his own values, goals and style.

The M.I.P. involves living in an inner city neighborhood with another student or two—undertaking the widest possible range of secular employment, and relating to the community and to the church as a resident, not an embryonic clergyman. The only formal requirement of the

(Continued on Page 11)

Author Bill Weisenbach (Right) counsels with Al Harper, former police sergeant who retired after 20 years on the New York City police force, entered N.Y.T.S. and will graduate in June. Mr. Harper now preaches every Sunday and works part time for the United Methodist Board of Missions.

Circle III chairman Willis Elliott lectures before class in practical theology.

A family planner instructs villagers in India with the help of a ventriloquist's dummy representing a village elder.

The Race Against Overpopulation

A Progress Report from Asia

WORLD POPULATION is going to double within the next 35 years, all available statistics reveal. Most of the "Third World" countries will double their populations within 20 years. The full social and economic implications of this fact, which is basic to all the attending problems of imbalance in the natural environment, pollution, urban congestion, famine, increased likelihood of war, have yet to sink into the minds of world leaders, population experts fear.

Church World Service's Planned Parenthood Program, under the direction of the Rev. Charles R. Ausherman, is trying to alert church members to the urgency of the problem. Recently, Mr. Ausherman made a five-week survey of Asian countries, where CWS conducts Planned Parenthood programs, to check on the progress of the effort and to investigate new approaches that CWS might make. His report follows, in an interview with TEMPO Associate Editor Dorothy Rensenbrink.

Mr. Ausherman, did you find that family planning is making any progress in Asia?

I found much more family planning activity than I had imagined in terms of money, personnel, and contraceptives in the capitals of the different countries I visited. Unfortunately, these resources do not always flow to the deepest levels of need. They sometimes stay right where they are—in the capitals. The problem is not always lack of resources but getting them distributed where there is acute need. Male power structures do not always understand unwanted pregnancy.

They do understand the problem of population explosion though, don't they?

We are beginning to, but there are various problems, often unique, in each country. The Philippines is mainly a Roman Catholic country; in Indonesia there is a time lag of from one to three years before funds already there will be able to be put to family planning use. Thailand does not allow family planning to be publicized; East Pakistan has a massive program but there is a shortage of adequately trained personnel. Then there is India. The need is most obvious there. Supplies, personnel, money are on the scene but for some inexplicable reason the Protestant Christian medical apparatus representing 1/5 of all the hospitals in India is not receiving government family planning assistance. Why they are not is a complete mystery since the Ministry of Health says they should.

Then the problem is to get the governments of underdeveloped nations to move resources already there?

That's partially true. One of the problems with our resources is that we've sent well-trained medical doctors, demographers, and other sociological specialists, when what is also, and perhaps above all, needed is hardheaded, dam-busting administrators. What you have all over the world, including Asia, is on the one hand a woman in need, and on the other hand, inexpensive contraceptives, and in between male dominated power structures—government, church, and at every level of society—who don't understand either her problem or the dimensions of the world population problem. The women of the world are unanimous in their desire to avoid unwanted pregnancies, miscarriages, and illegal abortion. The systems these women live under are not always sensitive to these concerns. Most parents of the world do want sufficient food, clothing, shelter and education for their families but the male half of mankind doesn't always see the light. The idea that there is a relationship between family size and quality of family life is fairly new to many men and even some women.

Would you say then that male domination is the trouble?

I think so—if the Pope were a female there would be no encyclical against birth control. Wherever I went I talked with village women and found that when they realize that God did not foreordain them to an exclusive role of baby-bearing they readily accept the idea of contraception. Right now, however, many do feel that this is their one role in life, and one of the tasks is to convince these millions of voiceless women that this is not the case.

Getting back to your "hard-headed, dam-busting administrator." Aren't you describing a western style of man and would such a man be successful bucking a culture which he possibly does not understand?

Well, he wouldn't have to be a westerner—he could be an Indian administrator or Indonesian, or whatever—as long as he could move programs over the bureaucratic hurdles.

But would he still not be trying to change ancient cultural patterns, and is this always a good thing to do?

It's either that or going under. I think of us people here on the earth as if we were all on a ship. The "first class" passengers can't look down on the "third class" passengers and say, "your end of the ship is sinking, not mine." We're all in this together and the population problem goes beyond national boundaries.

Perhaps that argument appeals more to a western mind than it does to an Asian mind. Is it not true that life is cheaper in Asia?

Not when you think of the revolution of rising expectations in these countries. And this is where a Christian approach to planned parenthood is important, for it ties the whole concept of a limited family to the dignity and value of each human life. We say it is not enough just to put a child on earth but he must have food and shelter and opportunity for education to be fully human. We try to teach not only that less human life on earth is necessary, but that each life that exists is of more value.

So then the task ahead is one of opinion changing?

Yes, opinion changing, but the problem has reached such proportions now we ought to tax people for having children rather than giving them tax reductions. At the rate man is multiplying, I foresee extreme penalties being levied against those who insist on producing more children than the human family can bear.

(Continued on page 12)

Billboards draw attention to family planning needs in the many cities of India. This one is in Delhi.

...d says here...

DELTA MINISTRY REPORTS BLACK VOTER GAINS

GREENVILLE, MISS. — During 1969 the total of black elected officials in Mississippi rose to 91, states a report from the National Council of Churches' Delta Ministry office here. Also, as a result of pressure brought by the Delta Ministry and a coalition of civil rights and anti-poverty groups in the state, Governor John Bell Williams has appointed three blacks to his formerly all-white hurricane rehabilitation committee. This move had been demanded by the General Assembly of the National Council in Detroit, and the Governor admitted that the White House also had made an "urgent recommendation."

In his report, the Rev. Henry L. Parker, DM director of interpretation, cited a recent "racist" school bond issue in Jackson which was defeated 8-7 by a coalition of blacks and liberal whites. The bond issue would have provided $7 million for new school construction — $5 million for white schools and only $2 million for black schools. Also, he said, $4.5 million of the white school allocation would have gone to upper-class neighborhoods.

"Analysis of voting patterns," said Mr. Parker, "showed that the extreme right wing and racist whites also opposed the issue because of their opposition to the Supreme Court desegregation order. Future black-white alliances of this type," he said, "may eventually persuade the powers-that-be that they cannot take the black and liberal white vote for granted."

Meanwhile, in Jackson, an 11-member ad hoc committee of religious leaders has been formed representing Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish congregations to work for racial harmony in desegregating the public schools.

"There is no reason," they said, "why Mississippi cannot be a model for racial harmony in her schools as well as in other areas of life."

* * * * *

BAPTIST PASTOR FIRED AFTER HIS HOME IS SHOT INTO

WAKE FOREST, N.C. — (RNS) — The pastor of a Southern Baptist church near here was fired by the deacons the day after his home was riddled by a shotgun blast while an integrated youth party was in progress.

The Rev. J. Wesley Shipp, a student at Wake Forest's Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, was released by the Ridgecrest Baptist Church when he refused to resign.

The pastor's home was struck by the shotgun blast while eight or ten young people, including some black youth, were the guests of his daughter, Karen. No one was hurt but about ten seconds before the shooting, 16-year-old John Steely had passed in front of the window.

A church deacon told a reporter he was "sorry" about the shooting but thought Mr. Shipp should not have had "those colored people in there. We begged him before the party not to have any mixin' but he wouldn't listen. Now he's payin' for it," he said.

Professors at the seminary denounced the shooting and asked Wake Forest citizens "to create the kind of community in which freedom of thought and association of persons will be upheld and the sanctity of their homes respected."

* * * * *

CHICAGO GROUP ACTS TO EASE CLERGY CRISIS

CHICAGO — "We're looking for hard-core human beings to serve as priests, rabbis and ministers" read the message on billboards, in newspapers and magazines, and heard over radio and TV here during January. The advertisement campaign was part of a major effort by members of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths to combat the declining numbers of clergy.

The Interfaith Committee for Religious Careers, a group of Chicagoans, planned the project with the help of specialists in the mass media and advertising fields.

Heading the project as chairman is Dr. G. Douglass Lewis, director of the National Cooperative Enlistment Project of the National Council of Churches' Department of the Ministry.

"The Committee is optimistic about the future roles of the clergy in our society," he said, "and we are hopeful that our efforts will produce an adequate response by young people."

The four major objectives of the program in Chicago were 1) to find new ways to communicate the ministry to the contemporary world; 2) to interpret the meaning of the ministry as a career to the general public; 3) to encourage young people to consider a religious career; and 4) to reinforce the dedication and commitment of seminarians as well as of ordained ministers in active service.

* * * * *

EPISCOPAL CHURCH AIDS "ALCATRAZ INDIANS"

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Two grants totalling $5,000 have been made to assist the 150 to 200 Indian Americans in the San Francisco Bay area who have been occupying Alcatraz Island for the past several weeks.

Through its National Committee on Indian Work, the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church and its General Convention made the grants of $3,000 and $2,000 respectively.

The Church's National Committee on Indian Work is composed of ten Indian Episcopalians elected by Indians in regional conferences held throughout the U.S.

BLACK AND WHITE TOGETHER — Verse theme from the civil rights hymn "We Shall Overcome" was realized in Columbia, Miss. high school as two student body presidents sit together during exercises marking compliance with Supreme Court order to desegregate schools. Archie Johnson (Left) and Tommy Barber both spoke to the students.

* * * * *

FOUNDER OF ALIANZA MOVEMENT SENTENCED IN NEW MEXICO

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M. — (RNS) — The founder of the militant Alianza group, which claims Old Spanish land grants for its members, was sentenced here on convictions resulting from the June, 1967 raid on the courthouse in Tierra Amarilla.

Reies Lopez Tijerina was sentenced to concurrent state prison terms of one to five years for the false imprisonment of a deputy sheriff during the raid, and two to 10 years for assault on a jailer. The jailer was shot and wounded during the raid and was found beaten to death six months later.

The armed takeover of the courthouse was allegedly made to dramatize the Alianza's goal of obtaining some 35 million acres in the Southwest for Spanish-Americans under grants made by Spain during colonization.

The Alianza leader is appealing a Federal conviction for assaulting a Forest Service officer last June. His counsel is seeking to have the state and Federal sentences run concurrently.

The Executive Council of the Episcopal Church recently made a $40,000 grant to the Alianza to set up a community mobilization program, over the disapproval of Bishop C.U. Kinsolving of New Mexico and Southwest Texas.

* * * * *

GEORGIA COUNCIL URGES SPEED IN PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

ATLANTA — A statement commending the recent Supreme Court ruling on school desegregation, and calling on local congregations to work for its immediate implementation, was adopted by the Annual Assembly of the Georgia Council of Churches.

"Obedience to this decision will strengthen the nation's foundations of justice, freedom and equality," the statement declared, adding that "though the task be difficult, the public schools in the state can be desegregated immediately."

On the subject of private schools, the Council continued: "We strongly deplore those private schools formed as the efforts of persons bent on continuing segregation." It urged the people to beware of such private schools and to refuse to support them.

"We oppose any efforts to use public funds for the benefit of private segregated schools either by tuition grants directly to children or by other means," it declared.

LETTERS

WHAT IT COMES DOWN TO

With reference to Henry Steele Commager's article, "The Young Have Come Home Again" (TEMPO, Nov. 15), does it come down to this? Is the United States willing and able to base its economy on the desire to give service to the world, rather than be the world's policeman and disciplinarian — and rule it with our Army gaining entree for F.B.I. tactics where we have diplomatic acceptance.

Historian Commager didn't say that, but it is my understanding of the situation.

Margaret Butcher
Rockville, Md.

THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

I wish to commend TEMPO for its fine article on the Food Stamp Program in the November 1st issue.

As the ranking Republican on the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, I was pleased that the article contained so much in depth and factual data regarding the Food Stamp Program, and I hope your readers respond positively to the article.

The problems of hunger and malnutrition in the United States will be solved only when the concerted efforts of all sections of the community, including the press, allow people to become more aware of this crucial situation.

Please feel free to contact me if I can be of service.

Jacob K. Javits
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

VIGILANCE WITH FAIRNESS

While we must be vigilant in protecting free speech from governmental or any other kind of control, what of the news media's responsibility to tell the whole truth?

Now it seems that the fourth estate in its "over-kill" of our Vice President's speech seeks to avoid the criteria of criticism which they so diligently claim as their own inalienable right. . . .

I don't entirely agree with what Vice President Agnew said, but I defend his right to say it.

Lloyd A. Dalbey, Vice President
Church Relations & Service
Tarkio College, Missouri

A CHEER FOR AGNEW

After reading "A Communication: The Curious Stance of Spiro T. Agnew", (TEMPO, Dec. 1), I still say "Hurrah for Spiro T. Agnew".

Rev. Frnak M. Thorburn
Brookings, S. Dakota

TEMPO GOOFED, AND APOLOGIZES

If I'm not mistaken, the photo in the lower right corner of page 4 of TEMPO Dec. 15-Jan. 1 is that of the Rev. Thomas Kilgore, president of the American Baptist Convention, and not that of Bishop Jordan as the caption said.

Martha S. Miller
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

Bishop Jordan

(Reader Miller is right. TEMPO, in the confusion of sorting and identifying its many photos of the NCC General Assembly, slipped. Our apologies to both Dr. Kilgore and NCC's new First Vice President, Bishop Frederick Douglass Jordan (AME Church), whose distinguished ecumenical career is known churchwide. Ed.)

THE QUESTION: HOW TO END AN UNPOPULAR WAR?

I want to express appreciation for TEMPO and at the same time raise a question. Your publication is performing a fine service and I have enjoyed much of the material appearing therein during this past year. It has been very helpful as a source of information.

Your issue of November 15th has several articles concerning the Vietnam situation by Henry Commager, Senator Frank Church and an interview with Dr. Spock — and this is fine, except that I did not note any articles presenting any other point of view.

Certainly there are areas where the church can speak a clear word re Vietnam: 1. That we must terminate the war at the earliest. 2. That the war is totally lacking in idealism, and whatever justification we had for being there is confused today. 3. That the Moratorium demonstrations reflect a general revulsion against war as a means of settling international disputes, and that the U.S. is going to have to take a hard look at its foreign policy in the future.

But the question of *how* we should become disengaged in Vietnam, and exactly *when*, boils down to a matter of personal opinion. There is no "Thus saith the Lord" declaration to be made at this point.

Dr. Kenneth A. Carlson, Minister
First United Methodist Church
Glendale, California 91206

NEW WINESKINS FOR AN OLD SEMINARY

(Continued from page 8)

program is that the student meet with a group of ten twice a week to evaluate his experience.

To serve seminarians who do not enjoy the advantages of an inner-city location, N.Y.T.S. offers what we call the Urban Semester — one semester of intensive involvement and study of the problems faced by the churches in today's society. It has three basic goals:

(1) Practice of urban analysis: How does one learn to understand the dynamics of human interaction to recognize "the shape of God's agenda?" (2) Investigation of contemporary forms of mission and ministry in urban life. (3) Theological reflection and reformulation in relationship to emerging issues in urban life.

Circle II — Continuing Education

Continuing Education has been a part of N.Y.T.S. since its inception but only in the traditional way, for those who did additional work toward an S.T.M. While embracing this old function, the new vision sees beyond it to a whole range of continuing-education possibilities. Education for Roman Catholic sisters, several programs for parish clergy jointly sponsored by N.Y.T.S. and M.U.S.T. (Metropoiltan Urban Service Training facility); a special program for storefront clergy who lack the academic credentials to elect regular degree programs; and community-based clergy work-shops.

The S.T.M. at N.Y.T.S. demands this on-the-job training. In Pastoral Counseling, degree candidates take most of their work in either the Postgraduate Center for Mental Health or the Lutheran Medical Center, and they must be regularly involved in counseling within their own parish. In the Urban S.T.M., offered in cooperation with M.U.S.T., pastors try to achieve competence in understanding the dynamics of their congregation, and they must be able to do a "systems analysis" of their resources. The clergyman learns to see himself as a miner looking for the gold hidden in the vein, those within the congregation who are ready to respond to the claims of Christ and venture into mission.

Circle III —Lay Theological Education

To be in New York City requires that the school serve more than the limited number of students who are prepared to commit three years to full-time study. Education must have a solid scholarly side, but it must also reach out to the vast number whose need is not an academic degree.

Theological education must be genuinely concerned with the life-style of all people, but it must be most attentive to the way of life found in the metropolitan centers where the future is forecast. While not pretending to do away with all denominational differences, such education must be thoroughly ecumenical. To realize this commitment, N.Y.T.S. began its program of Lay Theological Education not as an extra but as a basic area in the theological educational task. Over 400 Protestant and Catholic laymen are attending classes this year in courses held in the seminary building and in suburban communities, attracted by such men as Willis E. Elliott, former secretary of the United Church of Christ's division of evangelism and now director of Circle III; Gabriel Moran, well-known Catholic theologian at Manhattan College; and James McGivern, chairman of the religion department at St. Johns University.

The task: To aid churches that recognize their need of the resources of a theological school in equipping their laity for mission and ministry. The method: Using the resources of the laity themselves as, for example, through Eastside Lay Theological Education Consultants, a group of concerned clergy and laity who meet regularly to consider and advise in the whole area of lay education.

In each of these programs, as they now take shape, we are serious about the process of **interaction**. We want to break the dichotomy between academic studies and concrete experience; between theoretical disciplines and practical ones. The problem of Black Power, for example, raises fundamental issues for mission and ministry that require hard theological study, even as biblical faith produces a perspective with which to deal with racial injustice. This ability to relate faith to life, theology to practice, is the substance of a theologically trained person.

We now have a large and remarkable group of students of every shade of opinion and color of skin. The number in all programs leaped from 143 last year to the present 874. Three programs in continuing education are under way, and three lay schools of theology have already begun.

Two issues remain dominant: (1) We must engage in solid evaluation that will give us an honest picture of our relation to our dream. (2) We must find the resources for the next three years of operation while we build the broad base of continuing support that our task demands. I am thoroughly convinced that the vision deserves support, so that people and church can benefit. ■

Mr. Weisenbach, president of the N.Y.T.S. student body last year, continues his studies there as a post-graduate student.

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

REVIEWING: "TOPAZ"

Directed by Alfred Hitchcock

YES, I know. Hitchcock is supposed to be the film maker's film maker *par excellence*. Several talented young continental artists including Francois Truffault ("Stolen Kisses," "Jules and Jim") learned an enormous amount from him. But not from *Topaz*. For years Hitchcock got away with his steely efficiency, his mastery of the camera and his icy capacity to manipulate emotions (remember *Psycho*?). But eventually his reliance on the instruments in his cinematic tool-and-die kit were bound to fail. In *Topaz*, his latest thriller, they do. Why?

I think there are two reasons, basically. One is that although Hitchcock claims to be a past master at evoking audience emotion by juxtaposing mere suggestion with actual representation, the psychological interaction between and among the characters on the screen itself has never been very deep. And in *Topaz* it reaches a new low. We can't really become very involved in the complexities of the unfolding story because the people themselves are basically dull and single dimensional. We can't even care that much whether they succeed, fail, love, live or die, because Hitchcock cannot endow the relationships among them with any snap or substance. They are cardboard cutouts, grown-up Kens and Barbies with the same sleekness, exquisite clothing and vacuous expressions. Nobody cries when Baby Doll's arm falls off. And nobody sheds a tear when the beautiful Cuban widow-informer-paramour gets killed. Hitchcock's characters are never really people.

But there is also a political, maybe even a moral reason why *Topaz* fizzles. The spies whose story it tells stumble through a Cold War scenario that just doesn't look right anymore. Who in his right mind wants to risk his life to get a few microphotos of Russian missiles into the hands of the CIA? Yet here are perfectly straight people acting as though the great morality play of East vs. West, USA vs. USSR can still summon our dedication and passion.

When Hitchcock stuck to murder and intrigue based on less global motives he was able to get away with it. But when he takes on Leon Uris's story in the James Bond world of double agents, informers and agents-provocateurs, it is just not plausible. I could understand why the guy might sneak into Cuba to get into bed with his beautiful, if counter-revolutionary, mistress. Why he'd do it as a favor to his old friend in the CIA escapes me completely.

THE story is simple in a complex Hitchcockian way. It is 1962. A Russian diplomat defects to the West (amidst much suspenseful music, eyes glancing over shoulders and harrowing near-misses). Safely ensconced in the land of the free, he spills the beans to American intelligence about the Russian missiles now coming into Cuba. The Amis enlist the aid of a French diplomat who seems to have more than one reason to want to visit Cuba. His informant there turns out to be a widow of one of the early heroes of the revolution. She still lives, for some reason, in a distinctly pre-revolutionary mansion surrounded by distinctively *ancien regime* servants who never seem to have heard of equality, to say nothing of fraternity or liberty.

Like a good spy but a very uncharacteristic Frenchman, he presents the winsome widow with a lovely new geiger counter and miniature camera before they make love. Later, by dint of some very unprofessional and heavy-handed bungling, the pro-Yankee Cuban undercover agents get caught by Castro's *barbados*. The widow is killed but the part-time CIA man gets away, only to learn that his own French intelligence agency has been infiltrated by a pro-Soviet double agent ring named *Topaz*. As the film ends, he exposes *Topaz*, causing one murder and one suicide. But at least the Americans know about the missiles.

I first got my clue that the Cold War premises of the film weren't working during the early moments of the movie, as the newly arrived Russian family is being driven through Washington. The defected diplomat's daughter looks out the car window wide-eyed and asks about the White House and the Capitol. When these two esteemed symbols of the Republic appeared on the screen, some people in the audience actually booed. Later on, while the story was unfolding in Cuba, there was a brief shot of Fidel Castro accompanied by Che Gueverra addressing a mass rally, undoubtedly taken from live newsreel footage. This time some people in the audience clapped. Now if this had happened in one of the theatres around Harvard Square, I would not have been so surprised. But it didn't. It happened in a downtown theatre that shows things like *Goodbye Mr. Chips* and *Cactus Flower*. Hitchcock is no crusading anti-Communist. He simply makes some assumptions about political symbols that no longer hold, and I think the mistake has a devastating effect on his film.

BUT worse than that. When a film proceeds on shaky moral assumptions (good, clean-cut, serious Americans vs. unkempt, cigar-smoking, bearded Cubans), and when it never allows its characters to become persons, even the suspense is gone. You can't hold your breath and grip the edges of your seat about the fate of someone you dislike or just don't care about.

I kept hoping the beautiful Cuban widow would turn out to be a double agent who was *really* working for the Cubans while only *seeming* to be working for the CIA. Alas, she was not. So, although I was supposed to be saddened when she was killed, and apprehensive about her helpers when they were out taking pictures on mini-cameras for Washington and stuffing them in chickens, I really couldn't work up any sweat or tears.

Alas, Mr. Hitchcock, your vaunted reliance on technique alone to produce dramatic tensions, suspense, terror, and release does not work. Man's glands after all operate in a larger context of meaning and value. And *Topaz* fails because it has too technical a view both of man and of cinema.

Truffault claims to have learned a lot from Hitchcock. Perhaps he has. But Hitchcock has a lot to learn from his young disciples; that a film without live human beings and devoid of any serious moral vision fails not only to purge and purify us, something Hitchcock has never really claimed to do. It also fails to thrill us or hold our interest which is what he *has* claimed to do.

Skip *Topaz*. There are just too many other good movies around to spend your money on. The only reason to see it is to be reminded once again that in making love, raising children, teaching, painting and living — as well as in making movies — technique is very useful. But it certainly isn't enough. ■

OVERPOPULATION

(Continued from page 9)

What is your answer to American Blacks who charge that attempts to promote planned parenthood in the ghetto are White racist attempts at "genocide"?

Spoken by Black males who should confer with their women before they continue this line. During the Detroit riots, male Blacks tried to burn down a family planning clinic and they were chased away by female Blacks who told them to go mind their own business.

What does the Church have to do with planned parenthood?

The non-Christian world has heard the clear voice of Pope Paul on the question of birth control and this is often taken as the "Christian position." Therefore the rest of Christendom must make a special effort to affirm planned parenthood through the councils of churches in each country and broadcast that good news through literature, radio and mass media. There is a natural role for the Church since religious leaders do a great amount of pre-marital and family counseling, and discussions about parental responsibility to plan their families should be a part of this counseling. The East Asian Christian Conference has prepared a text on family counseling, written by Asians for Asians which deals with this problem. In Asia the Church is getting mobilized for more effort in this field—for making this a top priority. Not all churchmen in America see the issue that clearly. Too often the Church in this issue is part of the problem and not part of the answer. I would even accuse some of my liberal ecumenical colleagues of deliberately sweeping the population problem under the rug in order to keep Roman Catholic-Protestant dialogue sweet. We think Roman Catholics don't want to talk about population problems, so we avoid it politely. There are many Christians in our country who probably don't know how serious the problem really is and don't think in terms of trying to do something about it.

Could it be just sheer prudery?

Sure. Sex is still a naughty word with too many clergymen and contraceptives, naughtier. The church has been talking about sex for 2,000 years, often in a negative way. Now that the world is discovering that God didn't say sex is bad, we don't know what to do about it.

What are the ecumenical churches doing about planned parenthood in Asia?

Church World Service has a widely recognized authentic role in family planning through our concern for the hungry and those in need. We have access through churches to people. Last year alone we sent over $1,000,000 in supplies to 51 countries. The fact that CWS is not primarily a family planning organization is part of the beauty of our situation. This enormous problem of overpopulation will only yield to efforts which are integrated within every structure of society. Any professional family planner who thinks that his organization can do the job alone is dreaming. There is a job in this for everyone and we all had better find out what we should be doing and do it pretty soon. One highly motivated person can do a lot of good. There is a Dr. Ed McDaniels, working out of McCormick Hospital (a Presbyterian facility) in Changmai, Thailand, who has made family planning his top priority and has done more in my estimation than some government ministries of health. He reaches thousands of women who come to the hospital and offers them either birth control injections or oral contraceptives. Another pastor's wife I know has passed out over 4,000 cycles of pills from the front porch of the parsonage. But beyond this more direct route to people, the most important thing about Christian work in family planning is that it is not limited to simply passing out contraceptives but assists people in terms of human dignity, of a Christian doctrine that sees each individual person in his life's circumstances and works to improve the quality of that life. It is a gross thing to say "how many loops did you get in" when this statistic is not accompanied by a deeper concern for a woman and her whole life situation, and when this concern is not communicated to her. This is finally the greatest contribution that the Church can make in family planning.

What is the next step planned by Church World Service?

We are working with colleagues of thirteen units of the NCC in planning a National Conference on the Population Problem and Religious Responsibility called by the General Board for the fall of 1970. At that conference we will hear from overseas church leaders who will be there, also, and who are sensitive to the needs of population control. Some of these leaders in councils of churches in Asia spoke to me about how they see the Church relating to this issue. "We have held our conferences on this issue already," they said. "Now we want a full-time program using the whole Church apparatus to respond to the seriousness of the problem. It is late. It is serious. But we think we can help." American Christians need to hear things like that. ■

In Pace With The Changing Church February 15, 1970

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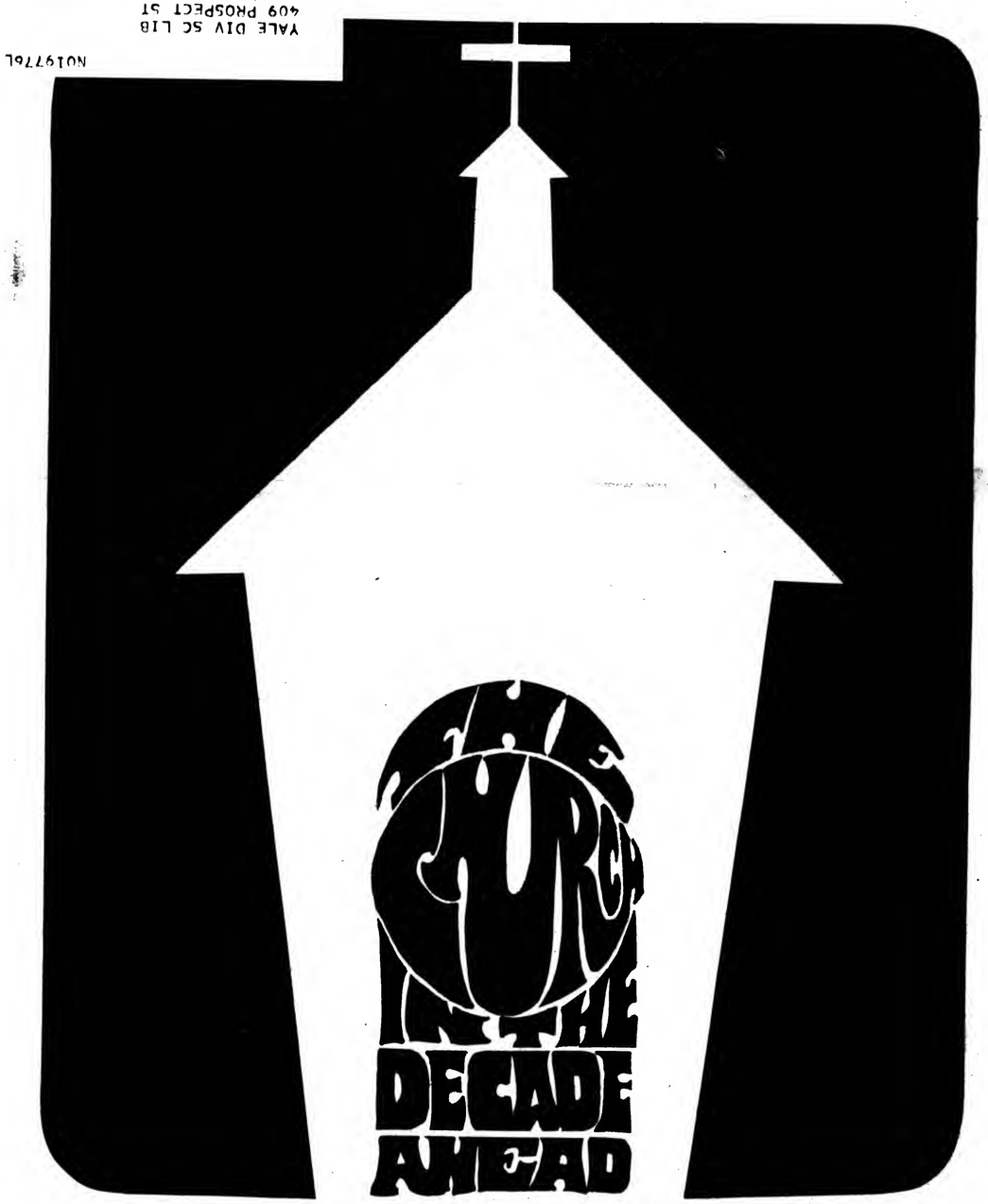

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TEMPOsitions . . .

THE CHURCH AND THE ROAD AHEAD

by Martin E. Marty

ANY attempt to spot trends as American churches enter the 1970s compels a backward glance at their situation 10 years ago. At the beginning of the 1960s the cultural climate was so different that one is intimidated in his efforts to project trends. On the surface, not much has changed. The percentage of Americans who are church members, who attend regularly, and who support religious institutional programs has remained fairly constant; there has been more talk of impending decline than actual decline to date. But the mood has altered.

Today the young people have regained some sort of voice. The organization man is on the defensive, between surly "middle America" on the one hand and revolutionaries on the other. The religious revival is forgotten; not even attempts at the White House level to bring it back in the East Room have had much national impact. Ethics is a big topic in any discussion of religion.

The generalized religion of today grows up out of largely non-Christian resources: Eastern religion and purportedly secular origins. Today few rail against church suppers because so few come. And the Protestant-Catholic relations have changed so much that many Protestants find more company in the Catholic Church than with many of their fellow confessors, and *vice versa*. Meanwhile, Catholicism undergoes traumas much more severe than those experienced during the Protestant Reformation four and a half centuries ago.

In the face of such sudden ecclesiastical and cultural changes, four trends stand out, in my mind.

Cultural Revolution

The cultural revolution has begun to have an impact on every dimension of church life. This revolution includes portentous political changes: "black power" has postponed the dreams of integration; "Third World" symbolizes realities for which Cold War diplomacy did not prepare us; "Vietnam" stands for a kind of military encounter few of us can comprehend. But as deep as these political issues may be, they are surrounded by equally encompassing changes in mood and manner.

In place of the rational, progressive, contractual, "busy"-productive cultural ideal of the age of "The Secular City" of five years ago, the new model to which many gifted young persons turn is non-rational, cyclical, informal-personal, leisured life. The commune replaced the think-tank as the spiritual center. The drug culture helped affluent young whites evade one kind of reality and work toward developing a "new heaven and a new earth" in the face of world misery.

These environmental alterations have had their effects on the churches. The liturgy has become more open; in place of subtle recovery of old forms for a new day, there has been an explosion of sight and sound. The banner and the balloon; real bread and more wine; the guitar; sensitivity to touch—all these have come to be commonplace among those who move at the church's forward edges. Churchmen chatter about revolution, violent and non-violent; they are among the first to throw monkey wrenches in the gears of well-ordered society; they are joining with other dissenters in proposing alternative life-styles.

Tear Down the Institution

The second trend is born of an enduring motif from the 1960s: an ongoing uneasiness about inherited institutions, including, most of all, religious forms.

Often this criticism will be couched in the terms of a romantic utopianism. Naively it will be asserted that men can sustain interpersonal relations through time and space without institutions at all. Come, let us tear down whatever exists, and in the beautiful anarchy which follows authentic humanity will emerge.

Just as often the criticism will be more selective, more understanding of the fact that anything that is to be sustained among groups of people will be somehow institutionalized: the important question is the one that deals with ways in which institutions can be criticized or renewed.

Even if young people, critics, rebels, and reformers begin to "mature" and to grow more compromising about institutions, there is little hope that a case will be made for the acceptance of Christian forms as they have been inherited.

We may expect, then, in the decade ahead, continued defense of these institutions by those who would retain the *status quo;* continued apathy at worst and antipathy at best directed toward them by the restless; continued improvisation on the part of creative church leadership.

Two-Party System

Despite the malaise of institutions, institutions will be fought over and worked with. Fought over: most signs point to a perpetuation of what I call the "two-party" system within the American churches. Today's important differences do not follow denominational lines. As with political parties, definitions and boundaries are not neat. In general, one party in virtually all churches, sees religious institutions as inhibitors of change.

Another party sees religious institutions as being called to inaugurate change. Its members present some futuristic picture of a better state for the world, and call the church to be somehow implicated *as* church in bringing about some of its lineaments. It sees personal salvation also in a social context.

If institutions will be fought over, they will also be worked with in new ways. I have already suggested that the ecumenical movement has come to a kind of fulfillment. Organized ecumenical

strivings are met with massive boredom; the committees which work for Christian union do not attract the attention they once did. But common Christian activity and thought is taken for granted even though historic boundaries are not being removed.

Theology

The fourth trend has to do with theology. Theology enters the 1970's unsure of its foundations. Many have difficulty seeing relevance in the past, any past: thus biblical and historical studies often languish in seminaries while contemporary issues receive attention. Even the recent past—perhaps especially the recent past—is "in trouble," in a time of reaction against early-twentieth century neo-orthodoxy, pre-conciliar Catholic progressivism, biblical and liturgical movements, and the like.

The attempt to formulate new systems in the age of Teilhard or McLuhan or Marcuse or the Maharishi is often made and widely advertised, but the pace of change is such that few of these attempts last beyond one book publishing season. Some of the sensations of the 1960s, like the Death of God movement, have served both to purge theology of some of its superficial talk and then to chasten theologians against grandiose new conceptions.

"The problem of God" continues to dominate in theological formulation, but this is accompanied by new search about man in the light of God: man in community, man as a secular-religious being, man in an age of bio-medical tampering, man in a world of revolution.

Nothing is nailed down, as it seemed to be 10 years ago. Everything is up for grabs, as it rarely seemed to be a decade earlier. For all the uncertainty, today's situation seems to be a richer one for carrying on ministry, which, after all, is itself an instrument for change in the world. Christian ministry is never called to leave things where they were. ■

Dr. Marty, professor of church history at Chicago University, is one of the country's most widely read writers on religious topics and issues. His latest books: "The Modern Schism" *and* "The Search for a Usable Future". *Reprinted by permission, The Lutheran Chaplain (Winter, 1969), published by Division of Service to Military Personnel, Lutheran Council in the U.S.A.*

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ART DIRECTOR: Hoff Heisler
PROMOTION: David Poindexter
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull
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THE CHURCH IN THE 70'S: HEIRLOOM OR ENERGIZER?

No Time to Lose — NCC Reform Now **by Howard Schomer**

THE struggle to shape the future of the National Council of Churches, publicly visible at the Detroit Assembly and the more recent Tulsa General Board meeting, has been too complex for the mass media to interpret to the nation. Perhaps blessedly so. In TEMPO, it is only fair to confess that, from the inside, the issues remain difficult to identify and the outcome quite uncertain. No wonder that concerned church members, picking up only the more flamboyant utterances and incidents, sometimes reach hasty judgments on battles that are far from over.

No Private Crisis

The atmosphere of crisis that hangs over the Council today is not generated primarily from within the organization itself. It is a nationally focused reflection of denominational crises which, in turn, arise out of the broad crises engulfing all aspects of American life.

This dawning decade is the first to find many Americans muting the traditional demand for the respect of human dignity, dismally asking whether man has any inherent dignity to respect. Such crumbling of faith in man grows, of course, out of the widespread breakdown of any meaningful, life-governing faith in God.

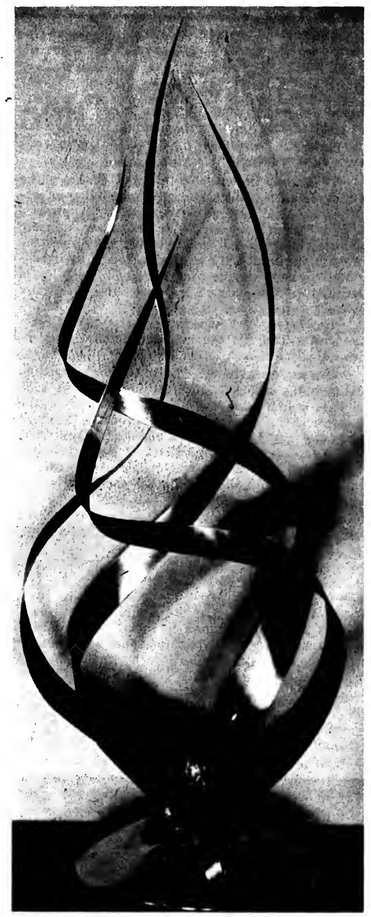
Overwhelmed by the new mass-awareness of mankind's apparent insignificance in vast spans of time and space, many turn their attention away from the cosmic abyss only to become still more poignantly afflicted by the rejections they encounter right here on earth. How can Christian humane values and goals be stretched to sanction their survival through reliance on the nuclear balance of terror? or the obscenity of the unending massacre in Vietnam? or the crushing indifference of the superstates to individual personality? or the casual death-wave on the expressways and crime-wave on the city streets? or the complacency of the over-privileged before the spectacle of the desperate poor? or the madness of a technology which, for man's enrichment, destroys the habitat upon which his very existence depends? or the insult that declares human progeny to have become by their number the earth's worst pollutant?

Although the roots of the church's conciliar crisis today are found in the general crisis, the National Council of Churches is trying to come to grips with different strands of it. The current debate deals with the problems of ecumenical inclusiveness, social advocacy, specialized vocations, joint mission and service operations, church union, and the responsibilities of leadership. No factions have formed around any one of these problems alone with total disregard for all the others, but degrees of concern do vary, and the debate finds every alliance but provisional. Perhaps the analysis here attempted will help various combatants to see better the common ground underlying their central concerns and those of others.

Accepting the Harvest Given

When the General Assembly at Detroit stated that "representatives of the churches gathered (here) have expressed a desire to develop a more inclusive Christian instrumentality of our unity and mission," it was simply recording a fact. When it went on to authorize the General Board and the General Secretary to explore this matter with churches not now members of the Council, asking for recommendations to the next Assembly as to the constitutional changes that may seem desirable in the light of the progress of such consultations, it showed its appreciation of the great rapprochement between distinct church traditions in the sixties, and its readiness to follow the Spirit expectantly in the seventies. Therefore, let no small minds ask straightaway for a list of the churches standing at the door, pressing to move into the building at 475 Riverside Drive in New York City!

The fundamental reality, as the Assembly met early last December, was that the decade ending



"PENTECOST FLAMES OF RENEWAL" — sculpture by Ralph M. Holdeman which, in the artist's words, "attempts to portray the upward sweep of cleansing and renewing fire."

had seen ancient, frozen hostilities between divergent church traditions largely melt away under the warmth of Providential movements and events—the Second Vatican Council, a broadening Lutheran ecumenism, a massive interdenominational concern for evangelism and its social fruits, a deepening awareness of the spiritual core of all ecclesial and conciliar life that is genuine. No dogmatic formulations having absolutized the present National Council, its members enjoy full Christian liberty to modify and transform its present structures in order to build with others, when they are ready, a more appropriate vehicle for mission and unity.

Since many churches that do not belong to the present Council already recognize the faith and the churchmanship of the member communions, and are equally recognized by the latter, what Christian reason could there be for **not** consulting about eventual fellowship in an improved "General Ecumenical Council?" (See TEMPO, Dec. 15-Jan. 1, pp. 12-13). While still other churches might be uninterested in such consultations at this time, their present reticence is neither a bar to common advance nor a sign that the others may not want to reconsider the matter at some future date.

Yet fear has been expressed that any enlargement of the present roster of Council communions could only sacrifice mission to unity. By this, it is plainly meant that progressive social attitudes and positions taken by the Council's Assemblies and General Boards in recent years, might not be approved by some of the communions that might wish to unite with the National Council member churches in a General Ecumenical Council.

Two things only need be noted about this fear. In respect to the **goals** sought by the present Council membership in the social sector, it is unlikely that any church which believes them unChristian would dream of joining the Council. In respect to the **means** of our working for those goals, our record of ineffectiveness should predispose us to study with all new conciliar partners, as we are already doing in the present Council family, ways of strengthening our actual impact for good.

If the mainline Orthodox and Protestant communions already linked were joined in a General Ecumenical Council by the Roman Catholic Church and major Protestant bodies now outside the conciliar movement, it is not likely that this broader unity would diminish the effectiveness of our common mission to both persons and social institutions.

Advocacy That Makes A Difference

Age after age, the church has shaken itself loose from enchaining privileges and compromising connections with the powers-that-be in order to raise its voice in behalf of the oppressed. Never has it done so soon enough, loud enough, or successfully enough.

With such a history behind us, it is natural that many strongly emphasize the role of advocacy as we seek to reshape the Council for its service in the decade ahead. It is certain that no General Ecumenical Council could be constituted in whose charter the right and duty of advocating social justice and social change would not be clearly recognized.

Two further points call for fresh thinking. Are all Christians and churches called to identical service in the battle for social righteousness? A staff paper presented to the Tulsa General Board meeting (Jan. 19-23) argued that: "Today, as in all past centuries, individual Christians and Christian groups find themselves in diverse places in the streams of history. Their concrete experience and responsibilities quicken them to different specific vocations in obedience to His call and in response to their particular capabilities. They are led by conscience to different emphases and priorities in their witness, mission and service. They need the complementary and corrective impact of the life and work of other Christian persons and groups who are, in turn, seeking to be faithful to **their** specific vocations. They need the cooperation of others whose vocations largely overlap their own."

The first point is that in the Council of tomorrow it is indispensable that coalitions be recognized and empowered to advocate with all their vigor those particular social concerns about which they have been given some insight, have achieved information, and for which they are prepared to spend significant resources of manpower and money.

The second point is that this kind of "subsidiarization," as German Catholic social theorists might call it, better corresponds with reality and promises more effective follow-through than current National Council practice. It is an open scandal that, in NCC's policy-making meetings, hollow victories are repeatedly marked up by Council sub-units or caucuses of delegates that fulfill all

(Continued on page 12)

An Editor of *Christianity Today* Asks:

CAN EVANGELICALS TRAVEL THE NEW ECUMENICAL ROAD?

By David Kucharsky

Not every one who says to me,
"Lord, Lord," shall enter the kingdom of heaven,
but he who does the will of my Father
who is in heaven. On that day many will
say to me, "Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy
in your name, and cast out demons
in your name, and do many mighty works
in your name?" And then will I declare to them,
"I never knew you; depart from me,
you evildoers.'

—Jesus Christ (**Matthew** 7:21-23, RSV)

BY NOW it should be reasonably clear that evangelicals have a social conscience after all. The recent U.S. Congress on Evangelism gave the world a good view of the compassionate concern shared by those who regard themselves as theologically conservative. The congress in Minneapolis, along with the Key Bridge consultations, have also shown that evangelicals want to work together to meet human need. The individualism characteristic of some aspects of the old fundamentalism seems to be evaporating under the heat of modern problems.

New evangelical awareness of social responsibility coupled with a cooperative spirit may suggest that this is a propitious time to think about major ecumenical realignments. Of particular relevance is the proposal of a General Ecumenical Council by Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, the distinguished general secretary of the National Council of Churches. Dr. Espy envisions establishment of an organization to succeed the NCC and to embrace the Roman Catholic Church in the United States as well as several of the big evangelically-oriented denominations which have thus far resisted the conciliar movement. What are the prospects of evangelicals coming in under such a new umbrella?

There are indications that we do have the potential today for what might be called evangelical-ecumenical rapprochement (this is phraseology of convenience and not altogether accurate because "evangelical" and "ecumenical" even today are not mutually exclusive terms, which is another way of saying that some evangelicals are already in the ecumenical movement). Many younger evangelicals will probably react favorably to the idea of a wider manifestation of Christian unity. They do not bear the scars of old ecclesiastical battles.

It also needs to be recognized that evangelicals, young and old alike, are not against ecumenism **per se.** As every churchman knows, the ecumenical movement grew out of the kind of missionary concern that evangelicals emphasize. And even with the multiplicity of denominations today there is still the manifestation of ecumenism among evangelicals when it comes to evangelistic endeavors. There is much less dogged denominationalism among evangelicals than among supposedly ecumenical liberals. Evangelicals moving to a new community tend to be more interested in finding a theologically conservative church than in locating one of a particular denomination.

Contrary to the understanding of many, evangelicals are not strangers to social action. There is reason, in fact, to speculate that evangelicals put more money and time into humanitarian endeavors than have liberals. Liberals are quite vocal on the subject, but the figures do not bear out the talk. Evangelicals have been ministering to the Vietnamese since the early part of the century; they were in Hanoi before most liberal churchmen even knew there was such a city. In America, evangelically-oriented rescue missions served millions in the "inner city" long before there was such a term.

The First U.S. Congress on Evangelism, held in Minneapolis last September, drew 18,000 young people to hear singer Pat Boone (left) and other singing groups on a "musical turn-on" night. The best attended and supported religious occasion of the year in the U.S.A., the Congress marked a new high for evangelical social commitment. Delegates dedicated themselves to a vigorous Christian witness "free from old narrow loyalties."

Individual Concern

THERE is a difference of approach, of course. Evangelicals believe strongly in humanitarianism, but they also believe that good works are not enough, that the best thing you can do for a person is to lead him to receive Christ as Savior and Lord. Christianity is ultimately a matter of individual concern. Jesus' nocturnal counsel to Nicodemus, quoted in **John** 3:16, has never been rescinded. There are the saved, and there are the lost and, whether an individual knows it or not, spiritual rescue made possible through Christ's atoning work is what counts in the long run. To ignore regeneration in an ecclesiastical enterprise is like writing a book about the Himalayas without mentioning Mount Everest.

This is a key theological point that many an ecumenical churchman is probably not prepared to accept. His skepticism at this juncture may be the result of a low view of Scripture (which evangelicals regard as infallibly inspired and authoritative). Whatever the reason, he thus becomes a roadblock to unity. Evangelicals stand in the position of theological orthodoxy in affirming both the need of spiritual rebirth and the responsibility incumbent upon every believer to exercise human compassion. Anything less is something less than Christian and has no historic right to the name.

The idea of ecumenical realignment demands that the whole theological base of the conciliar movement be examined thoroughly. It will do the church good even if "ecumenical progress" does not result. The ecumenical establishment must give serious consideration to the anxieties of evangelicals that councils of churches have become, in effect, platforms for alien gospels. Unfortunately, neither the Detroit General Assembly nor the Tulsa General Board meeting showed any inclination to air such issues. It is to be hoped that the new task force chaired by the Rev. Arie R. Brouwer will have the courage and foresight to open up the really big questions. They could do no better than to call a week of church-wide public hearings, and to call as first witness Professor Paul Ramsey of Princeton University, author of the widely acclaimed book, **Who Speaks for the Church?**

It is not mere theological bias that prompts dissent over current church trends. At least three of America's most respected churchmen are now voicing serious anxieties. One such is Dr. John A. Mackay, who himself was one of the leading figures in the ecumenical movement. He laments that "now unity is not for mission. Unity is for unity." He warns that "when Christian unity is equated with institutional oneness and episcopal control, and when both of these are regarded as indispensable for real unity, let this not be forgotten: The most unified ecclesiastical structure in Christian history was the Hispanic Catholic Church, which was also the most spiritually sterile and the most disastrously fanatical." Dr. Mackay urges that priority be given instead to "a united movement toward spiritual awakening."

Methodist Bishop Gerald Kennedy flatly asserted in an episcopal address before his General Conference that "we are not sure that God wills the churches of the Reformation to become one organic union. We believe that our pluralism has produced much good fruit, not the least of which has been freedom. We doubt seriously that eliminating our denominations would solve all our problems. We have no intention of apologizing for our own heritage or slowing down our evangelistic efforts until some proposed merger has been accomplished."

President John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary very recently echoed the feeling of German theologian Jurgen Moltmann, and even some Marxist thinkers, to the effect that today's churches may be going overboard in social activism: Bennett sees in the "crude response" of conservatism an "important dimension," that of transcendence, which should be a part of true Christianity.

No one can legitimately contend that the conciliar movement has failed to produce worthwhile services. In specialized research and relief, for example, considerable credit is due the National Council of Churches. The Council has performed roles well. There is no doubt that there is much that the churches can do better together than they can separately. The possibilities are summarized well in section five of the NCC's Mission in the Seventies report.

Major Barriers

BUT if evangelicals are actually going to travel the ecumenical road, the conciliar movement will need to show that it wants the evangelicals and that it is ready to consider removal of some major barriers. Unfortunately, in some supposedly liberal, ecumenical sectors of the church, evangelicals are frankly unwelcome. They are still identified with shallow piety and obscurantism. **Christianity Today** magazine in just a dozen years has been able to dispel much of that image by acting as a literary clearing house for top evangelical scholars around the world. It is now one of only six religious periodicals indexed in the **Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature.** Objective investigation will readily show that identification of evangelical thought with intellectual inferiority is unwarranted.

Evangelicals also feel unwelcome in the conciliar movement because they have seldom been invited to participate at influential levels. Rarely if ever do evangelical distinctives get any visibility in National Council programming. By contrast, viewpoints from the left of the ecclesiastical and political spectrum get exposure constantly. Such imbalance strongly suggests that the rationale for the organization is something other than oneness that the world might believe.

It is interesting to recall that only a few years ago the radical right was being denounced for its "ministry of disruption" against the NCC. Now the real disruptions come from radical elements on the left and few Council officials ever raise their voices in protest.

It is perhaps more than a matter of roadblocks in bringing more evangelicals into organized aspects of the ecumenical movement. Would present ecumenical leaders consider a complete change of direction — not to accommodate evangelicals but to conform to a biblical pattern? There are many evangelicals who feel that the ecumenical movement has lost its way since the days when it represented a massive missionary endeavor.

The NCC is particularly vulnerable at the point of its pronouncements. Whether these pronouncements are issued in behalf of the churches or issued to them is of secondary importance. In this day of mass communications, the most significant factor is that the pronouncements promote the particular points of view expressed therein, and to some extent give the impression of speaking for the whole church. On what grounds does the NCC challenge the convictions of expert laymen who are dedicated to the Christian faith and loyal to their churches? In what sense are NCC pronouncements on legislative affairs more prophetic than the considered judgments of the members of Congress, virtually all of whom are members in good standing of one denomination or another? If these individuals are making immoral decisions, they should be removed from the church rolls. If it is a question of honest difference of opinion on complex social and political matters, then the NCC has no right to take a position that gives the impression of making one course of action more Christian than another.

This is not to say that spiritual and secular matters are easy to distinguish. The great issues of our day do have moral consequences. But the Prophet Ezekiel, in a passage in which he condemned social evils, also indicted priests for having "made no distinction between the holy and the common" (**Ezekiel** 22:26). The prophet lamented the land where the princes "in the midst of her are like wolves tearing the prey, shedding blood, destroying lives to get dishonest gain. And her prophets have daubed for them with whitewash, seeing false visions, and divining lies for them saying, 'Thus says the Lord God,' when the Lord has not spoken" (**Ezekiel** 22:27-28).

Most Christians, no matter how conservative, will grant that social problems can become so acute that the church is forced to speak out collectively. Inasmuch as the NCC is a creature of the denominations, it can also claim that privilege. But churchmen should then realize that in appealing for political solutions they recognize their own failure to deal with the problems internally.

Source Short-Circuited

In any country where the avowedly Christian element is in the majority, the church demeans its own dynamic when it appeals for political solutions. It is short-circuiting the power source within itself. If churches are teaching effectively, they need not resort to pronouncements.

What is especially disturbing about NCC pronouncements is that they are so selective. We hear about Vietnam, South Africa, and government-financed social welfare programs. But the NCC suddenly becomes tongue-tied when it comes to the Middle East conflict, the recently concluded war in Nigeria, Soviet suppression of Hungary, occupation of Czechoslovakia, organized crime, slaughter on the highways, the alcohol problem, the smoking-cancer link, drug abuse, pornography, medical ethics, and other key issues. In view of this selectivity, how can one escape the conclusion that the NCC is wedded to partisan political purposes?

This conclusion is reinforced when one traces the actions of the NCC General Board, the 250-member body which is supposed to formulate policy. Reporters who have covered the Board meetings for years cannot recall a single instance in which the Board has voted down a major statement or program initiated by the NCC staff.

Seldom is an issue aired fairly before the General Board. The grape strike is an example of the NCC's one-sided approach. The Board voted to urge a boycott of table grapes even though it did not hear any arguments from the growers' side. Finally, more than a year after the vote, a grower was given time to address the General Assembly. A move to reconsider the vote was referred to the NCC staff, whose response is predictable.

One phase of NCC policy is particularly distressing to first-generation Americans: the implicit distrust of the American system. The American way of life is flayed unmercifully. Yet the NCC seems never able to bring itself to be critical of socialist alternatives. If the concern is for people, as it ought to be, then the NCC surely owes at least a recognition of the oppression of Christians in Communist lands.

Indifference to Evangelism

EVEN more disturbing, especially when contrasted with the ease with which the NCC finds itself able to speak on complex secular problems, is the Council's indifference toward evangelism. Dr. Espy has said publicly, "Both substantively and programatically, the National Council is about where its member churches are on evangelism, which is in a state of confusion." In Miami Beach in 1966, Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, upon taking office as president, vowed that the NCC would henceforth emphasize evangelism. There was never any implementation whatsoever of that promise during his three years at the NCC helm. How can evangelicals possibly be expected to travel this kind of a road? Can they really be expected to recognize as believing brethren those who are unable to decide what evangelism is, or whether there is such a thing? The Key Bridge coalition, which is projecting a year of evangelism in 1973, shows that cooperation in mission can be achieved.

In some respects, the emphasis in the New Testament is upon fellowship. But there is also the admonition to separation. Paul is quoted as having told the church at Corinth: "Do not be mismated with unbelievers. For what partnership have righteousness and iniquity?" (**II Corinthians** 6:14, RSV) The evangelical whose fidelity is to Scripture must take this passage seriously, even at the risk of being considered proud or judgmental.

It should be recognized that not all polemic against the NCC is motivated by hate or private interests. Recognizing that they have their own soft spots, it does not come easy for evangelicals to indict an organization which, in a number of respects, has served the church well. It is particularly difficult when many associated with the organization are devout men of God, sincerely seeking to obey Him. But such men need to stand up and be counted and seek to remove those who subvert the faith. Evangelicals cannot be asked to ignore passages like the one in **Jude** where the writer "found it necessary to write appealing to you to contend for the faith which was once for all delivered to the saints. For admission has been secretly gained by some who long ago were designated for this condemnation, ungodly persons who pervert the grace of our God into licentiousness and deny our only master and Lord, Jesus Christ."

The NCC needs to embrace the **whole** counsel of God, and to adopt what today might be called a context theology or philosophy. Religious relevance does not begin and end with current issues which politicians and newsmen see fit to dwell on. To confine concern to the immediate situation is to try to take the comforts of the father's home to the prodigal in the far country. Authentically Christian context demands far wider concern, embracing the historical perspective and the eschatalogical. The ecumenical movement should demonstrate that it is prepared to assume responsibility is such a context. There is little indication in present structures of such potential. If evangelicals take their cue from past experience, they will wait to see in which direction the road is going to be built before they commit themselves to travel on it. ■

Mr. Kucharsky is Associate Editor of Christianity Today. For many years he has attended and reported on NCC policy meetings for his publication.

Armed British troops stand guard on a platform walling off street in Catholic area of Belfast.

A WALL IN BELFAST:

Can the Northern Irish Settle Their Differences?

"The Events of 1969 May Be The Last Vain Effort by The Forces of Bigotry And Divisiveness . . ."

by T. Carlisle Patterson

IT'S AN UGLY makeshift construction of concrete and steel and barbed wire. It follows a meandering course for more than a mile through the heart of an area of decayed and overcrowded row-housing. It was built in haste by army engineers four months ago between "the Shankill" and "the Falls" to reduce the risk of further rioting and destruction in that ghetto area of the city. Its simple purpose was to insulate from each other some thousands of under-privileged "Catholics" and a similar number of under-privileged "Protestants." With the sort of unpremeditated irony which seems almost inevitable in Ireland, the wall became known as the "Freeland Line" from the name of the general commanding the British troops which had been drafted into Northern Ireland to restore order.

Many thoughtful people in Northern Ireland are both embarrassed and worried by the existence of the wall. We are embarrassed certainly, because we recognize the wall as a shameful symbol of our failure as a community to live together in peace and cooperation. But we're worried also, because we know that this particular kind of wall can be erected more quickly than it can be demolished. In the tense and dangerous situation of September, 1969, there was probably no other practicable way to restrain the violence of extremist groups in the two areas. We have an awful suspicion, however, that the wall may still be standing—a focus for threats and counter-threats and counter-fears long after the immediate need for its existence has gone.

The Freeland Line is in fact that hideously tangible expression of a barrier which for centuries has stretched across the minds of the Irish people. It has divided us socially and culturally, as well as religiously, and for more than a century it has coincided with a deep and often bitter political antagonism. "Catholic" and "Protestant" are terms which in Ireland do not so much indicate differing doctrinal and liturgical viewpoints as defensive social and political alignments.

Majority Privileges

ASK any resident of the Shankill Road district who took part last August in throwing petrol bombs against the homes of his Catholic neighbors (and only a very small proportion of Shankill people, it should be stressed, engaged in such activities) to justify what he did, and he will probably talk about "defending Protestantism." But scratch a bit deeper, and you will find deep underlying fears which have little to do with religion. Years of heavy male unemployment (far and away the heaviest rate anywhere in Britain) have made him anxious about his job. The conditions of squalor which he shares with his neighbors of the Falls Road area, in a district which for too long has been scheduled for urban renewal, make him uneasy lest others secure too large a share of the limited cake available.

He watches the high Catholic birth rate slowly pushing up that section of the population which traditionally has supported the policy of a united Ireland, and he knows that this policy would place him in a one-to-four minority situation instead of a two-to-one majority. Not surprisingly, he resists every concession to "the other side of the house" as hastening the day when he will lose his majority privileges in "Protestant" Northern Ireland, together with the superior social and welfare facilities which he enjoys as a citizen of Britain.

"Protestantism" in this sense has little to do with the scriptural insights of Luther or Calvin. It is in fact synonymous with "Unionism" or "Loyalism." "Unionist" tends to be a very confusing word, to Americans in particular, with their memories of the Civil War and "the Union." Reasonably enough, they expect Unionism on the Irish scene to designate an individual or a group which pursues the policy of reuniting Ireland. Precisely the reverse is the case. The Unionist Party is committed as the foundation of its policy to upholding the union of Northern Ireland with Great Britain. It has therefore been opposed, ever since Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill in 1886, to any suggestion of a united and independent Ireland.

The close tie-up of religion and politics in Northern Ireland can be seen most vividly in the Orange Order and its allied organizations such as the "Apprentice Boys of Derry." The latter movement celebrates the courage of the small group of apprentices who in 1689 slammed the gates of the City of Londonderry shut in the face of the armies of James II, when Governor Lundy had decided to surrender. (It was the holding of the Apprentice Boys' annual parade in Londonderry on August 12 last year which sparked off the riots in that city.)

The Orange Order concentrates its nostalgia on a slightly later event—the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, when the army of William III finally defeated James' attempt to reassert his power in Britain. Seen in the context of European history, both events were part of an on-going power struggle involving France, Spain and Holland. (Unionists conveniently forget that the Pope was one of the first to congratulate King William on his victory at the Boyne!)

Flamboyant Spectacle

TO Orangemen and Unionists generally, however, "Derry and the Boyne" are symbols of the inextinguishable triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism. The flamboyant spectacle of the Twelfth of July Orange processions, with their climax in open-air meetings, which combine religious worship and fervent political oratory, have over the years provided one of the most colorful elements in the itinerary of many American tourists!

The Orange Order continues to claim that it is in essence a religious movement dedicated to the maintenance of biblical Protestantism. In fact, however, it has much more intimate links with the Unionist Party than with the churches. It appoints a large block of delegates to the Unionist Council and, in many local constituency branches of the Unionist Party, it is the dominant force. Until recent years it has been virtually impossible for anyone to secure nomination as a Unionist parliamentary candidate without being a member of the Orange Order.

The Order's influence has consistently been thrown on the right-wing of Unionism. In spite of its claim to stand for civil and religious liberty, it has opposed fiercely the demands of the Civil Rights movement for the redress of social and political grievances. The moves made by former Prime Minister Terence O'Neill to build bridges between the two sections of the Northern Ireland community, and to achieve greater cooperation with the government of the Republic, were attacked as a "sell-out to Catholicism."

Political "Protestantism" consists of a series of attitudes based largely on deep-rooted fear and suspicion, mainly social and political in origin. These attitudes are presented and widely accepted as the expression of a simultaneous loyalty to the Reformed faith and to the association with Britain. When extremist Protestants paint on a wall such slogans as "One Queen, One Crown, No Pope in Our Town," they see no double message but the simple identification of political and religious purity.

It is relatively easy to describe the fears which motivate so much thinking on the Protestant side, and easier still to produce caricatures of those fears. But the fears are real and have not always been sufficiently understood by those who watched the events of recent months from a distance. Even the Cameron Commission, which in September, 1969 presented its report on the causes of the earlier disturbances (the "Scarman Tribunal" is at present investigating the events of last summer), had this to say: "It is plain that the train of events and incidents . . . has had as its background, on the one hand, a widespread sense of political and social grievance, for long unadmitted and therefore unredressed by successive Governments of Northern Ireland and, on the other, sentiments of fear and apprehension, sincerely and tenaciously felt and believed, of risks to the integrity and indeed continued existence of the State" (para. 6). And again (para. 149): "The fears and apprehensions felt widely among Unionists have solid and substantial basis both in the past and even in the present."

Threats of Force

IT is absurd to expect Unionists to forget the campaigns of violence carried out by the Irish Republican Army against the police and public service installations in Northern Ireland. It is difficult to estimate the strength of the I.R.A. at the present time, but its leaders continue to issue threats and assertions of their continuing devotion to the cause of reunifying Ireland by force.

Such statements of intention have indeed not been confined to the I.R.A. Only a few weeks ago, a minister in the Dublin Government declared in a public speech his belief that forcible means should not be ruled out in order to reintegrate Northern Ireland with the Republic. He was quickly rebuked by the Prime Minister as having expressed a point of view at variance with the official policy of the Government. But such incidents make it very plausible for Unionists to say, "We told you so—our very existence as a legally constituted state is still under threat."

Leaders of the Roman Catholic section of the community in Northern Ireland must accept some share of responsibility for the continuing Protestant fears. Whereas Protestant church leaders freely acknowledge the existence of the Republic of Southern Ireland and pay regular courtesy calls on the President in Dublin, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Armagh (even though his official residence is within Northern Ireland) still makes no such formal gesture of acceptance of Northern Ireland's existence by calling on the Governor. Although there are Catholic members of the Stormont Parliament, the Cardinal declines to take advantage of his right to appoint a Catholic chaplain to the panel of chaplains at Stormont. Such things lend strength to extremist Protestant claims that every Roman Catholic in Northern Ireland is at heart disloyal if not actively subversive. Even "discrimination," in the form of a reluctance to permit Roman Catholics to occupy positions of influence in public life can come to seem respectable and inevitable.

Persistent Prejudices

THE deep cultural and political division between Catholic and Protestant would be serious enough if it were confined to the older members of the population. Regrettably, it is being perpetuated by the insistence of the Roman Catholic authorities on a policy of segregated education. Elementary and high-school education is provided free by the State for all children without restriction, but virtually all Catholic children attend church schools (which incidentally receive heavier State financial aid than in almost any country in the world). Catholic and Protestant children, therefore, grow up knowing nothing of each others' beliefs and attitudes, with the result that the ancient prejudices and suspicions persist unchecked.

In Belfast, Roman Catholic and Protestant leaders urge citizens to "keep things cool" in a joint effort to prevent further rioting and violence. Shown from left are: Catholic Bishop Neil Farren, Church of Ireland' (Anglican) Bishop Charles Tyndall, Methodist Minister George Morrison and the Rev. James Kilgore, moderator of the Derry Presbytery.

The "Wall" has existed, therefore, long before General Freeland's arrival in Northern Ireland. If calm can be preserved, and if tempers cool sufficiently, we may in the course of the next few months succeed in dispensing with that ugly barricade running through the streets of West Belfast. What really matters, however, is whether we shall be able somehow to do away with that other intangible wall which severs a whole society.

No one who knows the current mood of Northern Ireland can be more than cautiously optimistic. The violence on the streets came to an end last October, not because of any fundamental change of heart on the part of those who had been involved, but because of the clear determination of the British troops and the British Government to tolerate no more mob law on either side. Troops cannot be everywhere, and military control cannot continue indefinitely. The only real hope for the future lies in the achievement of a more integrated community.

And here, indeed, the situation is by no means unpromising. For citizens of the United States there is probably no simpler way to understand the events of last summer and autumn than as a "backlash." Nasty and dangerous as a backlash is, it has at least this element of hopefulness implicit in it that it would not have happened if there had not been some progress against which reactionary elements felt obliged to react. The recent violence of the extremist underworld in Northern Ireland, both on the Paisleyite and the Republican sides is in its own way an indication of the quite remarkable progress which has been made in Protestant-Catholic relations.

Politically this has taken the form of a new willingness by the Belfast- and Dublin governments to work together on projects which do not involve any infringement of their traditional political stances. Terence O'Neill gave dramatic expression to this trend when in January, 1965, he invited Sean Lemass, then Prime Minister of the Republic, to meet him officially in Belfast. Cooperation between Government departments over a wide range of topics, including tourism and trade, is increasingly recognized as normal and necessary in our small country.

SOCIALLY the advance is being made in part through the activities of various organizations formed specifically for the purpose of furthering community relations the Corrymeela Community, for example (a sort of Irish variant of Iona), and PACE (Protestant and Catholic Encounter). It is now the normal thing, rather than the rare exception, for Catholics and Protestants to serve together on bodies concerned with social issues. Even the effects of school segregation are being lessened by the involvement of boys and girls from all types of school—especially at the high-school level—in a wide range of extracurricular activities.

And while all this goes on, what of the churches themselves? It is hardly surprising, in view of the very conservative characteristics of most church life in Ireland, that formal relationships between the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Protestant churches have been minimal. But the spread of informal contacts, encouraged by Vatican II and the ecumenical climate generally, has been astonishingly rapid. Local groups of priests and ministers exist in many places, and larger conferences (such as that held annually at Glenstal Benedictine Abbey near Limerick) have become accepted forms of the ecumenical dialogue on the Irish scene.

The Wall still stands in Ireland—that mental and emotional wall which for far too long has been given the appearance of sanctity because of its association with religious conviction. But the unmistakable fact is that more doors have been opened in that wall during the past ten years than at any time, probably, since the Rebellion 1969 as one last vain effort by the forces of bigotry and divisiveness to bar those doors. With the doors more and more widely open, we shall be able to view the wall, not as an insuperable and disruptive barrier within our nation, but as a satisfying and enriching feature of our cultural and religious landscape. ■

The Rev. T. Carlisle Patterson is Minister of the Crescent Church (Presbyterian Church in Ireland) in Belfast. As a Protestant he has frequently played a leading role in ecumenical dialogues with Catholic leaders in North Ireland. He recently completed a two-week visit to the U.S.A., where he spoke to numerous church groups.

WASHINGTON COMMENT

Chemical And Biological Weapons: Rethinking The Unthinkable

By Allan M. Parrent

AS A RESULT of a major government-wide review ordered last spring by the President, a review spurred in part at least by a series of embarrassing incidents and by the purposeful statesmanship of Rep. Richard McCarthy (D-N.Y.), the Administration made a major policy pronouncement on November 25 regarding chemical and biological weapons (CBW). In sum, President Nixon announced that:

1. The U.S. reaffirms its renunciation of the first use of lethal chemical weapons and extends this to include incapacitating chemicals.

2. The Administration will submit to the Senate for ratification the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting first use in war of "asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and bacteriological methods of warfare."

3. The U.S. renounces the use of lethal biological agents and weapons, and all other methods of biological warfare, and will confine its biological research to defensive measures.

In spite of some significant questions of definition and intent yet to be clarified, this announcement marked a breakthrough in an area of weaponry which for too long has been conducted in nearly total secrecy, with little review and control, which has only marginal military utility, and whose horrendous potential might be as much of a threat to the user as to the intended victims.

The history of American CBW policy has for many years been marked by drift, lack of coordination, and failure to incorporate it into a rational and coherent defense policy. As a result, the U.S. awoke in 1965 to the fact that its traditional policy of no-first-use of CBW had been seriously eroded without any conscious policy decision having been made. The changes which allowed the U.S. to initiate chemical warfare operations in Vietnam, to make contingency plans for first use of CBW in several countries, and to increase substantially its CBW research, stockpiles, and delivery capabilities within the past decade, came about primarily as a result of default by our top civilian and military policymakers. According to Rep. McCarthy, the change occurred "because of the slow but constant pressures of the technicians, the unnecessary secrecy . . ., the failure to subject CBW to rigorous policy analyses . . ., the acquiescence of top-level policymakers in a series of small policy changes that amount in total to a new policy, . . . and the frustrations of our professional military officers in attempting to win the war in Vietnam." Until recently, only a handful of Congressmen knew any details of our CBW program, even though a minimum of $2 billion has been spent on such weapons since 1961.

Call for Ratification

The Nixon Administration's announcement is a significant step toward gaining some mastery over this drift, even though it is not as sweeping as a quick reading might indicate. Ratification by the U.S. of the Geneva Protocol of 1925, the Administration hopes, will strengthen the worldwide prohibition against the use of such weapons, strengthen the legal force of the Protocol and the international restraints against proliferation of CW and BW agents, and reaffirm past U.S. votes in the UN in favor of the objectives of the Protocol.

With regard to these hopes, however, three comments might be made. First, the U.S. itself actually proposed the Protocol in 1925 and signed it but, along with Japan, has failed for 45 years to ratify it. During that period 84 other nations have ratified. Second, it is much to the interest of a nuclear power like the U.S. to encourage adherence to the Protocol by its own ratification. Inaction only encourages non-nuclear states to develop the much less expensive CBW capability in order to have their own weapons of mass destruction, and such proliferation only increases the likelihood of war with indiscriminate weapons. Third, it should be noted that our constant attempts during UN discussions to encourage other nations to ratify, and our efforts to strengthen bans on CBW, have appeared hypocritical, to say the least, in the absence of our own ratification and in view of our actions in Vietnam.

As in most questions of foreign policy these days, it is the Vietnam war which befouls the issue. Being loath to say that our use of tear gas ("riot control agents") and herbicides ("anti-vegetation chemical agents") has been contrary to traditional policy or to the principles of the Protocol, the Administration, as it seeks ratification, will insist that the Geneva Protocol does not prohibit the use of such weapons. While it believes that "bacteriological methods of warfare" cover all biological methods of warfare, it "will also make clear that it does not believe the use in war of riot control agents or chemical herbicides is covered by the prohibitions of the Protocol."

So declared a recent Administration spokesman. Indeed, the Administration will argue that such weapons or "agents" are humane instruments of warfare which reduce casualties on both sides and actually save lives. A long list of specific examples was recently presented by a Pentagon spokesman in a related Congressional hearing. While there is admitted ambiguity on the point, the Administration will attempt to show, by examining the negotiating history of the Protocol and the earlier treaties from which its language was taken, that the weapons in question were not intended to be included under the Protocol's provisions.

The argument that use of tear gas and herbicides saves lives in Vietnam is a politically powerful one which the Administration, at the insistence of the Pentagon which seems genuinely convinced of the argument's validity, will push. There are indications that this may be the price exacted for military support of the new policy. While a lengthy debate could and, no doubt, will take place on the question of whether the weapons in question now in use in Vietnam **can** be used to reduce casualties a more pertinent question is whether and in what degree they **are** in fact used in other ways.

From all indications a major point of contention will be the degree to which tear gas is used rather to increase casualties, flushing the adversary out of hiding in order to bring him into the range of more lethal weapons. An equally important question concerns the degree to which chemical defoliants which are used to deprive the local populace of life-sustaining food should be considered "lethal" or "incapacitating" chemicals. It was precisely such uses (which the State Department admits have occurred but which the Defense Department denies any knowledge of) which the NCC had in mind when it recently urged prompt ratification of the Protocol "without crippling reservations such as those which would permit continued use of chemical defoliants and of tear gas as an accessory to lethal weapons."

Unconvincing Argument

The other Administration argument, that such weapons were never meant to be included under the Protocol, appears to be historically weak. The State Department admits that the text of the Protocol itself is not clear, but its attempt to clarify the ambiguity is not terribly convincing. In fact, the addition of the phrase "or other gases" to the language of the various post-World-War I treaties (the accepted pre-war phrase had been "asphyxiating or poisonous gases") would seem to be a conscious effort to make the post-war treaties, including the 1925 Protocol, more inclusive.

Furthermore, in a vote of 80-3 with 36 abstentions, the UN Political Committee on December 9 approved a resolution indicating that most nations interpret the Protocol to include tear gas and herbicides and condemning their use as "contrary to the generally recognized rules of international war." Only the U.S., Australia, and Portugal opposed it. Among the nations which are parties or signatories to the Protocol, 39 approved, 27 abstained, and 3 opposed the resolution. The U.S. is in a definite minority on Protocol interpretation.

The Protocol will probably be submitted to the Senate in February, shortly after which the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will begin hearings. The Administration hopes to avoid having a formal reservation attached to the U.S. ratification on the tear gas/defoliant issue. Such a reservation would be seen as an obstacle to a final, post-Vietnam ban on all CBW and, in any case, would probably cause the Protocol to be defeated in the Senate.

At the same time, either by establishing the appropriate legislative history during the debates, or by saying nothing on the issue (as in the case of Australia which ratified years ago, but continues to use tear gas and defoliants in Vietnam), or by some other method, the Administration seems determined to continue its use of these weapons, at least until the end of the Vietnam war. Were it not for the war and the now ex-

(Continued on page 11)

U.S. Marine carrying flame thrower and wearing protective garb against chemical and biological warfare weapons.

An estimated 5,600 sheep died in western Utah when poison gases escaped from U.S. Army storage area.

WASHINGTON COMMENT

The State of The Union — And of Mr. Nixon

President Nixon waves to the members of Congress as he is about to deliver his State of the Union address. Behind him (left) is Vice President Spiro T. Agnew and House Speaker John W. McCormack.

by John W. Turnbull

NOT ONLY the State of the Union address, an auspicious occasion in its own right, but the first Presidential address of the new year, the new decade, the new session of Congress, the new year of the Administration itself: all conspired to offer an unusual opportunity to President Nixon to display himself both as statesman and as politician. He seized the opportunity uncommonly effectively, and his friends cheered and even his enemies had grudgingly to admit his success.

Things have been going extremely well for Mr. Nixon in the past two or three months, and both the demeanor and the substance of his speech suggested that he may at last have begun to think of himself as a winner.

Nineteen sixty-nine may not have been a great year as Presidential years go, but it may be a sufficient accomplishment for a President in such a year simply to have survived. And Mr. Nixon not only survived but enjoyed (so the polls indicate at any rate) an almost uninterrupted rise in popularity. A minority President, elected in times as troubled as any in our history and facing a Congress controlled by the opposition party, he has emerged as very much the master in his own political house, and has succeeded in either defusing or embracing most of the issues on which his opposition had hopes of scoring politically.

Vietnam

The defusing has been especially successful on the Vietnam question. Whatever the limitations of "Vietnamization" as a solution to the complex political, military and moral issues involved in our Vietnam policy, it has sold remarkably well politically at least for the time. Troops are coming home, or at any rate seem to be, and more will be coming, or at any rate it is said that they will. The argument is no longer over the merits of withdrawal (and in that sense the opponents of the war have won the day or at least the hour) but only over its pace and over corollary issues of much less visibility and political clout.

Meanwhile the notion (reiterated yet again in the State of the Union message) that the principal effect of criticism of Vietnam policy is to prolong the war has helped to re-establish the efficacy of that ancient but exceedingly odd proposition that **support** of a government's foreign policy, especially in time of war, is "non-political," while **opposition** to it is expressive of "partisan" rather than fully patriotic commitments.

The reiterated promise to reduce the level of our involvements overseas strikes a responsible chord in the heart of everyone except the most unreconstructed Cold Warrior—hawks, doves, conservatives, liberals, you name it. The reasons for their responsiveness are undoubtedly widely various, and some of them incompatible with others, but for the moment they coincide in a common conviction that the issues of the Seventies call for a different kind of American posture toward the rest of the world from that of the Forties and Fifties. Whatever they think should be done about Vietnam, pretty much everybody seems to agree that one is enough and that policies entailing a notable risk of producing other such imbroglios should be subjected to severe scrutiny, however noble their intent or seemingly advantageous or "necessary" in the short run.

Finally in the field of foreign policy, Mr. Nixon has managed what few if any of his recent predecessors could have got away with, namely hopeful albeit guarded expressions of the possibility of easing tensions with the Soviet Union and, even more remarkable, Communist China. (China Lobby, where are you?)

Domestic Issues

The Administration's most sweeping proposals in the area of domestic social reform have been the income maintenance, job training and work incentive programs designed to transform the present welfare system; and Mr. Nixon again assigned high priority to these programs on January 22 — though he did not devote much of his speaking time to these or any others of the particular concerns of the poor or of minority groups. Democrats and liberals generally (not to mention radicals) remain dissatisfied and uneasy with many specifics in the package, but they have little choice but to support it "as far as it goes" — especially since, as a high adviser to the President recently said, with considerable justice, to a group of Washington liberals, they would have been loud and even intemperate in their praise of the program if it had issued from a Democratic White House.

In its reflections on and prescriptions for our domestic ills, the January message, whether by instinct or by design, dwelt chiefly upon issues of broad-based and dramatic political appeal, rather than any that suggest the possibility of any sort of tension or conflict in the interests of various segments of society.

Thus inflation, a vivid and painful reality to every American regardless of race, creed or color. Mr. Nixon lays the chief blame for inflation at the door of the federal government itself and thus, without quite saying so, at the door of the Democrats under whose Administrations in the Sixties there was such an excess of federal spending over income. Since federal spending and an unbalanced budget are (allegedly) the chief cause of the problem, the remedy is readily at hand: decrease spending and balance the budget. We will "quit putting good money into bad programs" — and the listener is invited to enumerate for himself all those "bad" programs from which others benefit and for which he pays. No one is for inflation, and everyone is especially for a cure that promises to ease his own tax burden as well.

Thus environmental pollution, an issue whose rapid and steep ascent into political prominence over the past few months may have set some sort of all-time record. It is, as someone has said, a "motherhood" issue — only in reverse: you can no more be **for** pollution than you can be **against** motherhood. But it was in connection with this issue that Mr. Nixon made one of the few proposals in his speech to which a price tag was attached—a $10-billion national clean waters program. And immediately nasty questions began to arise. Was $10 billion the total cost of the proposed program? If so, the amount was said by critics to be insufficient. Or did it represent the federal contribution? If so, where would cuts come to keep that budget balanced without raising taxes? And where would the rest of the money for the program come from?

Questions on Specifics

Questions like these are just a foretaste of what will come when the generalities of the message begin to be translated into the specifics of budgets and legislation. Then we will learn what in particular, in Mr. Nixon's view, are those "bad programs" into which we should stop putting "good money." Politically speaking, we will also learn whose ox is proposed to be gored; and Mr. Nixon's opposition, temporarily embarrassed by its inability to agree on how if at all to attack a political position so genial and full of promise for everyone, may be able to locate a few targets.

One ox pretty certain not to be gored is the law enforcement program — one area (and the only one mentioned in the speech) where the President will increase rather than decrease the budget. If the Administration has given out confusing signals on some issues, it has been quite clear on this one and doubtless confident that it has hit pay dirt politically. The words and deeds of its President, its Vice President, its Attorney General, its court appointments, all say unmistakably (as did its 1968 campaign) that this Administration is going to yield to no one in its resoluteness against what Mr. Nixon called "the criminal elements" in our society.

Despite various warnings and some feeble attempts to latch on to it, liberals have allowed this issue to be almost wholly pre-empted by the conservatives, to the point where, as one commentator recently observed, the impression has got abroad that liberal Democrats are **against** law and order. The irony of the situation is that it is among the Democrats' own natural constituencies —minorities, the economically marginal, city dwellers, even many traditional liberals if my own acquaintances are any sample—that the plain everyday fear of getting mugged or robbed or burgled or what-have-you is strongest. Indeed it is now thought by many people that the Administration is so strongly placed in relation to any possible attack from the left on this issue that its chief concern, especially as it looks toward the elections, will be to strengthen itself against attack from the right — the Wallaceites and their sympathizers. If that happens, then the danger will be very great — not only to responsible treatment of the crime problem itself but also to the security of the Constitutional protections of citizens and to the balance of federal and state and local powers.

Nixon's Strength

Reflecting on the first year of the Nixon Administration, which looked so like a sleeper much of the time while it was going on, a leading Democrat recently accorded Mr. Nixon something like the ultimate accolade by calling him "the most consummate national politician since F.D.R." It is now believed that, confident that this will be a good Republican year and that he can help make it even better, Mr. Nixon will take a much more active role in this fall's campaigns than is customary for Presidents in off-years when ordinarily the party incumbent in the White House doesn't do too well in the Congressional races.

A lot could change by fall, of course — as a

(Continued on page 11)

it says here . . .

NCC'S POLICYMAKERS TALK OVER THE FUTURE

by Dorothy Rensenbrink

TULSA, Okla. — While the creaking machinery of bureaucracy ran into delays toward the goal of changing the organizational style of the National Council of Churches, the youth, black, women, and other minority caucuses at the General Board meeting gave evidence that a de *facto* change already exists.

It was the Board's longest meeting, Jan. 19-23, completing the work of the recessed organizational session begun in Detroit, last Dec. 5 on the first evening, and going on throughout the next four days under a feeling of responsibility to deal with the issues raised at the triennial General Assembly, held Nov. 30 through Dec. 4.

Chief among these issues was the sense that the NCC bureaucratic set-up, serving the wish of denominational structures to meet in unity and in social action, was out-of-date and that a new age dictates a new style of organization to meet new needs.

Coming before the Board were two different plans for reorganization — a General Ecumenical Council proposed by the NCC's general secretary, Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, and a plan advanced by the Reappraisal Committee, chaired by the State Clerk of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Dr. William Thompson.

Although both men indicated that their proposals had much in common, a sense of cross purposes existed among Board members. Dr. Espy's plan calls for a United Nations-like structure in which groups of all Christian denominations, dedicated to certain tasks (liturgy, worship, social action, theology, human need, etc.), could unite independently in these programs, all existing under the general umbrella of an Ecumenical Council, which would have no central power to enforce decisions upon the different agencies.

Dr. Thompson's plan calls for a streamlined NCC in which staff members would work on specific experimental projects in behalf of member communions for limited periods of time — an NCC that would act as a forum, catalyst, in outreach, and concentrating on experimental and short-term programs.

The question of sources of power and fiscal responsibility hung over both plans, along with a feeling that a General Board that passes resolutions that have "no teeth in them" is not good enough.

In the end, the Board directed its president and general secretary to appoint a task force of 15 members to present clear alternative options by its next meeting to be debated and voted upon. The Board meets next in June.

The under-30 side of the generation gap showed up at this meeting as elected members of the "Establishment" and made their clout felt in different ways. The Board decided to eliminate the NCC's Youth Department as a separate unit and created the post of Youth Officer (to be appointed when necessary funds are located). It established a watch-dog committee to stimulate youth participation in all echelons of the Council; it enlarged its Executive Committee from the standard 27 denominational leaders to a figure up to 32, to include at least five youths, each to be under 27 years old at time of election. It stipulated also that ten members of each of the divisional program boards be not more than 27 years old. It referred to the next Board session action for adding three more women to the Executive Committee for a total of 25 members, which would include five women counting the two already on it.

Over 500 persons were elected to the program boards and standing committees of the five major divisions of the NCC. This completed the herculean task of the Nominating Committee, which was elected only last Dec. 5 to accomplish this chore. The intent of the committee was to arrange a more equitable distribution of minority groups in decision-making positions of the Council.

Dr. Espy, in his report, considered the national ecumenical movement as it is evidenced in local, state, and regional clusters of religious groups

Miss Theressa Hoover, chairman of the NCC General Board nominating committee which, between Dec. 5 and Jan. 23, completed the heavy task of naming more than 500 persons to standing committees and program boards of the Council, gets a thank you from General Secretary R. H. Edwin Espy.

working together, and called all of these "interdependent" with the National Council of Churches.

He called for a strengthening of these clusters or councils wherever they are and the Board directed that a committee be appointed to study ways in which this can be accomplished.

The question of how to deal with ever larger social demands in the face of rising costs also plagued the Board. At a news briefing Council President Cynthia C. Wedel said the NCC's 1969 income had been the largest in its history ($24,280,582). She blamed inflation for a preliminary deficit of $416,130 but added that the figure may be considerably less since a final audit had not been made and the books were being closed at the end of January.

Presentations from three different staff units were made to the Board. The first was from the Department of Social Justice, featuring American Indian concerns. Mrs. Martha Grass, an Indian mother, spoke of the conditions under which she has lived; the Rev. Wendell Chino talked of the limited effectiveness of Government programs; and Miss Tillie Walker, NCC vice-president-at-large and director of the United Scholarship Service (for Indians), questioned the entire relationship of the church to the American Indian.

Appearing before the Board on behalf of the United Board for College Development (serving 67 black colleges, primarily in the South) were two black college presidents: Dr. Lucius C. Pitts of Miles College, and Dr. John T. King of Houston-Tillotson College. The United Board is an NCC agency which seeks to strengthen existing black colleges through various technical services. The General Board approved a resolution of its Division of Christian Education to make the strengthening of black colleges its first priority.

Several resolutions were passed.

The Board supported an extension of the franchise to those between 18 and 21 years of age. It upheld the right of public employes and employes of non-profit public service institutions (specifically hospital workers) to organize and bargain collectively, and particularly commended church-related institutions to initiate such reforms.

It called for a study on Jewish-Christian relations and raised the possibility that a new statement may be made in this area. It rejected a motion calling for churches to oppose the appointment of Judge George H. Carswell to the Supreme Court, substituting instead a resolution calling upon the President and Congress to appoint and confirm "only persons whose positions indicate that they will advance full rights of all citizens."

A film on the ravages caused by the Nigerian-Biafran conflict was shown one evening along with a report from Church World Service's executive director James MacCracken.

Deciding to review its 1968 resolution in support of striking California grape workers, the Board asked the Division of Christian Life and Mission to report to the June meeting recommendations for a possible up-dating of the Council's position on this issue. ■

CHURCHMEN URGE GREATER AID FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING

by Kay Longcope

SAN ANTONIO — Christian churches have been urged to put more money into self-help projects of the Spanish-speaking.

In two resolutions adopted by the National Ecumenical Council on Hispanic-American Ministries (COHAM) and endorsed by the National Council of Churches' advisory body on work with the Spanish-speaking, in session here Jan. 27-29, it was pointed out that monies granted so far "are mere crumbs and will serve only as band-aids."

The resolutions asked that "a significant amount" with no strings be granted by churches and related agencies (the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization and the Joint Strategy and Action Committee) to projects selected by Hispanic-Americans themselves.

"La Raza' (The Race) feels that it is not properly recognized in consideration of needs for disbursement of monies," the resolutions said.

"Rather than come like James Forman and demand reparations, we are asking to enter into serious negotiations with denominations and related agencies over the question of meaningful investment in development projects of the Spanish-speaking," explained the Rev. Vahac Mardirosian, of Los Angeles.

The annual meeting of the Council on Hispanic-American Ministries was immediately followed by deliberations of the Section on Hispanic-American Ministries of the National Council of Churches. Most of the Section's business was based on actions taken earlier by COHAM.

Among resolutions endorsed at the NCC section meeting was one which requested that "mutual consultation be sustained" between representatives of the Texas Conference of Churches and COHAM "to honor our Christian commitment of upholding justice and harmony where both groups find themselves at work together."

The place where "both groups find themselves at work together" is the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, which last year was the focus of a bitter battle over whether the former Texas Council of Churches would support self-determining efforts of the Valley's predominant Mexican-American population.

Though the Texas Council has since been dissolved so its constituency could join with the Texas Catholic Conference and the Greek Orthodox Diocese to form the Texas Conference of Churches, that question remains on the minds of Valley Mexican-Americans and others sympathetic to their cause.

The Rev. Roger Granados of Alta Loma, California, stated the feeling prevalent among Mexican-Americans to Roy Cates, Conference executive director.

"We saw the Texas Council of Churches as an incipient, racist institution," he said. "There was little difference exhibited by the Texas Catholic Conference, and they have become one. The churches have been around the Valley for a long time. What they are doing for the Mexican-American is a very real question," and, he implied, will affect the action of churches in other areas with similar problems.

Mr. Cates, in reply, said that a Mexican-American Roman Catholic priest had been appointed to replace an "Anglo" as TCC associate director in charge of the Valley ministry. He also announced that, beginning some time in February the Conference would sponsor a self-help VISTA program in Hidalgo County, the same place from which the now dead state Council withdrew its sponsorship a year ago.

The Council of Hispanic American Ministries, a 58-year-old organization, is "an agency of initiation, encouragement, information and assistance for meeting the needs of Hispanic-American people in the U.S.A. through the work of participating denominations and individuals," said the Rev. Alfonso Rodriguez, executive director of both COHAM and the NCC Section on Hispanic-American Ministries.

Weapons

(Continued from page 5)

tensive dependence on such weapons in that war, this whole issue might be resolved much more easily.

It should not be overlooked, however, in the debate over chemical weapons, that perhaps the most significant part of the new CBW policy in the long run has to do with biological weapons. Here the renunciation is not only of first use but also of use in retaliation, and this unilateral U.S. initiative is extended to include destruction of existing stores of biological weapons. In addition to the ethical questions they raise, the unpredictability of such weapons and their indiscriminate character make them also of questionable military value.

Exempting Toxins

The only real cloud on this horizon came with the Pentagon statement, shortly after the Presidential announcement, that disease-producing toxins might be exempted from the ban on biologicals. Toxins, the dead but poisonous by-products of bacteria, which have long been part of the U.S. biological arsenal, were simply re-categorized by the Pentagon as chemicals, on the theory that since they were not living matter they were exempted from the ban. At present, however, toxins cannot be produced without first producing the living germs that generate them and, even if produced synthetically, would be clearly contrary to the spirit of the new policy. In Congressional testimony, Government witnesses have made contradictory statements on this point. The Administration, now concerned about its credibility on the CBW question, will soon clarify its position on the matter of toxins. It is generally expected that the Pentagon position will be overruled. Any other position would gravely impair the good will engendered by the U.S. action.

The subject of toxins aside, the unilateral nature of the U.S. policy on BW, and the precedent it establishes of actual weapon destruction, mark a new departure in U.S. arms control policy. Even with its limitations and potential for semantic sleight-of-hand, it deserves support, as does Protocol ratification, although, on the latter, every effort should be made to prevent weakening it with qualifying reservations.

Mr. Parrent regularly reviews U.S. global policy developments for TEMPO readers from his Washington, D.C. vantage point as Director of Program, Department of International Affairs, National Council of Churches.

State of The Union

(Continued from page 9)

lot has changed since last fall. A bad snag in the Vietnam strategy or the continuation of ominous signs in the economy could make the President and his party very vulnerable. But the divided, demoralized, leaderless Democrats as of now face a GOP more united and confident than it has been in a long time, and with an undoubted leader up there in the front office. ■

Mr. Turnbull, TEMPO's national political affairs columnist, is associate director, Washington, D.C. office, National Council of Churches.

LET'S BURY THE HATCHET WITH THE NCC

by Judge William H. Maness

IF there is any point in a layman serving as a delegate-member of the General Board and the General Assembly of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. (NCC) it has to be, primarily, to let other churchmen, not so privileged, know what it is all about. At least, this is how I've tried to operate for the last six years.

What's typical of the kind of "meddling," by word and deed, the NCC has been engaged in during my two three-year terms as an official representative of the United Methodist Church?

We try to disturb the members of the churches by reminding them of what they don't want to hear, or would like to forget . . . like that *war* we are all responsible for because we don't insist that Congress or the President stop it . . . like the *hunger* that goes on, with or without our fasts, as we keep kidding ourselves into believing it isn't so, so we can sleep at night . . . like the *poverty* that imprisons people in situations more intolerable than maximum-security prisons . . . like the *racism* more and more leaders acknowledge is crippling our society while less and less is actually done to sensitize the still-unware white majority, even in the churches . . . like the disenchanted and alienated white youth, young people for whom we had such "high hopes," who tell us they cannot accept our middle-class values . . . and, last but not least, like the demand for millions in reparations to support the development of black power bases capable of taking a role in community development that white-controlled institutions have refused to share equitably.

Now, I've said all that simply to say to my friends (and other interested persons), on or off the Council, that this is my "final report." I'm leaving the NCC, voluntarily, so they can put a new "burr" under the NCC "saddle." I am no longer "sticky." The "sticky" causes I supported and the "sticky" opinions I held in December of 1963 are no longer a part of me. I've been educated, in the best sense of the word, *and* "converted."

I found out what I wanted to know and I can now testify from first-hand knowledge that *they* aren't Communists . . . that *they* aren't atheists . . . that *they* aren't trying to wreck the churches . . . that *they* aren't uninformed, theologically or technologically, in the areas about which they do speak *to* the churches.

They *are* deeply dedicated Christians. They *are* loyal Americans, but not the "love it or leave it" variety. They *are* trying to know the will of God and they do seek His guidance. They made mistakes in the same way any earnest Christian errs . . . on the side of trying to do what needs to be done. And, they keep trying, maybe too hard, to make this nation and this world responsive to the reconciling love of Christ for whom, we believe, He died.

WITH that final endorsement, now let me tell you that I am not leaving the NCC as well off as I found it. It may be closer to the end of its usefulness than we know because, as an instrument of its member communions, it suffers the same financial crises that its members suffer—even more so. In my opinion, the demise of the NCC would be tragic beyond words, even with its present imperfections; and, if this should happen, I believe that those who wished it ill will be the first to cry out for its reestablishment.

If the NCC should crumble, contrary to the opinion of some critics, it will not be because of the insistence upon more sharing of leadership with blacks, but because of the failure of local congregations to understand the character, the nature and the mission of the Church of Jesus Christ . . . and their refusal to let their dollars go to an organization they so misunderstand.

What is needed today, from the churches, is not so much a leveling of rough differences in faith and order, or the sweeping under the rug of theological differences. The crying need of our day is for the cooperation of Christians who agree that certain social problems must be solved, that national priorities must be reordered, that the influence of members of the churches must be mobilized for informed action, and, that the education of Christians take precedence over mere Christian Education in the traditional sense.

It has always seemed to me that the NCC hasn't really been given a chance, especially by the communions that created it. It has seemed more prudent to soft-pedal this highly visible and controversial agency's role in the life of the church, until a later time—a more appropriate time.

But that time has not yet come and will not come. As its immediate past president, Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, has said: "The National Council will always be in trouble of one kind or another" and I think we can expect this for the reason given by its first lay president, Mr. J. Irwin Miller, who said:

> "If the doings of the Council were irrelevant or ineffective we would not be criticized . . . we would be ignored! I know of no more apt Christian tool for the times than this Council, and I can only say, value it, sharpen it, use it!"

My parting hope is that as others take their places on this important body and seek to carry on its purpose, that we in the local churches will "bury the hatchet" and support the NCC before we can do no more than wish we had. ■

—Judge Maness now practices law in Jacksonville, Florida. His unstinting service to the NCC in his six years as a policy-maker included 132 speaking appearances in 12 states.

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

Reviewing: "Z"
Director: Costa-Gavras
With: Yves Montand, Jean-Louis Trintignant, Irene Papas

CAN justice be impartial? Can the courts anywhere today defy political pressures? As the theatre-of-the absurd trial of the Chicago Eight dances toward its finale, and as police from coast to coast, acting as judge, jury and executioner get on with stamping out their local Panthers, and as John Newton Mitchell perches on the top legal post in the republic, the question does cross one's mind. It is also the central question of "Z".

Costa-Gavras' new film tells the awful story of the disembowelment of law and order in the name of law and order. The place, though it is never mentioned, is Greece in 1963. The film recounts in fictionalized form the crudely organized assassination of George Lambrakis, a popular opposition deputy, struck down after he had given a speech in Salonika by a club-wielding rightist. Although the slaying took place in full view of many police, the authorities tried to cover it up. But the bungling plot was uncovered and several high-ranking police and military officials were indicted. The whole incident contributed in part to the turbulent atmosphere of the middle 60's in Greece and the takeover, in December 1967, by a military junta. In the film, Yves Montand is superb as the deputy, and Irene Papas, the only real Greek in the film, is quietly emotional as his widow. But the best acting is done by Jean-Louis Trintignant playing the young prosecutor who begins to smell a rat and ends up by indicting an army.

Trintignant's performance is masterful. I knew he had it in him after I saw "A Man and a Woman" a couple of years back in which he played the cool, amorous racing car driver opposite the equally marvelous Anouk Aimee. In "Z" he is an up-and-coming young lawyer with unimpeachably conservative credentials who is assigned to the case by the regime. It soon becomes obvious to him however that the deputy was the victim not of an accident but of an assassination, and that it is a matter not just of police negligence but of premeditated murder.

As he uncovers sources of the plot higher and higher in the police and military, and as his key witnesses undergo threats and harassments, he begins to have some doubts about going ahead.

HIS superiors urge him not to botch a promising career, not to undermine public confidence in the police, not to give comfort to the Reds. But he pushes on. He will not compromise with his conscience or with his sense of what his duty as a prosecutor requires. Trintingant portrays the lawyer's anguish with amazing subtlety. No grimaces, no nail-biting. He is able to do more with a slight flick of his eyes than many actors can do with a whole flailing speech. But he never really wavers. He believes in the judicial process. He does his duty.

The only problem is that the courts, both in America and in Greece, are never wholly insulated from political intrigue.

"Z" already labors under the burden of too many ecstatic advance notices. I will not add to its handicap. The New York critics voted it the best movie of 1969. (I don't think it is, not quite), and Costas-Gavras the best director of the year (he may well be.) Earlier this year at Cannes, the press corps gave him a standing ovation, almost unheard of in that setting.

Now, "Z" is indeed a finely wrought movie, and its searing moral thrust is so badly needed today it seems petty to mention any of its blemishes. But it has some and in this good a film they stand out more. The right-wing generals, for example, are caricatured to the point of lampoon. No doubt about it, the present Greek regime is a brutal dictatorship. But that does not mean that all generals everywhere are bloated and paranoid dolts. Nor that all military regimes have to be repressive and reactionary.

Costa-Gavras does not err in the other direction. He does not give us leftists who are pure, secular saints. They bicker, foul up plans, snap at each other, disagree on tactics, have no overall plan and act on very mixed motives. The truth is that people in uniform may be just as complicated underneath their khaki one-dimensionality. Admittedly the military, here and abroad, seems to invite caricature. But, especially in view of the events in Peru, we must be careful to re-examine our stereotypes constantly.

ONE comes away from "Z" with a heavy feeling. There are many reasons for it. The doctors' labored technical description of the damage to the deputy's cranium was too painfully reminiscent of those grim hourly bulletins that were issued after Robert Kennedy's shooting. We know too, that despite the flaming hope of "Z" (which stands for the Greek word "Zie" meaning "he lives," and was scrawled on pavements after the deputy's death), the ugly fact is that Greece now writhes under the cudgels of the very people who murdered Lambrakis and who have banned "Z" from the land of Homer, Sophocles and Kazantzakis.

It is important that people in America see "Z". Not only because it could happen here, or because the New York critics say the film is a winner, but because we Americans hold the club that keeps the hope of "Z" from triumphing.

Church in the Seventies

(Continued from page 3)

the prescribed procedures for getting a statement or resolution adopted in a plenary session—with a large number of votes having been cast by delegates who are either troubled or apathetic. While the intention of such agenda proposals is always good, conscientious delegates are uneasy because they do not have at their command all the background data necessary to an informed vote, or because they have no conceivable way of enlisting that supporting action by their own denominations without which their vote is misleading. By the principle of "subsidiarization," each specialized program unit, freed from current cumbersome machinery of referral to higher levels, could move in streamlined fashion to speak to those central issues about which it is ready both to speak and to act.

Reserved Powers of Program Boards

The principle of "subsidiarization" applies to many aspects of Council work other than the process of advocacy. For it is based on the concept that every kind of issue should normally be handled at a lower rather than a higher level, and that no issue should be raised to the level of an Assembly or General Board decision which can be adequately resolved on some subsidiary level. This means, in essence, that the larger or superior bodies derive their limited powers, as they do most of their funds, from the major units which have constituted them. Such a federal structure we once knew in the political order of the United States, and the Swiss Confederation still practices it.

Obviously, such a process runs counter to the tight, centralized structure which the National Council, under the influence of a corporate business management model, adopted in the mid-sixties. Experience has amply demonstrated the fallacy of applying such a simplistic model to such a complex set of dynamics as characterize the American church scene. Unlike business, the churches have no single measure of achievement analogous to profit in the world of business, and all the "shareholders" are not even theoretically represented in a single board of directors or General Board. Each member communion is an umbrella-type organization, embracing a congeries of specialized agencies and institutions with particular responsibilities for specific elements in the broad mission of the church, and with direct supporters of its specific work in terms of both manpower and money.

In the Council of tomorrow, a more complex constitution and more supple procedures can draw the many-sided pursuit of renewal, mission and unity together under over-arching purposes. That revised Council will be built on a far more sensitive appreciation of the nature and location of power in the conciliar movement.

Within this understanding of the nature of the Council, deep mutual trust can be nurtured between the many parts of the one conciliar body. Reciprocal freedom will encourage the flowering of the special vocations of the various program units. No member unit will be inclined to say to any other, "I have no need of you." The variegated mission of Christians in an age of intense and urgent needs, some inward, some societal, some psychic and some material, will be carried forward in all its richness. Coalitions of churches and other Christian movements, institutions, and agencies will form and dissolve, reform and transform, as the human condition requires.

The power to plan for, and plan in, such a many-sided conciliar movement will not be concentrated in any one organ or place. Those who know best plan best. For each sector of the many-layered conciliar enterprise, the primary responsibility in the setting of goals and the shaping of policies must be carefully reserved to the member bodies that are committed to the task, the work it demands, and the funding it requires. Their interaction can be facilitated through a central planning office which provides them with a common language in which to communicate as they seek to coordinate their plans, to overcome gaps between their services, and to develop mutually supportive modes of interdisciplinary collaboration. With such help, every phase of the Council's work will become increasingly sensitive to the world perspective—carried out in deep awareness that Christ's redeeming labor is today operative on all continents, that churches everywhere need American Christian help, and that America in crisis needs the insight and the judgment of the whole Christian fellowship, especially the counsel of the brethren who see us as we alone never could see ourselves.

Leadership and Spirit

From the tantrums of frustration at the Detroit Assembly to the doldrums of legalistic debate at the Tulsa General Board (see page 10, this issue), the Council's own crisis has continued. As I have heard impassioned pleas for minority empowerment in terms of committee seats and staff posts, I have prayed for the spirited leadership which alone can insure that such empowerment does not end up in impalement. I understand the Catholic priest who said that desperate efforts to establish parish councils at this point in the Roman Catholic crisis is like rearranging the deck chairs on the "Titanic" after impact.

If the new Tulsa-appointed Committee of Fifteen studying the future shape of the conciliar movement is firmly committed to bringing before the next General Board meeting in June only such recommendations as are consistent with the nature and location of power in the church, I have hope the Council will indeed choose to advance. But if the June decision is in effect to make no decision, I think many ecumenically committed people, in both constituency and staff, will be forced to conclude that further inaction is but a mode of dismantling, and that they had better "vote with their feet," investing their energies elsewhere.

This, of course, would be the escalation of the Council's internal crisis into a general calamity. For the acute moral and spiritual predicament of the American people in this decade cannot be relieved by a trivialized church. The conciliar convergence of our ancient church traditions is surely the Divine intention for Christians in the service of this age. Even if our assemblies and boards, our officers and staff, should utterly fail bringing down the present Council in ruins about us, the conciliar renewal of the church in unity and mission would remain the path of Christian obedience. And we would have to start rebuilding in the ruins. ■

Dr. Schomer is director of specialized ministries in the National Council of Churches' Division of Overseas Ministries. Before coming to the NCC in 1967, he was for eight years President of Chicago Theological Seminary.

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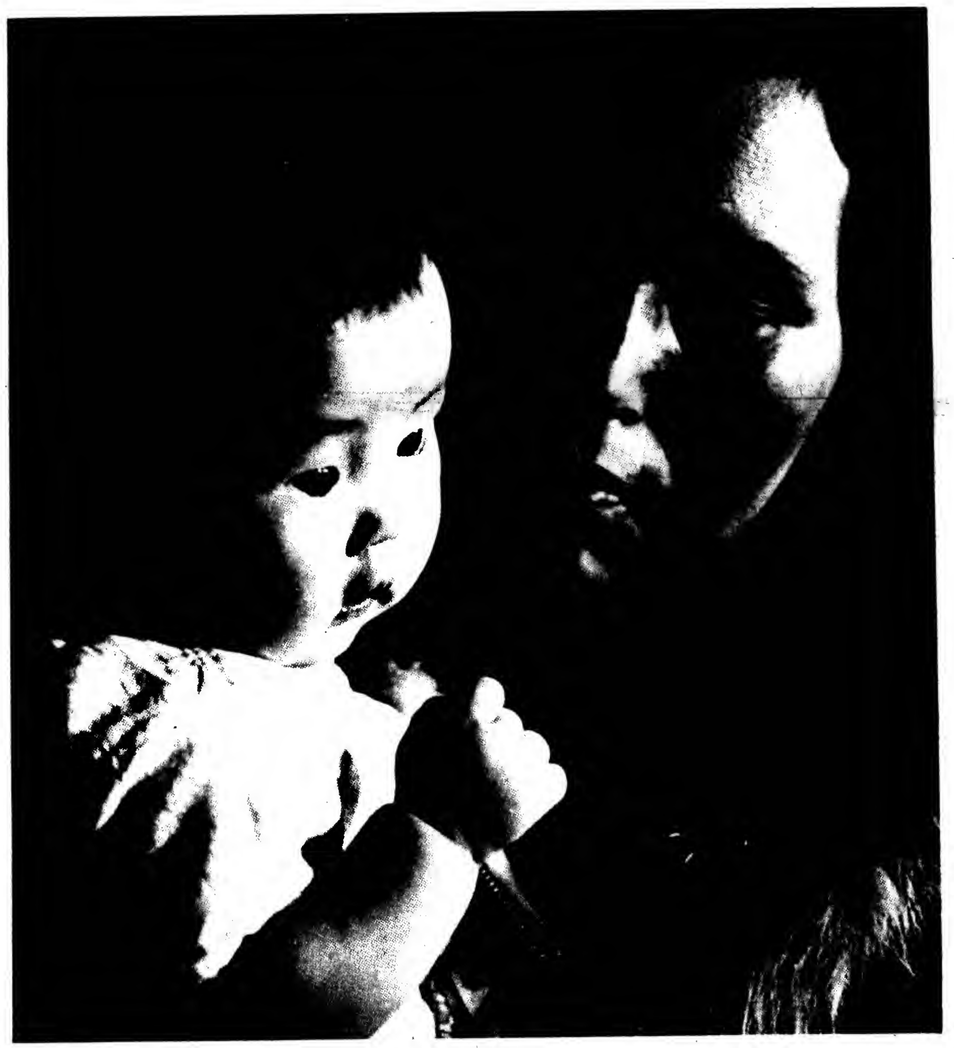
In Pace With The Changing Church
March 1, 1970



NATIVE AMERICA FIGHTS FOR SURVIVAL - I

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TEMPOsitions . . .

American Indians: The Churches' New Role

A FASCINATING yet jarring book was recently published written by the highly articulate Indian leader, Vine Deloria, Jr. It carries the title, *Custer died For Your Sins. (MacMillan* 1969, $5.95). See page 8.

Immediately following a rollicking chapter on the place and role of the anthropologist in the Indian life in America comes a chapter dealing with the place of the Christian missionary not nearly so rollicking! The missionary and the general activity of the Church in Indian life doesn't come off so well, to put it mildly.

Basically, the place of the Church and her traditional missionary role comes under direct trial. The evidence is offered and a good share of the verdict cannot be denied. Some will try; others will become somewhat defensive and think up arguments to reverse the verdict. What those in responsible positions of decision-making must do is to refrain from getting "up-tight" about it all, take the tip thus offered, and face the job of rediscovering what the true role and place of the Church must be in Indian life if she is to retain any degree of credibility and meaning with the growing mass of articulate and somewhat disillusioned and increasingly self-confident Indian people.

Such an honest endeavor, undertaken openly and humbly with Indians themselves, will probably lead to three basic conclusions in regard to the role and nature of the program of the Church in relation to American Indians:

1. There must be a central and binding commitment to the right of full and meaningful involvement of Indian people themselves in all decisions affecting their lives in general and the life of the Church in particular. This means that Indians must hold high places of responsibility in society, in government and in the Church.

2. There must be unqualified commitment to the concept of a person's right to his history, his culture, his life ways, and a refusal to demand their repudiation as a prerequisite to becoming a Christian.

3. A major role of the Church and her people in American society must be that of *advocate* in the areas of social and equal justice, civil rights, and the general education of white Americans regarding the rights of Indians as citizens.

It is evident that some churches are making an honest effort to do this. It is gratifying that the NCC Division of Christian Life and Mission has approved a new direction for the Indian work which places heavy emphasis on the role of advocate to the Indian people.

Who knows? If Custer did die for our sins, possibly even at this late date, it wasn't in vain! ■

—E. Russell Carter, Director for Special Ministries Dept. of Social Justice, Division of Christian Life and Mission, National Council of Churches. For many years he has been secretary of the church-related Fellowship of Indian Workers.

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates
ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause, Dorothy Rosenbrink, L. I. Stoll
ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler
PROMOTION: David Feinderter
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull
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THIS ISSUE—As our cover proclaims, TEMPO this time focuses on the swelling cry of native Americans for long-withheld justice and recognition of their long-abused rights under law. The churches themselves will focus on the urgency of this cry at this year's triennial meeting of the Fellowship of Indian Workers, Estes Park, Colorado, July 6-10. Further articles on native Americans and their new-found social and political awareness will appear in TEMPO for March 15.

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The Church And Community Militants on Collision Course

The Young Lords: Trouble In East Harlem

by Marjorie Hyer

OF ALL the end-of-the-decade pundits prophesying the shape of organized religion in the Seventies, none was so brash as to suggest that the mass media, in a squabble between a Christian church and a gang of militant, revolutionary youth, would condemn the church and praise the young people. And yet before the brain had taught the fingers automatically to form "70" instead of "69" on checks, letters and credit applications, that is what happened in the struggle between the Young Lords and the First Spanish United Methodist Church in New York's East Harlem.

The Young Lords, after weeks of trying to persuade the church to make its building available, on December 28 took over the structure and within hours had begun operating a free breakfast program for neighborhood children, a health program concentrating particularly on tests to detect lead poisoning in children (a peril in slum neighborhoods where ancient layers of paint flake from walls and ceiling into food), a Liberation School and, at night, movies and recreation for adults as well as the children.

The 51-year-old church, housed in a new brick structure after a fire destroyed the old building six years ago, had had no social service program of any type to relate it to the community—one of the poorest and neediest in all New York.

After 14 days of the Young Lord's occupation, the church congregation, joined by United Methodist Bishop Lloyd C. Wicke and District Superintendent Wesley D. Osborne, completed the necessary legal maneuvers, the Young Lords and their supporters were arrested, and the community service program abruptly ended.

In these days of instant polarization, nourished by 60-second summaries on the 6 o'clock news, it wasn't hard to tell the good guys from the bad. The New York *Post* even flayed the church in its editorial columns.

But wait. How about an instant replay? With the action stopped at certain points to explore this thing in a little more depth.

For starters, let's take a closer look at the principals in the conflict. Take First Spanish Church. Like most Spanish Protestant churches, it is pietistic, conservative and deeply committed to the Gospel of personal salvation. Its present pastor, the Rev. Humbleto Carrazana, was at one time pastor of the First Methodist Church of Havana before he fled Castro's brand of communism. The 138-member congregation supports a $30,000 annual budget; it's the only Spanish church in the New York Methodist conference that is self-supporting. About half the membership still lives in the immediate vicinity of the church; the remainder—including the pastor—have made it out to less dismal parts of the city. A denominational official characterizes the membership as "middle or lower middle class" economically—generally better off than most of the people who live in the neighborhood in which the church is located.

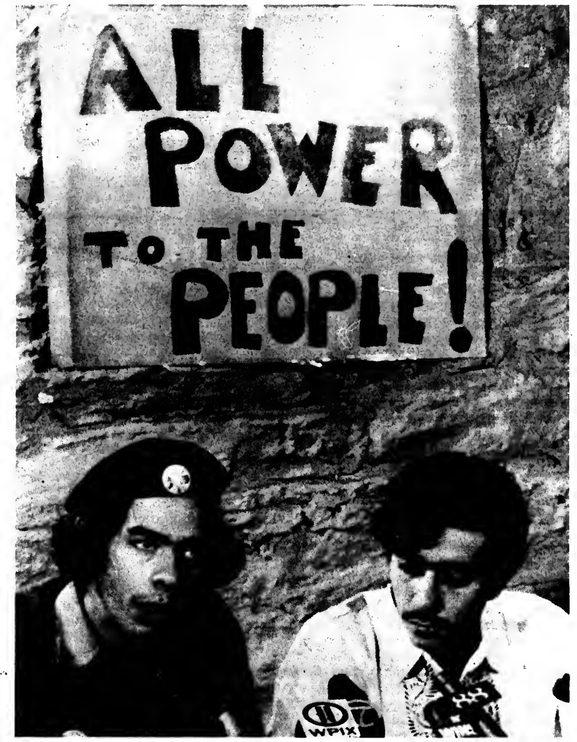
WHEN the building burned down in 1964, the church had a membership of a little over 200 at the time—there was apparently no thought given to the possibility that the congregation might merge with one of the 20 other Spanish Methodist churches in the city. Instead, the congregation went ahead with a building program that has saddled them with a $75,000 mortgage—which comes to $632 in monthly payments. And that doesn't leave a church of 138 members much financial elbow room to think about program or mission.

Now, consider the Young Lords. They're part of a national movement—headquartered in Chicago—that only recently began to emerge. They are patterned after and loosely aligned with the Black Panthers. They are by their own definition "a revolutionary political party fighting for the liberation of all oppressed people." In East Harlem's dismal El Barrio, the Puerto Rican quarter where First Spanish church is located, the Young Lords first gained notice last summer during a "garbage riot" to protest the inattention of the city's Sanitation Department to the area.

Most of the Young Lords appear to be in their late teens or early 20's. Their leadership is articulate, intelligent and sensitive. With few exceptions, those who know the community give the Lords high marks for their dedication to the agonizing problems of their people. "They do simple works of mercy, rather in the old Catholic Worker way," was the way Father David W. Kirk of Emmaus House, an unofficial Roman Catholic—oriented institution in the neighborhood described them. Among the heroes of the Young Lords are Che Gueverra, Fred Hampton, Ho Chi Minh and Jesus Christ. (They have a poster depicting Jesus as a revolutionary with a rifle over his shoulder. That's not the way the folks at First Spanish Church see Him.)

In October, the Lords approached First Spanish Church for space in the church to conduct a breakfast feeding program for children, a day-care center, and a Liberation School to instill ethnic pride in Puerto Rican children and teach them Puerto Rican history—the Lords' version. After all, the Young Lords argued, that fine new brick church was used only a few hours on Sunday and locked up the rest of the week when it should be serving the community. "Not so," said the Rev. Carrazana. "The church is used every day but Monday. On Tuesday night there is Bible study, on Wednesday there is choir practice, Friday night the Women's Society and the Young People meet, and on Saturday the senior citizens."

It was not the kind of program the Young Lords had in mind. On the other hand, church leadership was convinced the idology of the Young Lords was not what their Lord had in mind, and they were not about to become yoked with any unbelievers. The answer to the Young Lords' demand for space in the church was a firm "No."



Spokesmen for the militant Young Lords are interviewed outside the First Spanish Methodist Church, in East Harlem.

UNWILLING to give up, the Young Lords upped the voltage of their tactics and began disrupting the Sunday worship service of the church. Open conflict broke out on Dec. 7, police were called, eight people were hurt, 13 Young Lords arrested. They were bailed out the next morning by the Christian Social Concerns Committee of the New York United Methodist Conference.

The disruption of the services continued throughout Advent. On December 28 the Young Lords sat quietly through the service, but when it was over, they used railroad spikes to nail shut entrances to the church and proclaimed it *La Iglesia de la Genta*, The People's Church. The feeding program, Liberation School and medical tests started the next day. So did the daily visits of the TV camera crews. In the post-Christmas blahs, this was about the only thing going on in town that had any life to it. Shots of kids eating sausages, shots of kids getting medical examinations, and interviews with the highly personable and articulate young revolutionaries (who were astute enough to tone down the revolutionary rhetoric and talked instead about hungry kids). A defensive and angry Bishop Wicke who spoke eloquently about the defense of religious freedom was scarcely a match, and the Methodists lost ignominiously in the court of the mass media, even though they had their way in the State Supreme Court.

But that question of religious freedom won't quite go away. The Rev. Dean Kelley, director of the Commission on Religious and Civil Liberties of the National Council of Churches, took a look at it—after the Young Lords and their supporters were arrested and the media had moved on to the next story. Citing the evangelical orientation of the church, he pointed out that the congregation was carrying out its ministry in the way it was convinced a church of Christ should minister:

(Continued on page 11)

"The Continuing Indian Revolution Is Essential to The Health of Our Own World"

by William Brandon

YOUNG Indian girl in Berkeley told me that in saying goodby to her old-fashioned parents—her mother in blanket and high moccasins, her father in sober tall black sombrero—she had felt she was leaving them as far behind as on another planet, because she was becoming a "catalyst of rebellion" in the Third World Liberation Front. Yet the objectives she would fight for with the TWLF—more money, better jobs, even the grand objective of seizing power, were the usual and proper aims of the apple-pie American world. Her tribal parents, inhabiting a world of truly different dimensions, uninterested in proper American values, not even interested in seizing power, were, it seemed to me, the real revolutionaries of her family, absorbed in an authentic revolutionary movement: their Indian community.

The radical character of the Indian world is most easily discernible in its sense of community, a community identity originally founded on the custom of communal ownership: ownership of land in common by a related group of people is one of the few traits that might be applied sweepingly to nearly all American Indians throughout the hemisphere. This community superlife, based on a communal ownership still frequently in evidence, is the unique quality of the Indian world. It is an attitude truly revolutionary for our present world, which rather derives from the Old World kingship pattern—public domain regarded as the property of a ruling government apparatus, a notion prevailing in most modern states, socialist or Communist included.

In the true communal ownership of Indian tradition, each member of the community has an "absolute and complete" right of actual ownership, as the U.S. Court of Claims held in an 1893 opinion later sustained by the U.S. Supreme Court. "Chiefs and headmen" have no authority to dispose of these rights, and even a majority of the tribe or community has no authority to sell the communal property, which would seem to constitute, said the Court, "taking away the property of the minority and disposing of it without their consent."

On Indian Terms

The communal point of view has always been difficult for the private ownership mentality to grasp. The 1893 Court remarked that this difficulty was no doubt at the bottom of "many of our troubles with the Indian tribes." It still is. It is the alienness of this communal identity that elicits much of our harassment (conscious and unconscious) of the Indian world, that puts Indian children at odds with our schools, and that fires the pressures for "termination" of Federal protection of Indian groups with the ultimate objective of forcing the collapse of the Indian communities, compelling their people to disperse and, at last, to become "assimilated" in our own competitive culture.

Although Indian leaders, too, give lip service to the pious aims of more money and better jobs, these are acceptable only on the Indian community's terms. The people of an Indian community generally will not sell out for individual opportunities no matter how alluring, will undergo any privations to remain part of their living community. The community superlife, calling for inter-personal harmony rather than inter-personal striving, is in absolute opposition to the orthodox American gods of work-as-a-virtue and amassing personal wealth as the measure of success.

But is communication already choked off between the two worlds, red and white? Has the Indian world already been shattered beyond repair? If not, what then can citizens of good will and concern do to help?

I think communication is wide open, for anyone who will lend an ear and a voice. The Indian world won't preach but it loves conversation. The bitterness that has come into being between black and white is not generally echoed between red and white—at least not yet. The one thing he knows about white men, says James Baldwin, is that they do not want to be black; but that is not so true as to red and never has been. In some areas a certain cachet has always attached to being an Indian, and too many non-red Americans still listen with romantic longing to the distant Indian drum and "yearn with tenderness for its days calm and innocent," as Rousseau wrote two hundred years ago.

So what exactly can we do? We can help in many ways, some easy, some hard. It is often hard to ascertain the actual intent of public measures relating to Indian affairs. Actual aims, as in any political dealings, are often painstakingly masked, and in any case Indian matters are a foreign land not easy to know. But an inquiry to an Indian organization such as the National Congress of American Indians (1346 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036) or an Indian-related organization such as the Association on American Indian Affairs (475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027) will bring inside information on any current issue. One can then easily enough make known his support for public measures helpful to Indian communities, honestly meant to be helpful in relieving the all but unendurable privation that the quiet revolutionaries have endured generation after generation; or make known opposition to those measures offering help with booby-traps attached or aiming directly at the destruction of Indian communities, such as drives for "termination."

Hardest of all acts of assistance is one that is a mere act of thought, or maybe spirit: simply realizing that the Indian community is genuinely alien, *and* accepting it as such.

The Indian world has by no means been shattered beyond repair, notwithstanding Sunday supplement obituaries. It is very much alive—miraculously so, perhaps, but nevertheless so—even in the United States, where only about one per cent of the full-blooded Indians of the hemisphere live.

It is not only alive, it is, here and there, potentially strong and even potentially rich. Alaskan oil is the headline loot of the moment, and battle lines are being drawn to determine what will be either the biggest windfall or the biggest steal in the history of our generously looted native peoples. The issue, in its simplest terms, is whether the Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts of Alaska will enjoy royalties even as would you and I if we were the owners of their lands, or whether they will be squeezed off with less than a fair price. The difference could run into billions—even the Government's minimum first offer runs to half a billion or so. Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel, with an impressive record of brutally squeezing Eskimos while he was Governor of Alaska, is in charge of the Nixon Administration's maneuvers in this caper, which is undoubtedly the major Indian concern of the Administration. But the Alaska Federation of Natives is employing heavy-weight legal counsel, and the natives have some determined supporters; the Association on American Indian Affairs, for one, is budgeting a six-figure expenditure for an advertising campaign intended to spread the full story before the public.

Other Indian riches are in strategic lands, other subsurface rights, and, especially, water rights. The Crow Tribe in Montana claims a little matter of fifty-five miles of the Big Horn River. The Shoshones claim another stretch of the same river above them, in Wyoming. There are a number of such treasure troves of Indian water, particularly in the West. Indian water rights are almost the last such rights still undeveloped, in many cases are already quite valuable, and in some cases will become of almost incalculable value. As a consequence they are tempting many a reflective eye.

Taos Pueblo, which in current archaeological opinion has been in business at the same location since at least 900-1100 A.D., sits at the foot of mountains containing regions regarded as sacred by the Taos people; especially sacred are the slopes of spruce and fir providing the watershed for the little river, the Rio Pueblo, that furnishes the pueblo's water.

Blue Lake, a perfect-circle mountain lake where the Rio Pueblo has its source, is the most holy shrine of all. The little river brings life for all living things within its dominion; all life in its area, including the life of the pueblo and its people, is interlocked in a religious unity that must be observed and preserved by regular ceremonies in the Blue Lake forests that have been followed since—say the Taosenos—the beginning of time.

Land Not Money

These sacred Blue Lake lands were included in a national forest preserve in 1906 under the erroneous assumption that they were public lands. The Indian Claims Commission ruled in 1965 that Taos Pueblo was indeed the rightful owner of the Blue Lake country, and the pueblo was offered compensation, as is customary in Indian claims cases. But the Taos people want the land, not money. It is the place that is sacred, not its value.

But the associate chief of the U.S. Forest Service testified before a Congressional committee with equal earnestness that in his belief the Taos people would have reasonable freedom to pursue their religion within the Forest Service framework of multiple-use, including planned commercial timber "harvesting," increased short-term visitor use, and range management for increased livestock use involving the division of the whole area into cross-fenced sub-units.

In general, where Indian resources and particulary water rights are concerned, some experts feel that the typical American multiple-use concept will be all but confiscatory, if Indian communities consent to sell out for participation in the big-bankroll water-development programs now tooling up. There are huge projects of this sort—the Four Corners Project in the Navajo country is one example, including a planned model city that will cost a billion dollars. Many of these projects depend entirely on the prospect of buying Indian water rights for a questionable bowl of multiple-use pottage.

The point is that multiple-use is basically catch-as-catch-can utilitarian. Each resource is milked for whatever it may provide. In California, showcase for all our newest ills, Santa Barbara Channel may be used for recreation, fishing, commercial shipping, and oil-drilling too. In such free-wheeling operations, the top-dollar profit usually grows the biggest muscles. Pasadena's tourist business, worth millions, died in refinery smog, worth more millions. Indian rights, in such fast company, would be hopelessly overmatched. But can they hang aloof? A particular property right comes in question, the right to delay development of a given resource or even to reject outright any multi-purpose uses offered, a right that may reach as far afield from utilitarianism as esthetics or religion.

The only real opposition to multiple-use as it is presently practiced lies in a notion dear to conservationists and wild-eyed old socialists—total planning, planning that deals with the total environment, with all resources, for the total benefit of the total world, not just on a piecemeal utilitarian basis.

The Great Debate

There are forces of some strength gathering to fight for this different world—forces concerned over growing populations, growing pollution, growing greed, growing strife. It is possible that in the United States this great debate could open, within the next few years, over the legal question of Indian water rights.

The whole spectrum of differences between an Indian community in action and a non-Indian community in action would repay the most serious large-scale study. Newly evolving forms of tribal government, usually including closed-membership corporations or reasonable facsimiles thereof, may bear resemblances now and then to white corporations—the same investment counselors and tax counselors may be hired by both—but in essence they are novel structures because they are built on foundations that are different, alien, foundations shaped by the tradition of communal ownership.

Most concrete Indian successes are realized in group terms—tribal cattle herds, or the communal big business of recreation on some reservations, such as the $1.5 million complex being built by the Crows in Montana, at Yellowtail Dam on the Bighorn. Or spectacularly in land: The financial renaissance within no more than ten years of the Cheyenne River Sioux in South Dakota (they now operate, among other things, a cattle business, sales pavilion, supermarket, and their own telephone company serving Indians and non-Indians in two counties) grew mainly from initial successes with a tribal land-consolidation program. The Tribal Land Enterprise agency of the Rosebud Sioux in South Dakota buys land at a rate reaching a quarter-million dollars a year, and the land-consolidation program of the Crows has reached a half-million dollars' worth a year.

But these occasional successes have barely made a dent in the massive Indian poverty described in the first of these articles. The much-publicized project of bringing industry to the reservations has made another dent, somewhat offset by the fact that the main pitch to industry has been low capital cost and cheap labor, scarcely conducive to blue-chip deals; and even seamier considerations have appeared here and there, as in current efforts to thrust a giant paper mill upon Isleta Pueblo, New Mexico, so as to sidestep anti-pollution rules set up by the state (Indian land isn't subject to state control).

It will take more than dents to remedy reservation poverty—it will take a solid breakthrough in giving back to the Indian communities sufficient land to live on. At present, the process is still going in the wrong direction: Indian lands and resources are still being whittled away. Land-consolidation operations financed by the Indians themselves cannot possibly fill the required bill. The nation simply needs to honor its given word in securing to the Indian communities a livable land base. Nothing less will work.

In the same way, if the destruction of the Indian world and its children by misfit education is to cease, Indian education must be oriented to the Indian community, as the second article in this series tried to demonstrate.

Red-Taped Mummy

Indian control, or even supervisory participation, is also an urgent need in reservation development, including any industrial development. Colonialism dies hard—there is still a feeling in the business world that the lion's share of Indian resources, whether human, vegetable, or mineral, should go to the white raj. Ronnie Lupe, tribal council chairman of the White Mountain Apaches, was pilloried by all non-Indian Arizona in the spring of 1969 for standing firm against a multi-million dollar proposition that did not give the Apaches as much control as they wanted. He told me that he and the council had decided they should not take any deal in which the tribe did not have eighty per cent ownership. This is a high-spirited figure. Most deals are considerably closer to zero percentage in Indian ownership.

But ownership entails risk and maneuverability, which Indian communities, in their mummy-wrappings of Bureau of Indian Affairs red tape, can seldom offer—and when they do, they are often, at least at first, as lambs in a world of wolves. The Crows dropped nearly half a million of their own money in their first venture, an electric-toothbrush factory—located within cannon shot of the Custer battlefield—but have since been doing all right. The Navajos are a well-known example of hardnosed success and home-owned to boot—their portfolio contains quite a list of diversified ownerships, including, as a sort of ultimate in something, the Navajo Tribe's own credit card.

When it comes to legislation on Indian matters, Indian opinion is politely asked and regularly ignored. The so-called Indian Civil Rights Bill, is already back for repairs embodying recommendations a number of Indian witnesses had

urged during six years of committee hearings. The subject is of much importance to the Indian world. On the one hand, civil rights represents a constant danger area in tribal life; group identity easily comes into conflict with individual liberties, and the more "successful," the more powerful the tribal administration, the greater the danger that authoritarianism may take over and run wild. On the other hand, the white raj, chronically hostile to the whole idea of group identity, would be not at all displeased to destroy it in the name of civil rights, a splendid new weapon in the assimilation arsenal.

The one point on which all Indians and experts are agreed is that Indians must have more voice in their own affairs—especially in handling their own money. Money earned by an Indian community, from leases or whatever, is customarily paid into the U.S. Treasury and then returned via a maze of red tape, and beribboned with controls, to the Indian community. Funds appropriated to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for Indian benefit travel a labyrinth wilder still. The regulations, the restrictions, the line-by-line reporting, the delays, the frustrations cultured among conscientious BIA people as well as among the Indian victims, attain without doubt some of the finest triumphs of bureaucracy in our time.

Tragedies, real and unnecessary tragedies, are a commonplace in the Indian world as a direct result of this situation. In the summer of 1969 a drought ruined grazing and caught the Papagos, in southern Arizona, short of feed for their tribal herd. This is not an unheard-of occurence in that desert country, and the average cattleman obtains emergency funds for buying hay and rides it through—but emergency funds for Indians have to be untangled from red tape.

More than 500 head of Indian cattle had died of starvation before the "paper processing" for emergency help even got started. For the total herd of 12,000 head, some 1,200 bales of low grade hay a day were needed, which, at $3.25 a bale, about twice the normal price, was far beyond anything the Papagos, who are among the poorest Indians in the country, could scrape up out of their own ready cash. The tribe had coming, however, a check for some three million dollars from copper-mining interests in connection with the opening of a $100 million copper mine on the reservation. This check was due to arrive at any moment—but of course it could not be drawn against in advance.

The Copper Check

Meanwhile, officials conferred on emergency measures. One procedure resulted in an official request from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture to declare the tribe eligible for the Federal free feed grain program—to the bitter amusement of all cow-country people, who knew range cattle would not eat grain to begin with, and cows weakened by starvation could not handle rich grain even if they would eat. it. Even so, such grain might have been traded locally for hay, although not by regulation-shackled Indians.

And so, throughout July and August, the cattle died, bringing far-reaching hardship for those Indian families dependent on stock-raising as their only means of livelihood. The overall loss in cattle before the drought and the nightmare ended in early September was some 2,000 head.

On September 13 the tribe received, in proper form through the proper channels, the copper check—$3.7 million.

The need, obviously, is for a thorough revision of the ungainly regulations under which the Bureau of Indian Affairs operates. It is necessary to repeat—again—that a solution is *not* the abolition of the BIA, which would mean termination.

Indian communities deeply need a strong Federal agency conserving and guarding their interests against other governmental agencies and powerful predators from the "private sector," but that protection surely does not need to extend to a minute interference in the communities' own internal operations. BIA weaknesses in stance and procedural rules are at least in some part the result of deliberate intent to cripple on the part of hostile Congressional committees, and will be repaired only by a struggle that could last a long time. But there is no reason whatever that Indian communities should not at once receive and control directly all their own funds, and the operational portion of Federal funds appropriated for Indian-related purposes, as Federal grants of whatever kind to towns and cities and counties are normally administered by the recipient community itself.

This, as with the substance of each of these three articles, deals with ideas that might be expressed as brief definite proposals. The three paramount ones can be summed up:

One—Restoration of lands and resources sufficient for present Indian populations.

Two—Direct Indian control of Indian schools.

Three—Direct Indian control of Indian funds, public as well as tribal.

The world of Indian communities is a world worth keeping with us. We are solemnly obligated, by treaties sworn on the heads of our fathers, to sustain it in our midst, but in all likelihood the obligation is of less import than the long-time yield we may be returned. The Indian has a property in the moon, Thoreau said, and he did not mean astronautically; the real business of the Indian revolution may turn out to be the illumination of the dark side of the soul, maybe even our own. ■

Prof. Brandon, author of The American Heritage Book of Indians, *has conducted experimental courses on North America's original inhabitants at the University of Massachusetts. His article appeared originally in* The Progessive, *Feb. 1970, and is reprinted here by permission. Two others in his three-part series appeared in* The Progressive *of Dec., 1969, and Jan., 1970.*

"In Alaska, The United States and Its People Are Offered The Last Real Chance to Do Justice to Our Aboriginal People"

NATIVE ALASKA: DEADLINE FOR JUSTICE

By William Byler

THE United States and its people are offered a priceless opportunity to do justice to its aboriginal people whose treatment in the past has reflected little glory on our nation.

A hundred years ago on the Western frontier, Indians and whites were killing each other for possession of the land. Today, in Alaska, 60,000 Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts are fighting to preserve their ancient rights and heritage and to save a fair portion of their lands from expropriation by the State. They are waging a peaceful war for a decent share of America's future. Congress is now deciding their fate.

Alaska's Indian, Eskimo and Aleut citizens have conclusive legal (original Indian title) and moral rights to 340 million acres of land — 90 per cent of the Alaska land mass. They are asking Congress to grant them formal legal title to 40 million acres essential to their present livelihood and future well-being, and for just compensation for the remaining 300 million acres they feel are beyond the possibility of saving. Their hopes are expressed in legislation submitted to Congress by the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN).

The bills, designated S. 3041 in the Senate and H.R. 14212 in the House of Representatives, are under consideration by the Senate and House Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The Land and the People

To the Alaska Natives the land is their life; to the State of Alaska, it is a commodity to be bought and sold. Alaska Native families depend on the land and its waters for the food they eat. They exist by hunting and fishing, as they have done for thousands of years.

Living in some 200 remote villages scattered across a state three times the size of Texas, the Natives need large areas simply to survive. Often the yield from a thousand acres will support only one person. In some regions, a village of 200 people may require as much as 600 thousand acres to range over.

The subsistence economy of Alaska Natives is as varied as the land. The Eskimos of the Arctic hunt whale, walrus and seal in the coastal waters and caribou on the frozen tundra. They gather murre eggs from the sea cliffs in July and take ducks and geese through the summer. The Athabascan Indians of interior Alaska, on the other hand, hunt moose, beaver, muskrat, rabbit and black bear in forests of white spruce and birch. The lakes offer ducks and geese. At their summer fishing camps, they take salmon by fishwheel and salt or smoke it for the long winter. And when the waters freeze over, pike are caught through the ice. Wild blueberries are gathered in July and cranberries in September.

Cash is hard to come by. In the villages there is virtually no wage work. Too often there is employment in the Alaskan "bush" the Natives are denied equal job opportunities. A recent Task Force investigation of hiring in the oil fields, for example, found that only 8 out of 800 jobs were held by Natives.

Measured by contemporary standards, Alaska Natives are the most impoverished of America's poor. Village family income for those who have any income averages less than one-quarter of the family income of white Alaskans. Only one out of every ten Native youngsters graduates from high school. Average age at death is thirty-five.

Harsh though living conditions may be, the Natives have retained their independence and self-respect and, most important, their hopes and plans for the future. It is sometimes said that the old way of life is passing and, with it, the need for the land. Mindful of the experience of the Indian tribes in the Old West, the Natives fear that if title to their land passes to the State, they too will be forced onto the welfare rolls.

The Controversy

The present dispute between the State and the Natives has its origins in a century of inaction by Congress. The State claims the right to select

An Alaska Eskimo fisherman displays one of the tools of his trade—a whaling harpoon.

103 million acres from the public domain under a provision of the 1958 Statehood Act. The Natives rely on a pledge by Congress in 1884 to respect their aboriginal claim, buttressed by a provision included by Congress in the Statehood Act that subjects the State's selection to their prior aboriginal claim.

In 1867, when the United States acquired Alaska from Russia, it purchased not the land itself but only the right to tax and govern. The United States Government recognized at that time, in accordance with long-standing Federal policy and Supreme Court precedent, that the land belonged to the original occupants — the Native people of the villages.

Congress, in the Organic Act of 1884 establishing a territorial government in Alaska, acknowledged the Natives' *right* to the land, stating: "The Indians . . . shall not be disturbed in the possession of any lands actually in their use or occupancy or now claimed by them." However, it postponed for future legislation the matter of conveying *title* to the Natives. Congress has yet to act.

Until the Statehood Act of 1958, there was no massive threat to the Native land rights or their way of life. Indeed, prior to 1939, the Natives were a majority in Alaska and, even today, non-Natives use only a fraction of the land. To protect land rights against the new State, Congress provided that "the State and its people do agree and declare that they forever disclaim all right and title . . . to any lands or other property (including fishing rights) the right or title to which may be held by any Indians, Eskimos or Aleuts."

Nonetheless, the State subsequently moved to take over lands clearly used and occupied by Native villages and to claim, under the Statehood Act, royalties from Federal oil and gas leases on Native lands. The Department of Interior's U.S. Bureau of Land Management, without informing the villages affected and ignoring the claims they had on file, began to process the State's selections. The lands of the Indians of Minto Village, where the lakes provide one of the best duck-breeding grounds in the world, were slated to be taken over by the State for the use of sports hunters and vacationers. The multi-billion dollar North Slope oil strike by Atlantic Richfield Company at Prudhoe Bay is on land the State has claimed from the Eskimos of Barrow.

As word of the State's action spread from village to village, the Natives began to organize regional associations for their common defense, and in 1962 the *Tundra Times*, a Native weekly, was founded to provide a voice for Native aspirations. In 1964, Indian and Eskimo leaders from across the State met in Fairbanks to mobilize their joint forces, and two years later, the statewide Alaska Federation of Natives was formed to champion Native Rights. (Emil Notti, AFN president, presented the Federation's case to the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches in Detroit. *Ed.*)

In 1966, the then Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall, with statutory responsibility to protect the interests of the Natives, finally acted to block the State. After the Bureau of Land Management had granted the State of Alaska title to 6 million acres of Native land and had tentatively approved the transfer of another 12 million acres, Secretary Udall, responding to Native appeals, halted the transfer of additional land and suspended the issuance of the new Federal oil and gas leases pending Congressional settlement of Native land rights.

Alaska's Governor at the time, Walter J. Hickel (now Secretary of the Interior) condemned this action as illegal and the State filed suit against Secretary Udall in Federal Court to force him to complete transfer of certain Native lands. (The Association on American Indian Affairs intervened in the case on behalf of the village of Nenana and, in December 1969, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit ruled that the State had no right to select any lands used by the Natives.)

In January 1969, as one of his last acts in office, Secretary Udall formalized his "land freeze" with the issuance of Public Land Order 4582. In doing so, he stated: "This action will give opportunity for Congress to consider how the legislative commitment that the Natives shall not be disturbed in their traditional use and occupancy of the lands in Alaska should be implemented. . . . To allow these lands to pass into other ownership in the face of the Natives' claim would, in my opinion, preclude a fair and equitable settlement of the matter by Congress. It would also deny the Natives of Alaska an opportunity to acquire title to lands which they admittedly have used and occupied for centuries."

Governor Hickel was appointed by President Nixon to succeed Secretary Udall. At confirmation hearings on this appointment, Senator Henry M. Jackson, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, won a promise from Secretary Hickel that he would continue the freeze during the 91st Congress. Secretary Hickel has made it clear, however, that unless Congress acts, he will allow the Udall order to expire at the end of 1970 and begin again transferring Native land to the State.

The hopes of the Native people gained new force when, in July 1969, Arthur J. Goldberg, former Supreme Court Justice and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, agreed to represent their cause before Congress as a public service. Associated with him in this effort are Ramsey Clark, former Attorney General, and Thomas H. Kuchel, former U.S. Senator from California.

Validity of Native Claims

The legal validity of Native land rights to Alaska, based on aboriginal use and occupancy, is not subject to serious challenge. A long series of Federal statutes and Supreme Court decisions establishes the rule that aboriginal occupancy creates a property right which the United States alone has the power to extinguish and that Native land rights carry with them the right of the tribe or Native group to enjoy the protection of the United States against interference from all others, including State governments.

Continuing the policy of earlier years, Congress recently excepted lands occupied by Indians from the tideland grants to the territory of Alaska under the Act of September 7, 1957. Aboriginal title in Alaska has been accorded the safeguard of special legislation in addition to the protection generally applicable to Native rights of occupancy throughout the United States.

Women's work in winter time includes fishing for essential food through holes broken through ice-bound lakes.

Terms of Settlement

Three alternative proposals to settle the Alaska land controversy have been placed before Congress. Secretary Hickel proposes enactment of legislation with these major provisions:

1. Conveyance to the Native villages of restricted title to approximately 12 million acres of land, stripped of gas and oil rights, to be selected from the public domain at the same time as the State has an opportunity to pick its 103 million acres;

2. Cash compensation in the amount of $500 million, payable over a 20-year period without interest.

The Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska, an independent agency of the Executive Office, recommends a Congressional settlement with these major provisions:

1. Conveyance to the villages of fee-simple title to approximately 5 million acres of land, with full mineral rights and protection of hunting and fishing rights over larger areas;

2. Cash compensation from a minimum of $100 million to $1 billion, the exact amount being contingent on the size of Federal oil and gas royalties in Alaska, to be paid over a ten-year period without interest.

The Alaska Federation of Natives, on behalf of the 60,000 people it represents, offers the bills before Congress — S. 3041 and H.R. 14212, with these major provisions:

1. Conveyance to the villages of fee-simple title to 40 million acres of land, with mineral rights to be held by Native regional development corporations;

2. Cash compensation in the amount of $500 million (roughly $1.50 per acre) payable over a nine-year period with interest at 4 per cent; and a 2 per cent residual royalty on gross revenues from Federal lands to which Native title is extinguished.

Given the vast amount of land in Alaska and the extent of Native land rights and needs, 40 million acres is a reasonable request. It represents 10 per cent of the land for 20 per cent of the people who have valid claims to nearly 100 per cent of the land. The State still would find ample land from which to make its selection of 103 million acres, and a balance of about 230 million acres would be retained by the Federal Government.

Justice further dictates that the Natives enjoy fee-simple title to the lands that are to remain theirs. This is consistent with repeated Supreme Court decisions that aboriginal land rights include all mineral rights. Without such title, a village not only would be denied its rightful benefits but also would be at the mercy of the conservation practices of the oil and mining companies for protection of the subsistence value of the surface of the land.

Considering that the lands to which the Natives have legal rights have a value conservatively estimated in the billions of dollars, the cash settlement proposed by the Natives based on $1.50 an acre is a modest one. The State of Alaska was expected to receive in 1969 alone $1 billion offered in September by oil companies for exploration rights to 431,000 acres of oil land it has taken from the Eskimos of the Arctic slope. (As of January 1970, the State of Alaska had acquired $900,000,000 through such oil lease sales. *Ed.*)

Measured against the needs of the Natives, the cash compensation is not substantial. Far more would be required to raise their family income and standard of living to half that of white Alaskans.

The amount sought, however, is enough to provide a capital base for human and community development and can be financed by the Federal Government from a fraction of the wealth it will derive from the lands to which Native title will be extinguished. Moreover, the monetary settlement will not be paid to individuals but rather to Native village and regional development corporations empowered to launch self-help programs in health, education, housing, employment and economic growth.

In view of the Natives' legal rights and our moral obligations, their social and economic needs, and the value of the land to which they have rightful claim, the settlement the Alaska Federation of Natives seeks is just, reasonable and humane. It will afford a wise and courageous Native people a meaningful opportunity for self-determination and the base for a better life for themselves and their children.

The AFN proposals are being heard by the U.S. Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, chaired by Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington State. ■

—Mr. Byler is executive director of the Association on American Indian Affairs.

The churches' growing concern for the rights of native Americans is typified by this resolution in support of Alaska native land claims, adopted last December 3 by the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches.

Adopted by the National Council of Churches General Assembly December 3, 1969

WHEREAS, numerous member communions of the National Council of Churches have worked tirelessly for almost a century and the Orthodox Church has worked for over two centuries to assist the aboriginal people of Alaska to achieve basic economic and social justice under law;

WHEREAS, the natives of Alaska, Eskimo, Indians, and Aleuts, have struggled valiantly against insuperable odds to achieve a measure of equality and that social and economic justice which can come to them only by the principle of self-determination, compensation for land taken and lost to them, and ownership of certain lands occupied or used by them from time immemorial;

WHEREAS, the State of Alaska Council of Churches and numerous member communions have passed actions and resolutions supporting and encouraging the Alaska native people in their land claims to areas rightfully theirs, stressing both the moral basis and the legal basis of the claims;

WHEREAS, the United States Congress has the responsibility to settle the land claims by legislation and has acknowledged such responsibility by prior actions and determination;

WHEREAS, a just, equitable, generous, and early settlement of these land claims, including the principle of revenue sharing, is required to meet the minimum requirements of the natives of Alaska in terms of health, welfare, education, employment, and development through self-determination;

BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED: That the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches support the early, equitable, and just settlement to be provided by aforementioned pending legislation and urge its member communions and their members to make known this support to their senators and representatives in the U.S. Congress.

An American Indian Looks Critically at The Record

THE CHURCH ON THE RESERVATION

By Vine Deloria, Jr.

ONE of the major problems of the Indian people is the missionary. It has been said of missionaries that when they arrived they had only the Book and we had the land; now we have the Book and they have the land.

The first concern of mission work was land on which to build churches, homes, storehouses and other necessary religious monuments. Missionaries did more to open up the West than any other group but, in doing so, they increased the possibility of exploitation of the people they purported to save. Land acquisition and missionary work always went hand in hand in American history.

The conflict between the Indian and white religions was classic. The conflict was one of rites and techniques. Christianity destroyed many Indian religious practices by offering a much easier and more practical religion.

Indian religion required a personal commitment to act. Holy men relied on revelations experienced during fasting, sacrifices and visions. Social in impact, most Indian religious experience was individualistic in origin. Visions defined vocations in this world rather than providing information concerning salvation in the other world.

Tribes shared with the Hebrews of the Old Testament the concept of the covenant of the People with God. The majority of tribal names, when translated into English, mean the People, First Men, or Original People. From the belief that the tribe is the People of God, to the exclusion of other peoples, it usually follows that tribal customs and religious ordinances are synonymous.

Contrast this living, undefined religion with the message brought by the Christian missionary. The Reformation had divided the world into two arenas: church and state. Morality of one was not necessarily related to morality in the other. Often, acts of the state, immoral by any standard, were endorsed by the church in an effort to gain political power and influence. Other times, the church, in striving to protect its economic base, would encourage the state to undertake projects it dared not conceive of in its own moral terms.

Missionaries approached the Indian tribes in an effort to bring them into western European religious life. Their primary message sought to invalidate the totality of Indian life and replace it with Christian values. Because Christian reality had been broken into credal definitions, all the missionaries could present to the Indians were words and phrases that had a magical connotation.

Religion vs. Magic

Missionaries looked at the feats of the medicine men and proclaimed them the works of the devil. They overlooked the fact that the medicine men were able to do marvellous things. Above all, they overlooked the fact that what the Indian medicine men did *worked*.

Most activity centered on teaching and preaching. The thrust was to get the Indians to memorize the Large Catechism, the Small Catechism, the Apostles Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Ten Commandments, and other magic rites and formulas dear to Christianity. Salvation became a matter of regurgitation of creeds. In a very real sense, then, Christianity replaced a living religion with magic.

And the white man had much magic. Blessed with the gun, the printing press, the iron kettle and whiskey, it was obvious to many Indians that the white man's god took pretty good care of his people. Since there were no distinctions made between religion and life's other activities by the Indian people, the natural tendency was to adopt the white religion of recitation and forego the rigors of fasting, sacrifice and prayer.

From 1860 to 1880, tribes were confined to reservations, as the West was in its death throes. Churches began lobbying early in the 1860s at the Indian Bureau in Washington for franchises over

The author, pictured at a Sioux reservation.

A Protestant missionary (left) conducts Bible study at the Navajo reservation at Kayenta, Arizona.

the respective reservations. Thus one reservation would be assigned to the Roman Catholics, one to the Lutherans, one to the Methodists and one to the Espicopalians. Other churches were prohibited from entry on a reservation once it had been assigned to a particular church.

Indian religious life was forbidden. The Ghost Dance movement, a last attempt to bring back the old hunting days, was enough to convince the Indian Bureau and the Army that the sooner the Indian was Christianized the safer the old frontier would be. Signs of any other activity would call for a cavalry troop storming in to rescue civilization from some non-existent threat.

It was no feat, therefore, to convert Indians to a new religion. No missionary ever realized that it was less the reality of his religion and more the threat of extinction that brought converts to him. Or, if he did realize it, he never acknowledged it.

Some churches patterned their work after existing social traits within the tribal culture. Particularly among the Sioux in the Dakotas, the Sun Dance was reinterpreted as the annual convocation of the missions on each reservation. And this type of accommodation to Indian life gave the churches that used it built-in advantages over their competitors. But Christianity was presented in such a dogmatic form to the Sioux that it became frozen into a rigid structure. The religion, as it was presented in the 1870s, remains the religion of the Sioux today. This fact was brought home to me quite vividly in 1964.

The Sioux and the Message

Church officials from the East came out to the reservations to bring the new Civil Rights message to the Indians and get them involved in the struggle. A New Yorker attended a Sioux religious meeting in South Dakota and was treated to an evening of hymns and prayers sung in the Dakota language. And he was horrified.

Nowhere, he later stated, did he find the social concern for integration and equality which made up the bulk of the Christian message. God's number one priority, he felt, was Civil Rights and here he had been overwhelmed with missionary hymns that had no relevance to the great struggle.

When this message was later related to the Sioux, they were more outraged than was our friend from New York. They insisted that the missionaries had come out to them in the 1870s and taught them to sing "From Greenland's Icy Mountains" and told them that this was God's word and that, by God, they were going to keep on singing "From Greenland's Icy Mountains" regardless of what the rest of the world was doing!

Today it is fairly easy to tell which churches had which reservations by the predominance of members of a certain church among the older Indians. What each denomination did share, however, was the Anglo-Saxon social forms. These modes of behavior were what they really taught and preached on the various reservations. Church missionaries struggled to make the Indians cut their hair because they felt that wearing one's hair short was the civilized Christian thing to do.

After the tribal elders had been fully sheared, they were ushered to church meeting, given pictures of Jesus and the Disciples, and told to follow these Holy Men. Looking down at the pictures, the ex-warriors were stunned to discover the Holy Dozen in shoulder-length hair!

Often rows of sullen former warriors filled rickety wooden chapels to hear sermons on the ways of peace. They were told that the life of war was the path of destruction. Eternal Hell, they were assured, awaited the man of war. Then the service would be closed with the favorite old hymn, "Onward, Christian Soldiers, Marching as to War."

Indian people obediently followed the way of the white man because it was the path of least resistance. The Great Spirit was exchanged for Santa Claus with some misgivings. Substituting toys for spiritual powers created a vacuum, however, and the tribes secretly preferred their old religion over the religion of the Easter Bunny.

The years from 1870 to 1930 were prosperous times, producing record harvests of red souls. Indian congregations were established in nearly every reservation west of the Mississippi. Many became self-supporting in a short time.

The flower of tribal leadership served in the reservation chapels as laymen and helpers to the white missionaries. Many people hoped and expected that the mission status of Indian churches would soon be ended and they would receive full parish and congregational equality. Little did they realize that the Indian mission field had become a hobby in and of itself.

The Depression missionaries were succeeded by a generation in which the mission field had

(Continued on page 12)

The Southern Strategy: Can It Bring Us Together?

by James A. Hamilton

While Negro students at West Point, Miss.,

wait for newly integrated school to open

they are joined by a white girl who stands apart.

JUST over a year ago, in his inaugural address, Richard Nixon struck a theme for his new Administration. "I saw many signs in this campaign," he said. "Some of them were not friendly and some were very friendly. But the one that touched me the most was one that I saw in Deshler, Ohio, at the end of a long day of whistle-stopping, a little town. I suppose five times the population was there in the dusk, almost impossible to see — but a teenager held up a sign, 'Bring Us Together.' "

And the unity theme was a welcome one. But the fact is, one year later, that the theme of unity has been replaced by the politics of exclusion and polarity. As a result, rather than unity, we face deepening divisions. And those primarily victimized by these divisions are the nation's blacks who, as a result of the Administration's Southern strategy, find themselves increasingly isolated, their hopes and dreams, to say nothing of their rights, further deferred.

There has been some speculation about the existence of a Southern strategy. Administration spokesmen have taken some pains to deny its existence. Perhaps it would be more accurate to call it the Nixon-Mitchell strategy. But exist it does. And no matter what you name it, the aim of the game is to capture the Solid South for the G.O.P. Even if the strategy is not calculated to isolate, exclude and divide, that is the result. And the ultimate cost to the nation of pursuing such a strategy is evidently immaterial.

It was also just a year ago that Attorney General John Mitchell told a civil rights delegation, "Watch what we do instead of what we say." Those who have watched have seen the Southern strategy in operation.

The Carswell Nomination

What the President has **done** in nominating first Judge Haynesworth and then Judge Carswell for the Supreme Court is of special interest to those concerned about equal rights for all citizens. For the first time in 35 years, a President has clearly indicated that he intends to change the philosophical composition of the Supreme Court.

Presidents Truman, Kennedy and Johnson rewarded their friends with Supreme Court seats and most often that friendship reflected philosophical compatibility. President Eisenhower tended to promote deserving legal practitioners, thus underscoring merit rather than philosophical stance.

But President Nixon's three nominees have been virtually unknown to him personally, and outstanding legal careers do not seem to have been an important factor. Instead, Nixon has sought "strict Constructionists" and, in his last two nominees, Southerners whose civil rights decisions have not rendered them "unacceptable" in the South.

Thus, as the Senate considers Judge Carswell's nomination, a major factor working to his advantage has little to do with the qualifications of Carswell himself. Many Senators, still reeling from the pressure they absorbed in the Haynesworth struggle, realize that even if Carswell were rejected, the President would simply come back again with another candidate of the same philosophical persuasion. And their civil rights records seem to get worse.

Judge Carswell, in addition to a record of reversals and delays in civil rights cases before him, made a campaign speech in 1948 in Georgia in which he declared: "I believe that segregation of the races is proper and the only correct way of life in our state. I have always so believed and I shall always so act."

When confronted with the speech during Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on his nomination, Judge Carswell rejected its philosophy and claimed it no longer represented how he felt. Yet there is nothing in his record during the intervening 22 years which would indicate that he has changed his views. In fact, there is much in the record of the hearings to suggest that his 1948 views continue to shape his public and judicial actions.

There has been a tendency on the part of many, including some liberal Senators, to excuse that speech as a youthful indiscretion. But Judge Carswell was 28 at the time, a law school graduate and newspaper editor. The message is clear to blacks and it should not be too difficult to understand why they are not willing to forgive and forget. As the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights has observed: "One wonders if the apologists for the speech would be so ready to confirm Judge Carswell to the Supreme Court if he had espoused Black supremacy or the principles of the Communist or Nazi party?"

To fully understand the passion with which blacks opposed the Haynesworth and Carswell nominations, one must remember that it has been the Supreme Court far more than the Congress of the United States which in the past 15 years has moved consistently to secure and sustain their rights. Why shouldn't they, why should not all men, call for the appointment of a man whose record speaks clearly of fairness and integrity under the law, a man without the slightest shadow on his credibility?

If the name of the game were really unity, that is the kind of man who now would be taking a seat on the Supreme Court. But as Mitchell warned us, actions speak louder than words. And the Southern strategy demanded a Carswell.

The Voting Rights Bill

Another potential victim of the Administration's Southern strategy may be the Voting Rights Act of 1965. That act, which expires in August, has been responsible for the addition of 800,000 Southern Negroes to the voting rolls, and the election of a growing number of black officials.

Last year, the House Judiciary Committee proposed the simple extension of the existing law for an additional five years. But, following heavy lobbying by White House and Justice Department aides, the Administration's substitute, with the endorsement of Southern segregationists, won on the House floor by a narrow 208 to 203 margin.

The Administration's bill, among other things, would ban literacy tests everywhere and shift the burden of proof regarding the effect of state voting law changes from the states to the Federal Government. Proponents of a simple extension of the existing law fear that the Administration's proposal would squander the efforts of enforcement personnel, give the Justice Department an impossible task in trying to keep up with all state voting law changes, and abandon court-tested provisions of the present law for new devices, opening the way to prolonged litigation and the denial of immediate relief to aggrieved voters.

On March 1, voting rights legislation becomes the pending business of the Senate. In mid-February, Senators Hugh Scott, the Republican leader, and Philip Hart, proposed a bi-partisan compromise which would preserve the key features of the 1965 Act and embody the principle President Nixon espoused of treating all parts of the country alike with respect to literacy tests and residential eligibility to vote.

The White House rejected the compromise. Since the only parts of the Administration proposal not embraced by the compromise were those parts designed to diminish Federal protection of voting rights, it can be fairly inferred that the Administration desires this result. The existing Voting Rights Act has been tremendously effective. For that reason, it has earned the opposition of those who would keep Negroes from the polls. But, because it does not fit in with the Administration's Southern strategy, the struggle in the Senate to extend it will be uphill all the way.

"Watch What We Do . . ."

Just how long and far the Administration will attempt to ride on its Southern strategy are questions about which there is increasing speculation and concern.

Two weeks ago, it appeared that it had been forced out into the open on the question of Southern school desegregation. Senator John Stennis (D-Miss.) moved to amend a pending education bill in such a way as to effectively halt desegregation efforts in the South. Commissioner of Education James E. Allen informed the Senate that the Administration opposed the Stennis amendment. But, at the last minute, rather than jumping the hurdle and accepting the political costs of its opposition, the Administration pulled up short and overrode Allen. Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler said Allen had been speaking "as a member of the Administration" rather than for it.

If the President continues to pursue his present course, it will be only a matter of time until he is forced to the wall by the segregationists. The courts have ordered immediate desegregation of pupils and teachers in the schools of the Deep South. The President has a Constitutional responsibility to enforce court decisions. And Southern political leaders will force him to act, sooner or later.

The Southern strategy cannot produce unity in this nation. And the longer the President permits it to control his decisions, the deeper he drives the wedge of division and accelerates the potential seriousness of the inevitable confrontation. ■

Mr. Hamilton is Director of the Washington Office of the National Council of Churches.

it says here . . .

DISCIPLES CONSIDER MINISTRY TO U.S. OBJECTORS IN CANADA

INDIANAPOLIS — A ministry to the estimated 60,000 U.S. military objectors in Canada is being considered by the United Missionary Society of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).

In discussing its plans, the Board of Trustees said: "The church in this matter is not sanctioning desertion or draft-dodging when it expresses concern for these men and their families."

It was pointed out that the church provides chaplains to the men in the armed forces without seeking to justify war, and provides pastors to men in prison without asking first what crime they committed.

"Just so," said the trustees, "the church is called upon to provide pastoral care to these men and their families."

A study of the emigrants to Canada was reported which showed that only 2 per cent of the men there had ever heard of their legal rights as conscientious objectors. The Board recommended keeping in touch with the Canadian Council of Churches and other groups facing the problem and possibly providing up to $5,000 toward setting up such a ministry in Canada.

Meanwhile, at the mid-winter Assembly of the United Church of Christ in Milwaukee, Dr. Robert V. Moss, president, said that the United States should immediately grant amnesty to all U.S. draft resisters. The government, he said, has customarily granted amnesty after wars and President Lincoln did so before the end of the Civil War. One of Dr. Moss' sons was recently totally disabled in Vietnam.

* * * * *

ARABS AND ISRAELIS URGED TO STOP USING BIBLE FOR PROPAGANDA

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Use of the Bible as propaganda by both Arabs and Israelis was deplored in a joint Protestant-Catholic editorial appearing in the *United Church Herald* and *The Lamp*. Editors Dr. J. Martin Bailey (UCH) and the Rev. Charles Angell, S.A., reported on their return from a fact-finding tour of the Middle East that both sides could help "defuse" the conflict by stopping such actions.

Deploring "glaring anti-Jewish statements, misquoted from the Bible, by otherwise respected Christians" the editors also rejected the view voiced by some Israeli spokesmen that the Bible's designation of the Jews as a "chosen people" justifies their position, despite the Bible's "link between the Jews and the land."

* * * * *

CHURCH BROADCASTERS PLAN "NEW STYLE" PROGRAMS

NEW YORK, N.Y. — A "new style" of television programs which will accent the positive was unveiled at the annual meeting here of the National Council of Churches' Broadcasting and Film Commission. Expressing the conclusions of many broadcast specialists that too many network programs concentrate on social and human problems through critical analysis, leading them to despair instead of to action, Nelson Price, chairman of the BFC Broadcast Operations Committee said:

"We are going to show concrete evidence of the ways individuals and church groups are attacking these problems, instead of talking them to death."

Four emphases for the "new styles" were listed. One would deal with the preservation of freedom to counteract what the Board felt is a current swing toward its repression.

The second would introduce the many new forms of ministry, and the third would deal in individual terms with science and technology.

The fourth emphasis would treat personal problems arising from the use of drugs, alcohol and complications in family relations.

Dr. Everett C. Parker, director of the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ, is the newly elected chairman of BFC. Executive director is the Rev. William F. Fore.

* * * * *

TWO CHURCH COUNCILS WORK FOR ABORTION REFORMS

SEATTLE — Both the Washington State and the New York State Councils of Churches are pressing for liberalized abortion laws in State Legislatures. Meeting here, the Washington Council's Board issued a resolution asking either a liberalized law or a referral of the present law to a vote by the people. It specifically rejected an amendment to a proposed bill which would require a husband's consent.

Efforts in New York State to repeal its abortion law, one of the strictest in the nation, are supported by the State Council. Stating that abortion "is properly a matter of individual conscience," it calls only for "medical safeguards in a hospital setting." Previous efforts to liberalize the present law have not been successful.

Both State Councils called for welfare reforms and additional assistance to the increasing numbers of workers being laid off as a result of the Administration's slow-down of the economy.

* * * * *

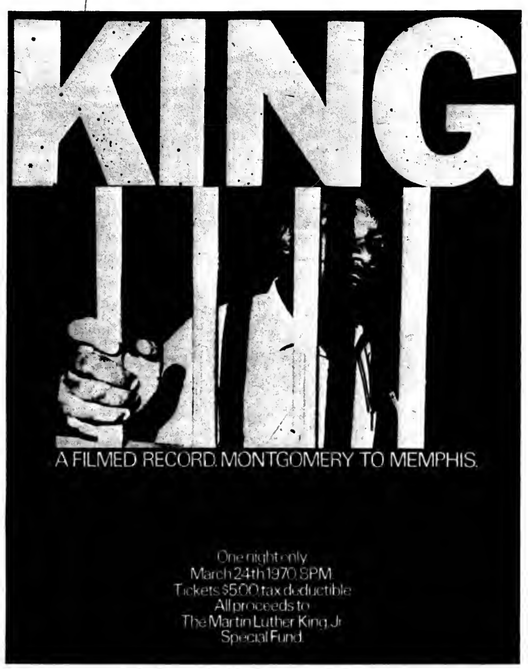
LUTHERAN COUNCIL WANTS "RADICAL NEW APPROACH" TO POVERTY

NEW YORK, N.Y. — A statement prepared by the Lutheran Council in the U.S.A. calls for "programs of education so that church members "become knowledgeable and informed with respect to the causes and solutions of the problem of poverty."

Some regard poverty as inevitable, or the result of laziness, and some believe that the poor are not trustworthy or dependable, it declared. "A radical new approach is necessary."

"Such attitudes still persist," says the statement, "so our society has difficulty in developing and implementing a positive, coherent response to the poor."

The four bodies participating in the fourth annual meeting of the Lutheran Council were the American Lutheran Church, the Lutheran Church in America, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and the Synod of Evangelical Lutheran Churches. Together they represent nearly nine million members.



THE EVENING OF MARCH 24 will mark a nation-wide tribute to the late Martin Luther King, Jr., when movie houses in thousands of American cities will show a film, "King: A Filmed Record—Montgomery to Memphis." The showings will tie in with the Martin Luther King, Jr. Film Benefit, which is expected to raise $5,000,000 to support groups and projects dedicated to carrying on his life work.

The Young Lords

(Continued from page 3)

". . . by preaching the Good News to the poor." For outsiders — whether the Young Lords or somebody else — to try to impose another interpretation of the Gospel on the church was to limit its freedom to worship.

JUST why the Young Lords made such an issue of First Spanish Church is not entirely clear — apart from the fact that the church does have a new building and is convenient to the Lords' headquarters. Pablo Guzman, minister of information for the Young Lords, said the church was chosen because of its location and because "it is one church in the community that has consistently closed itself up to the community." Other churches, he said, already "have some kind of program." True, there are Protestant as well as Roman Catholic churches in El Barrio which have developed community service programs, but there are more which have none.

In fact, the Young Lords, before taking on First Spanish Church, had approached at least four other churches in the community which already had programs of some kind in operation. The Lords sought to set up their breakfast program in these churches. In each case, the churches welcomed the inquiry with warmth and appreciation for the concern over the problems of the community and invited the Lords to join in the work of the church under the church's philosophy and auspices, but declined to be a host for a venture whose ideology they could not share.

"All the churches are at one in saying that the churches should run their own program. They won't tolerate the activist Marxist-Leninist philosophy behind a program in the church," a veteran community leader said.

There also seems to be general agreement among churches in the neighborhood that the breakfast feeding program is relatively low on the list of priorities of needs in El Barrio. The Young Lords began such a program at Emmaus House before their takeover of First Spanish Church. Father Kirk said that as many as 30 children had appeared for breakfast. The program there was discontinued during the short reign of the People's Church. Six weeks after it had been reinstituted, about 20 were being fed. Father Kirk estimated that only about six of these came because there was no food at home.

THE Black Panthers have found the breakfast programs to have great appeal. Some observers close to the scene feel the Young Lords, while completely sincere in their desire to help their people, have latched onto the breakfast program more for political purposes than because a serious need exists there.

One East Harlem pastor, who asked to remain anonymous, pointed out that at the height of the hassle over the People's Church-First Spanish Church, there was in the same block a tenement without heat in which "57 kids had been freezing since Christmas. The situation was so bad 32 of them had to be hospitalized within a week." Yet neither the Young Lords nor the First Spanish Church, caught in struggle with each other, took notice of these neighbors in desperate need.

The struggle in East Harlem has not been confined to the Spanish ghetto. Partisans of the Young Lords have been turning up in the big downtown churches and in the suburbs, speaking out in worship services, demanding "justice" on the part of the church. It won't be confined by the Hudson River, either. Before you know it, the issues raised there will crop up in Shaker Heights and Keokuk and Walnut Creek.

There is, as has been pointed out, the issue of religious freedom. But along with that comes the question of what responsibility does a tax-exempt institution have to serve the very real needs of the community. Then there's the question of why a denominational judicatory should permit a small and struggling congregation to get so saddled with a building debt that it can't even consider seriously its mission responsibilities.

But most important, the conflict in East Harlem makes painfully clear what the churchmen, in their solemn assemblies, have been telling each other for years in their speeches: the world must write the agenda for the churches.

Madre Mia! Do you suppose the Young Lords could have gotten hold of some of those speeches?

MITCHELL, THE PRESS, AND THE PANTHERS

by Leon Howell

LAST summer before the SDS national meeting several "movement" media types attempted to prepare a petition that would have required regular newsmen to sign an affidavit not to reveal to courts or investigating committees any information gained during their coverage of the SDS convention beyond the stories they wrote.

The move was unsuccessful, in part because of a negative reaction from the press itself and, further, because angered SDS delegates finally said no admittance to anyone.

But their point was serious, and it was based on the testimony of a *New York Times* correspondent before the House Un-American Activities Committee about other SDS meetings. This reporter, they contended, while initially an unwilling witness, had gone before the committee and talked for hours about all he knew. If he had to go, they felt he could at least have limited his testimony to what he had written.

Their concern now seems to have been more than a little justified. For the recent outburst of broad and vague subpoenas affecting all materials gathered by certain media *(CBS television news, Newsweek, Time, Life, New York Times)* on the Black Panthers or the Weatherman activities clearly illustrates the danger for radical groups of dealing at all with established newsmen, however diligent and trustworthy they may seem as individuals.

So what are we to make of these most recent machinations of the Justice Department, these broadside subpoenas to gather evidence for criminal prosecution?

Two really quite separate and distinct conclusions seem to follow. In the first place, while it is not impossible to imagine some useful evidence or confidential sources emerging from the "fishing expeditions" made into the media files, it all seems basically superfluous. With the kinds of intelligence operations the Justice Department is able to wage against our own people, it almost surely can collect all the information it really needs.

Almost surely this Administration, especially through its Attorney General, hopes through these actions to continue its intimidation of the media themselves and, more crucial, to isolate further groups such as the Black Panthers and the SDS from the established outlets. This is done most effectively by making it impossible for them to risk talking with newsmen, who temper scare stories about Panther weapons with positive reports of Panther breakfasts.

Attorney General John Mitchell's apparent backing away from the subpoenas on February 5 was much more an admission of inadequate procedures (once more he errs) than a disclaiming of the process. For one does not even have to confess paranoia to know that the repressions are systematic now. (The Mayor of Seattle disclosed recently that he turned down a Justice Department request for a pre-emptive raid on the Panthers there.) The less we know about them the easier they will be to curb.

While the legal ground is virginal, one would wager that any clear court case based on the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of the press would produce decisions in favor of the inviolability of media sources equivalent to those granted to lawyers, priests and doctors.

But the harder questions really fall on the media executives and the working press itself. It seems clear that the corporate legal structures that advise such monoliths as CBS would rather cooperate than fight. This in part explains CBS's wishy-washy grudging cooperation in full with the subpoenas. At *Newsweek*, on the other hand, angry reporters demanded from their executives protection from such misuse of their private information and this mood seemed to have overridden legal conservatism.

But the big media have been so interwoven with what they felt was for the good of the country that they have no real precedent for how they should react to such pressures. Indeed, some of the executives seemed more upset by Justice's subpoenas having been issued "without prior consulation" than by the implications of the acts themselves.

But the working press raises graver questions than these. In one small, very wet demonstration in front of CBS, representatives of various straight and "movement" media passed out a leaflet saying: "Employees of CBS and other media corporations can no longer ignore the fact that their executives have turned them into police agents (the group, at one time numbering 50, picketed the CBS "black slab" at 51 West 52nd St.).

It is a time of great ferment for journalists. They have begun to raise serious questions about their basic function, which they increasingly know is not to inform but to sell. As one critic has put it, the mass media is capitalism's life-line.

Now beginning to see themselves also as police agents, their identity crisis grows. (The movie, *Medium Cool*, reviewed in *TEMPO*, Nov. 1, raises many of these questions). What their alternatives are remains to be seen, but one thing is certain: the Justice Department has added new dimensions to that crisis.

As the fight for freedom of the press goes public, people working in the media will begin to organize around several issues, some of which were suggested by Media Mobilization in New York recently:

1. A pledge by all news-gatherers to destroy confidential raw material rather than submit it to the state;

2. An angry hard-hitting campaign by all media operations to rid themselves of police and governments agents, and an end to police use of press credentials to hide their identity;

3. A campaign for a national confidentiality law for the press (that now exists in a handful of states);

4. A guarantee that management will involve media workers in decisions about their material and provide legal counsel to individuals subpoenaed.

—Mr. Howell is communications director, United Ministries for Higher Education, New York, N.Y.

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TEMPO GOES TO DISNEYLAND with Harvey G. Cox

TO take the famous submarine ride at Disneyland, you board a real underwater craft that splashes beneath the surface. There you see rubber sharks, plastic sunken treasure ships and marine flora and fauna of every conceivable description — all astonishingly real looking. Then, as the voyage is ending, the taped narrator's voice warns you not to expect to see any mermaids since "they are entirely mythical creatures." Instantly, of course, a covey of nifty mermaids appears. The passengers chuckle, but nothing really seems amiss. After an hour or so in Disneyland that thin line between reality and artifice, fact and fancy, seems to evaporate. Mermaids and giant squid, both plastic, inhabit the same world.

We all know that movies have made an extraordinary impact on American culture. Remember the lady a few years back who said she had learned everything important in life from Socrates, Jesus, Buddha and Cary Grant? This week, instead of writing about **a** movie I want to show you some slides of my recent pilgrimage to what is surely the holy mountain of America's popular myths and cultural symbols — Disneyland. No wonder Khrushchev wanted to see it. A man of the soil himself, he sensed instinctively it was the American equivalent of Red Square, Lenin's tomb and the Moscow Puppet Theatre combined. Disneyland is the magic grotto where our fondest memories, our mass fantasies and our timid hopes for the future are all ritually recreated and re-enacted. It is a consumer's Oberammergau, a permanent tribal dance marathon for deracinated middle America.

Celebrating America's Past

It is also a gas. Anyone who puts down Disneyland out of hand has simply not allowed its vibrations to touch him. What you have to do, I think, is to purchase a Mouseketeer hat, with those great protruding ears, as you enter and swing with the whole thing. And don't think for a moment that Disneyland is just for the kiddies. Its amusement park rides and facade can be misleading. It is really a skillful repristination of small-town America,

a never-ending liturgical celebration of the mythical American past, and an effort to conjure a comforting future. Over 60 million visitors, so the management claims, have found their way to this Mickey Mouse Mecca, and the number of pilgrims grows each year.

"Omnia Disneyland in partes tres divisa est." There is Frontierland, Fantasyland and Tomorrowland. Let's begin at Frontierland, where you can watch blood-thirsty Indians burning the cabins of settlers, take a trip on a full-size Mississippi river boat, stroll through the streets of old New Orleans while black minstrels whomp out Dixieland jazz on the streetcorner, or have a Creole dinner next to a darkened bayou that even supplies electrically lit and electrically powered flickering lanterns and darting fireflies. The food is real if not particularly gourmet. During your visit to Frontierland, don't let your **knowledge** of American history distract you. We are dealing here not with what happened (which fusty old antiquarians waste their lives digging up) but with what we like to think happened. Every tribe needs a myth and Americans are no different.

Now on to Fantasyland which is where you will ride the submarine, scale a concrete Matterhorn, get whirled around in giant teacups, and careen through a scary fun house with Snow White's mean old witch cackling and leering at you from every wall.

Tomorrow Is Dull

The third province is Tomorrowland. It is also the dullest. The fact is, there is no tomorrow in Tomorrowland. What it dishes up is a tepid extension of today's technology — bigger, shinier but not really different. The charismatic names in Tomorrowland, ominously enough, are not Tom Sawyer or Dopey, as they were in Frontierland and Fantasyland. They are Monsanto, GE and Eastman Kodak. In the Disney version, your future and mine is safely in the hands of the great American corporations. But alas it is a rather dreary future. Monsanto magically reduces you in size by sending you through a microscope and allows you to explore the inside of an atom. GE proudly displays the kitchen of tomorrow (which, I'm told, has to be changed all the time since today's kitchens are always catching up), and Your Telephone Company displays a 360-degree movie screen. The movie, however, shows the America of about five years back.

Although you can buy at any souvenir stand in Disneyland a music box which, when opened, plays "Someday My Prince Will Come", this is as close as Uncle Walt's Eden ever comes to eschatology. For Monsanto there is of course no tomorrow. There is only a flashier and more efficient today. Those who control the reins of power in any society can hardly be expected to envision a future that is very different from the present. They rather like things the way they are. Maybe that's why when Jesus talked about the Kingdom of God, he always said that only the poor would know what he meant.

There is no **hope** in the religious vision of Disneyland. For the past there is nostalgia; for the present, sentimentality; and for the future, extrapolation and programming. There is, of course, a big moon rocket in Tomorrowland, but few people seemed interested in it. They skip it to sneak back to Frontierland for a second ride on the Caribbean pirates' boat. Disney's bland tomorrow makes anyone prefer the colorful, if legendary, past.

At the heart of Disneyland, stretching across its center and linking the three provinces, like the sacred world center in a primitive grove, is "Main Street America." It is the triumph of Disneyland, an entrancing recreation, in perfect human scale, of the main street in ten thousand American towns of the thirties and forties — now gone forever. There is the local drugstore and ice cream emporium, before Rexall and Howard Johnson. There is the little movie theater, the flower store, the tiny shops and bakeries that mass food merchandizing has wiped out. That street runs not only through the center of Disneyland but through the childhood memory of millions and millions of Americans, still bewildered and disoriented by our urban monstrosities and characterless suburban sprawl. Main Street invites you to walk down it, to linger, to loaf a bit, to idle. Cars do not drown out the tinkling bell on the door of the jeweller's or gasoline fumes spoil the smell of the freshly baked bread. (Oh, I know there were cars on Main Street in the 1930's, but Disneyland is interested in the way we would like to remember it.)

The Myths Persist

Disneyland has an exit, of course. You pass through it when you leave to find your car in the smog and crawl bumper-to-bumper on the Freeway past the giant war industries on your way back to Sam Yorty's Los Angeles. But don't let that gate mislead you. Disneyland does not stop at the ticket booth. Its aura hangs over all of Southern California and indeed over our entire Monsanto-Mickey Mouse country. We are a people who cannot accept the real story of our past, especially of what we have done to red and black, and who therefore must tell ourselves the myth of the Good Sheriff and elect him, if possible, to govern our state (as Californians have). We cannot manage much real fantasy, so we let Donald Duck and Dumbo do it for us. And as for tomorrow? Which one among us really wants to say much about that?

But fear not. Disney Enterprises knows full well that its **Geist** does not stop at the gate. The company is now planning a full-sized city in Florida, in which people will actually reside. And after that, why not a small state, then a big state? Well, Mickey Mouse might not make a bad monarch after all, considering the competition.

THE CHURCH ON THE RESERVATION

(Continued from page 8)

been the glory spot of Christian work. Many arrived out West with the idea of finally completing the task started by the heroes of the faith two centuries before. The new breed contemptously announced that nothing had really been done by their predecessors. There were still Indians around and Indians meant pagans.

The situation has not greatly changed over the past few years. Several years ago at a conference of missionary workers, a female missionary asked my advice on a problem she was having. It seemed that no matter how hard she tried, she couldn't get her little Choctaw pupils in Sunday School to understand the "technical side of being saved." The Baptists had had the children for some time and her first task had been to correct all the heretical theology the Baptists had taught them.

Dilemma of Missions

The epitome of this blythe ignorance is the work of the Presbyterian Church among the Shinnecocks on Long Island. I asked a minister in charge of Indian work for his denomination how long the Presbyterians intended to conduct mission activities among a tribe that had lived as Christians for over three hundred and fifty years. His answer to my question was representative of Christian attitudes toward Indian people today: "Until the job is done."

Christianity, which had laid the ancient world prostrate in less than three hundred years and conquered the mighty Roman Empire, has not been able in the same period to subdue one hundred Indians huddled on Long Island.

The dilemma of Christian missions today is great. National churches have committed two great mistakes, the solution to which depends on their foresight and ability to reconcile themselves to what they have been preaching to Indian people for years.

First, national churches have continued to pour thousands of dollars annually into their mission programs simply to keep up the value of their investments. They must soon be prepared either to take a devastating paper loss as their congregations vanish or give the properties to the Indian people for their own use.

Second, the major denominations have been adamant in their determination to exclude Indian people from the ministry. Some are even frightened that when the sacred doctrines are translated into the native tongue, the subtle nuances created by theologians of the Reformation will lose some of their distinctions.

And no other field of endeavor in America today has as much blatant racial discrimination as does the field of Christian missions to the American Indian people. It is a marvel that so many Indians still want to do work for the churches.

The Indian people have come a long way in the last generation. For a long time they accepted the missionary because he seemed to want to do the right thing. But there has always been a desire of the Indian people to take over their own churches. More and more they are returning to Indian dances and celebrations for their religious expression. They now wait only for a religious leader to rise from among the people and lead them to total religious independence. Thomas Banyaca or Frank Takes Gun, leader of the Native American Church, or someone yet unknown may suddenly find a way to integrate religion with tribalism as it exists today and become that leader. ■

—Mr. Deloria, a Standing Rock Sioux, has been a seminarian and is a former executive director of the National Congress of American Indians. This article is taken from a chapter in his recent book, "Custer Died for Your Sins" (MacMillan, 1969 $5.95)

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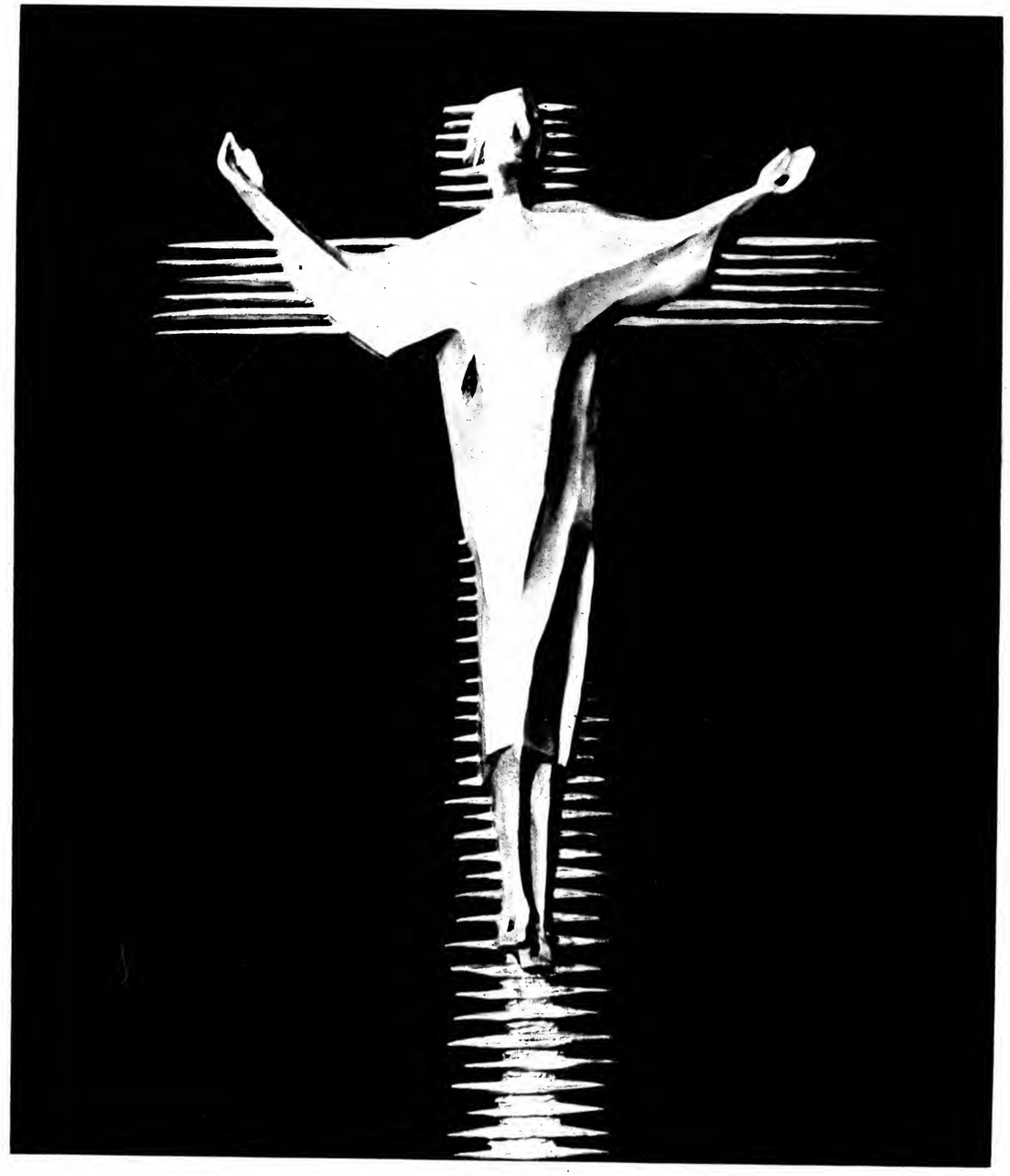

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TEMPOsitions . . .

"The Deadliest Thing That Ever Can Happen to Christianity Is That Non-Christians Should Beat Christians at What The Master Intended Should Be Their Own Game, Pouring Mankind from Vessel to Vessel . . ."

OF HOPE AND CHANGE

by Harry Emerson Fosdick

In a search for some appropriate thoughts and words about Easter 1970, we opened a little volume of sermons by the late Harry Emerson Fosdick, a prophet of his time and ours. On the way to see what he had to say about Easter, toward the end of the book, we were caught by some prophetic things he said in a sermon on one Sunday in the dark depression year of 1932. They were so pertinent to our time and our present concerns, anxieties and hopes that we decided they should get a rehearing. These are words for Easter — for any time!

THE deepest obligation of a Christian, I should suppose, is to be maladjusted to the status quo. Christ, in this generation, is saying, I came not to send peace, but change.

In view of this, what would you say is the commonest sin of Christians? I should say, Respectability. In such a congregation as this, your ministers, sometimes in you and sometimes in themselves, discover nearly all the kinds of sin there are, but if you should ask me what the commonest sin is, I should say, Respectability.

Christians were never meant to be respectable. The Master was not. They crucified him between thieves. He was maladjusted to the status quo. But we who bear his name are so unlike him that we do not remind anybody of him, and at no point is the dissimilarity more marked than in our conventional, easy-going respectability. One thinks at times that we get that way in part because we substitute one word for another. We talk about saving the world. That is not disturbing. That even sounds beautiful. We can put that into poetry and sing it. I can preach about it so that you will go out and say, How pleasing it is to think about the world's being saved! My friends, alter the phrase. We cannot save this world without changing it. That has another sound.

We cannot save our international relationships without changing them. We cannot save our economic system without changing it. We cannot save ourselves without being changed, radically changed, transformed by the newing of our minds. Sometimes I think we would do well to declare a moratorium on that word "save." It is too much like its kindred word, "safe." In our usage it has grown smooth, easy-going, respectable. But *change* is what the New Testament means by it — changed lives, changed human relationships, a changed society, a changed world.

We Christians are supposed not simply to endure change, not to simply profit by it; we are supposed to produce it. The deadliest enemy of Christianity today is not theoretical atheism; it is the stealing of the churches' thunder by non-Christians so that some of the most devoted and sacrificial efforts now afoot on earth to change the world toward humaneness and brotherhood are going on outside the church, while within the church too many Christians settle down into well-adjusted conformity. The deadliest thing that ever can happen to Christianity is that non-Christians should beat Christians at what the Master intended should be their own game, pouring mankind from vessel to vessel. . . .

Who can tell what changes will face us tomorrow? The difference between people does not lie primarily in the fact of change. The difference between people lies in what they have inside themselves to meet it with. Some go out through stormy vicissitudes to end at last, like Paul in prison, still crying, "I have kept the faith." Others go through stormy days to end in prison like Napoleon on St. Helena, concerning whom one commentator said, "No great principle stood by him." What a way to face a changing world—no great principle stood by him! Yet, for you and me it will be so—or else, "O thou who changest not!" ■

TEMPO

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell

ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler

PROMOTION: David Poindexter

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull

Subscription Correspondence: TEMPO, P.O. Box 81, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010

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THIS ISSUE—TEMPO for March 15 continues the previous issue's accent on the concerns and hopes of native Americans, whose long-unheeded cry for social justice and equality of opportunity is reverberating ever more loudly and clearly across the land. Unmistakably, as articles on pages 3, 8 and 11 indicate, Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts are coming forward to reassert their identity and claim their right to determine their own destiny.

CREDITS: Cover ("Easter" sculptured in bronze by Knud Knudsen) Religious News Service; Photos, page 8 by George P. Miller for "Together."

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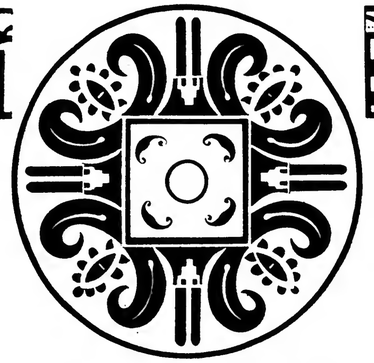
Indians in The City Refuse to Get Lost in A Sea of "Faceless Poor"

WILL THE URBAN INDIAN PLEASE STAND UP?

by Richard D. Lupke



THE Real Urban Indian stood up the other day. He stood up in the person of Mike Chosa, a Chippewa, who, with two dozen other members of Chicago's Native American Committee spoke — uninvited — to 20,000 college students staging an anti-pollution "happening" at Northwestern University.

They demanded scholarships and jobs and reminded the university that Indians have felt "polluted" since 1492. Perhaps that year also marked the beginning of "urban crisis" for the indigenous people of this hemisphere.

Since 1952, when the Bureau of Indian Affairs began its Voluntary Relocation Program, an increasing number of American Indians have come to the cities to live. Almost half the 650,000 Indians in the United States now live off the reservations. Despite some less than subtle encouragement to become part of the "mainstream," they remain Real Indians. A Real Urban Indian stood at the bar at "The Reservation" the other day and ordered a beer. Another Real Indian, Duane Begay, a Chippewa, stood up on a recent Sunday at the Indian Bible Church and preached a sermon. Still others stood up at Indian centers and proudly joined their friends in a pow-wow dance. And Jim White Eagle, a Pawnee, stood up at his desk, grabbed his attache case and went out to close a business deal.

Yes, the urban Indian community is many kinds of people involved in varied, visible Indian groups. And the name of the game for these Indians, as for the reservation dwellers, is Survival. Urban Indians, however, have some tough obstacles to overcome in the survival game because they have to observe two sets of rules. One set, called "Making Something of Yourself" is the marketplace variation. This emphasizes the individual's achievement and urges him on to regard his hours, his work skills and even his personality as commodities which someone can buy and use.

These are the rules stressed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs which has field officers in several major cities to handle "units" which come for employment assistance or vocational training. Their counselors even have to take turns writing a success story-of-the-month to be posted on agency walls back on the reservation so more "units" will be inspired to take the plunge into the urban environment.

Another Way to Survive

Economic achievement is not necessarily un-Indian, of course. But many Indians feel that another form of survival is equally important—the matter of Indian-ness. Consequently there are numerous gatherings of urban Indians: Bowling teams, basketball teams, and other social and cultural activity groups, with most of them focusing on an Indian Center. Here, the pow-wows, in particular, symbolize Indian identity and the drum is at the center of this vibrant and rich celebration of life. Here, the man or woman from a thousand miles away may experience a reassertion of his tribal identity as well as engage in new relationships that make survival in the city a bit more bearable.

Also through the center, he can help his fellow Indians who may not be "making it" and who need financial assistance or counseling help. The "rules" for an Indian, then, are not always in pace with the individualized, profit-motivated game.

Of great importance is the fact that in many Indian Centers, the decision-making is in the hands of the Indians themselves. They are responsible for the survival or demise of the centers. On the reservation, the responsibility and the power are in the hands of others—the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the white merchants, the clergy. At an Indian urban center, an Indian can be himself without being subjected to the pressures and demands of a white-dominated society that seems intent on causing him to vanish.

Indian Power in the City

Within the past two years, a growing number of urban Indians have not been content to assert themselves in sports and traditional culture forms. Such groups as the American Indian Movement in Minneapolis, United Native Americans in California, and the Native American Committee in Chicago have begun to utilize people-power and the mass media in order to achieve socio-economic victories. They feel that Indian Power also has a place in the city which is, by nature, politically oriented.

Not only did the Native American Committee stand up at Northwestern (getting good TV coverage) but it sat down in the Chicago office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in support of their Alcatraz brothers, demanding that local Indians be given a voice in Chicago employment assistance program policies. Their spokesman, Steve Fastwolf, a Sioux, asserts that they are through with verbalizing about such problems as housing, jobs and education. Direct action will be their style.

In a meeting with two BIA officials from Washington in early February, one real problem of urban Indians became quite evident. Under the present policies of this Administration, the BIA will not readily be able to respond to the proposals urban Indians have on their agendas. Whatever their good intentions may be, they are primarily responsible to the reservations because they are the administrators of the land held in trust by the Secretary of the Interior. Thus, having been instrumental in coaxing Indians out of their natural communities, they now claim inability to act in terms of enabling Indians to develop a satisfying community within the city.

Devil Take The Hindmost

In short, the good old individal free enterprise system seems to prevail. Let the individual find a decent apartment on his own. And if a group of young adult Indians wants to launch a port-of-entry residence hall, they cannot hope to get significant BIA help such as seed money, to undertake such a venture.

Urban Indians across the country are becoming more vocal about the frustrations they encounter in city life. Housing is not the only cause for discontent even about the frustrations they encounter in city life. Housing is not the only cause for discontent even with its high rents for cramped, run-down, vermin-infected apartments. Many unskilled workers find that day-labor enterprises tend to exploit them. Paid $1.60 an hour, the Indian man or woman who goes this route is sent to a job where the owner pays the hiring contractor a higher fee, yielding a sizable profit to the middleman. Yet the Indian laborer is prevented from becoming a regular employe at the place where he is sent until 30 days have elapsed. So the newcomer who decides to try out the city on his own, without BIA help, and who needs immediate cash, cannot easily become a steady employe at a reasonable wage.

Education for youngsters means attending a school where most of the teachers know little or nothing about authentic Indian history and culture. City high schools are battlegrounds for white, black and Latin American student blocs. The mini-minority Indian students feel they are the scapegoats for others who give vent to their own frustrations by picking on the Indians. Yet they are no longer able to attend the BIA boarding schools where an escape from this tense and hostile urban scene might be a reasonable option.

Untangling Red Tape

Young adults who come for vocational training sometimes show latent motivation for higher academic education. A few manage to find scholarship resources to get to college. But again, education is a commodity and not a "right," so the task of putting together a financial package becomes an exercise in red-tape. Many a capable young Indian gets discouraged and gives up when their barriers seem so high. Thus, the leadership needed by the Indian community is not developed to its fullest potential.

In 1968, a new national Indian organization was formed. Calling themselves American Indians United, the delegates came from dozens of urban Indian centers and organizations. Chicago policeman Jess Sixkiller, a Cherokee, has just completed a year as director of the organization. Now numbering some 65 member organizations, the AIU purpose is to be a forum for the exchange of ideas between a wide spectrum of off-reservation groups. They hope to facilitate the growth and development of Indian centers and, in addition, enable Indians to voice their concerns to the rest of an increasingly urban America.

American Indians United may be an entity with which the establishment can engage in dialogue. But AIM, NAC, United Native Americans and the other shock troops will be watching with interest to see meaningful results. If these are not forthcoming, then the occupation of Alcatraz may be only a preliminary skirmish.

Who said that urban Indians were going to be lost in the sea of the "faceless poor"? ■

"The Song My Massacre Could Be That Watershed Event That Forces Us out of Our State of Innocence about War in General and Vietnam in Particular"

SONG MY—AND THE MYTH OF AMERICAN INNOCENCE

by Harold R. Fray, Jr.

We have been developing in America precisely that sort of folk-religion that Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah so bitterly condemned. We speak glibly about 'this nation under God,' but how often do we mean 'this nation under God's judgment'? We identify religion and patriotism so closely that instead of trying diligently to find God's will for us, we assume that what we want for ourselves must be what God wants us to have. There can be no more sinister heresy than this one, William Hordorn, Lutheran — theologian.

• • •

Our way of life is a grand tour dè force whose main purpose is to avoid responsibility and maintain at least the appearance of innocence. — Albert Camus, French novelist

MANY Americans lost their innocence these past few weeks with stories and pictures from Song My, South Vietnam. We have been forced out of our "garden of Eden" into the real world created by war, the military system, and pursuit of victory which sacrifice truth and morality. It has been a painful experience — too painful for some to accept.

Mike Wallace of CBS television, who interviewed a young ex-G.I. who said he thought he had shot 15 or 20 Vietnamese civilians under orders from his lieutenant, reports being inundated by abusive phone calls. Of 110 calls, all but two berated him for "giving that boy a hard time." It was heart-rending to any of us, as parents, to listen to the plaintive, pleading words of the mother of Paul Meadlo, a Vietnam veteran who participated in the events of Song My. "I raised him to be a good boy and he was a good boy," she said with broken voice, "and now they have made a murderer of him."

That is precisely what happens. That is a part of the price we are paying for the Vietnam War — the brutalization of our young men and the rending of our nation at home. In August, 1969, I received a personal letter from a former member of my youth group in the church I served in Utica, New York. He wrote:

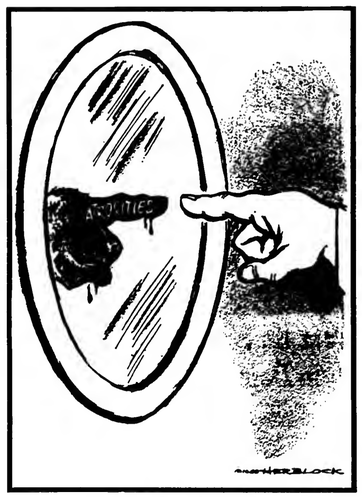
> *"The way I feel right now is that I'm slowly going crazy. Right now, I'm on an operation and we are really running into a lot of V.C. (Viet Cong). In the last four days, I think I have gotten 6 hours of sleep. It's so bad that in the last fire fight, I shot a man 15 times before they stopped me. I don't know, maybe I need a rest or something."*

The content of his letter neither shocked nor surprised me—any more than the stories now focused on Song My. There is too vividly etched upon my mind my experience in the Battle of the Bulge, Belgium in December, 1944, and January-February, 1945, and what was done by American soldiers under great pressure and stress.

The American soldier is no better and no worse than any other soldier fighting under any other flag. The difference is than Song My could be that watershed event—vividly communicated through modern news media—that forces all of us out of our state of innocence about war in general and Vietnam in particular. It could mark the beginning of a totally new attitude on the part of the American public toward war, violence, racism, and the military system we have created. If we, as Americans, could begin to see ourselves more realistically and less self-righteously, the whole world would be able to breathe easier. So long as we continue to picture ourselves as the virtuous defenders of goodness around the world, and that all who do not agree with us are the enemy (probably communists or "taken in" by communists, as Vice-President Agnew would characterize those who participated in the Washington Mobilization, November 13-15, 1969), then America will continue to be just as great a threat to world peace as any aggressive, self-serving nation.

What American soldiers are doing in Vietnam is nothing new in the annals of American history. Our record with the American Indian is a bloody blot that still stains American history. Here is one account from the annals of Massachusetts history:

> *"The River towns . . . saw in the Pequots their chief enemy. They struck first in May, 1637. Captain John Mason with ninety men went to Saybrook, where he was joined by Captain Underhill with a handful more. With admirable strategy, they surprised the chief town of the Pequots in a night attack and entered both gates of the village. Mason fired on the village and withdrew to the surrounding woods, where his men shot every wretched savage who attempted to climb over the palisade. As the night waned, 'five hundred men, women, and children were slowly burned alive.' Mason noted that, by the providence of God, there were one hundred fifty more Indians in the village that night.*
>
> *"Dr. Cotton Mather furnished a written account of the massacre: 'It was supposed that no less than six hundred heathen Pequot souls were brought down to hell that day.'"*



Herblock in The Washington Post

"The Other Side"

One cannot imagine how many similar incidents, and worse, could be recorded in America's dealings with the Indians. One additional example will suffice. After the Indian Removal Act was passed by Congress, General Winfield Scott was ordered to drive the Cherokee Indians from their lands in Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. The Cherokees were thereby forced into a mid-winter trek to Arkansas.

> *"Of the 14,000 who were on this 'trail of tears,' as it came to be called, 4,000 died on the way. While a hundred Cherokees a day were perishing of exhaustion and cold on that dreadful road, President Van Buren, on December 3, 1838, addressed Congress: 'The measures (for Cherokee removal) authorized by Congress for its last session have had the happiest effects . . . the Cherokees have emigrated without any apparent reluctance.'"*

Some of us remember how exercised the American public was when the facts came out about the "Death March of Bataan." The record shows that in America we seem to have a propensity to reserve the wrath of our moral indignation for the acts of the enemy and gloss over our own atrocious deeds. Within the past few days, referring to the revelations of Song My, one member of the United States Senate inveighed against the U.S. Army for bringing charges against an officer for "a mistake in judgment . . . under pressure of combat." Under enormous public pressure, Lt. William L. Calley and a few others may be forced to take "the rap" for what happened in a remote Vietnamese village, but the issues and the deeds are much larger in scope. What is being done in Vietnam happens because we allow it to happen. The American soldier is only an extension of the American system, for which all citizens must bear responsibility.

Americans have been horrified by stories of Viet Cong atrocities (remember Hue) — and in the past, in time of war, we have been given a full menu of North Korean atrocities, Japanese atrocities, and German atrocities. Because the record has been one-sided, many of our citizens have believed that the behavior of American soldiers has been better, more moral, than that of other fighting men. It has led to the fatal attitude that we are the good guys and they are the bad guys (meaning our enemy of the moment). Many have yet to learn that *war brutalizes and dehumanizes all.* One need only to remember the perverse logic of the American officer who said of the Vietnamese city of Ben Tre, ravaged by American forces, "We had to destroy this town in order to save it."

How can man treat his fellow man (a child of God) in such an inhuman way? How can a so-called Christian nation be responsible for such savage deeds as those committed by the United States of America against many people. The process, the justification is rather simple. You convince yourself that "the enemy" and those whom you would exploit are less than human (savages, heathen, communists) and therefore unworthy of normal humane treatment and consideration. Add to that the belief that God is on your side (it is when the divine is invoked that the worst takes place, as the record of the Christian Church, especially in the Middle Ages, is a constant reminder), and compound it with a disregard for truth in the conviction that *all is justified* to achieve your holy purposes. The "credibility gap" of the U.S. government in the past five years is a shocking record. And one quickly recalls the continuous denial of the U.S. Army for the death of 6,000 sheep in Utah until the truth was so incontrovertible that confession had to be made.

On the matter of dehumanizing those you would exploit, let me again reach back into the historical record, to an account by Richard Drake, U.S. citizen, writing in 1812:

> *"This African business . . . I confess is not a thing I like. But, as my uncle argues, slaves must be bought and sold; somebody must do the trading; and why not make hay while the sun shines? "We had half the gang on deck today for exercises; they danced and sang under the driver's whip, but are far from sprightly . . . Last Tuesday, the small pox began to rage, and we hauled 60 corpses out of the hold . . . We stimulated the blacks with rum in order to get their help in removing corpses . . . The sights I witnessed may I never look on such again. This is a dreadful trade. . . .*
>
> *"I am growing sicker every day of this business, of buying and selling human beings for beasts of burden . . . On the eighth day (out at sea), I took my round of the half deck, holding a camphor bag in my teeth; for the stench was hideous. The sick and the dying were chained together. I saw pregnant women give birth to babies whilst chained to corpses, which our drunken overseers had not removed. The blacks were literally jammed between decks as if in a coffin; and a coffin that dreadful hold became to nearly one half of our cargo before we reached Bahia."*

Mauldin in Chicago Sun-Times

"There's a tough bunch. Under the VC they survived liberation, orientation, and taxation. From us they took defoliation, interrogation, and pacification."

Viewed in his own eyes as a superior being, the white man has justified all in his treatment of the colored peoples of the earth. Governor Gilmore of Georgia, in 1830, expressed well the self-justification which allows men to do their worst. This time it was the Indians:

> *"Treaties were expedients by which ignorant, intractable, and savage people were induced without bloodshed to yield up what civilized peoples had a right to possess."*

And now it is the "gooks"—the name the U.S. military establishment gives to the Viet Cong—to identify them as savages and sub-human, and therefore unworthy of all humanitarian considerations. The record is all too clear: we yell, "Communist" and suspend all moral judgments. And a sordid record it is, extending from Vietnam back through the annals of American history, briefly cited above. Even our own citizens are counted among the enemy and subject to abuse if they do not adhere to established policy. The admission of mistreatment of dissenting U.S. Marines by the Commandant of Camp Pendleton, California, is but one of many examples. Along similar lines, the American legal system gives to every man the right to defend himself in our courts of law. Yet that right was denied to the Black Panther, Bobby Seale, and when the rights of one are taken away, the freedom of all is threatened. If we had seen a picture from Russia of a man chained and gagged in a law court, it would only confirm our expectations of communism. When it happens in our own nation, how do we react? How do other peoples of the world view us?

Not long ago, President Nixon announced this country would stop the development and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological weapons of war. It is a step in the right direction for which we should all heartily commend our President. But the Executive order specifically does not affect the herbicides that have been used so extensively in Vietnam. And how few Americans seem to have much awareness of our record in the use of chemicals and defoliants in Vietnam. What has come through the press has spoken mostly of defoliating jungle areas that have been used for cover by the Viet Cong, but there is much more to the story. In a study of the use of herbicides and chemicals by the U.S. military in Vietnam, Dr. Yoichi Fukushima, head of the Agronomy section of the Japanese Science Council, claims that American chemical attacks by 1967 had ruined more than 3.8 million acres (or one-half) of the arable land in South Vietnam and were a direct cause of death for nearly 1,000 peasants and more than 13,000 head of livestock.

In an article entitled, "Military Uses of Herbicides in Vietnam," published in the British Journal, *New Scientist*, June 13, 1968, Dr. Arthur W. Galston, Professor of Biology at Yale University and President of the Botanical Society of America, wrote:

> *"The Air Force is preparing to spray about ten million gallons of herbicides over South Vietnam in the year beginning July, 1968. . . . It is estimated that this will be enough to treat almost four million acres, of which about one third will be crop land . . . With respect to the deliberate killing of crops in order to deprive the Viet Cong military of food, it can only be remarked that whenever starvation is used as a weapon against an entire population, the main sufferers are inevitably the aged, the infirm, pregnant women, and children under five years old. The fighting man almost always gets enough food to sustain himself. Thus, in using hunger as a weapon, we are attacking that part of South Vietnamese society which is least involved in military operations and whom we would wish least to injure."*

But the worst is yet to be told. Among the basic chemicals used by the U.S. military in Vietnam is Agent Orange, a 50/50 mixture of two defoliants, 2,4,5-T (trichlorophenoxyacetic acid) and 2,4-D (dichlorophenoxyacetic acid). In a report to the National Institute of Environmental Health Science, September, 1969, data collected by the Bionetics Research Laboratories of Litton Industries, showed that these two pesticides produced significant increases in the incidence of malformation in fetuses and in the incidence of cancer when tested upon mice. 2,4,5-T caused deformed births in test animals—at a rate of 100%. The dosage used was the level a Vietnamese woman might consume in her drinking water in a few days in an area where these chemicals have been used.

The results have been predictable: an enormous increase of malformed babies born of Vietnamese women. Write Frank Mankiewicz and Tom Braden in an article entitled, "Spray Earth Policy,":

> *"Not since the Romans salted the land after destroying Carthage has a nation taken pains to visit the war upon future generations."*

In the name of sanity, how long before we will demand an end to this madness? In the United States, the food additives, cyclamates, were deemed harmful by the Food and Drug Administration, when maximum concentrations, which might be consumed, were only 1/50 those concentrations which showed negative results in laboratory experiments with test animals.

Is it not time to listen to the pleadings of those who have considerable knowledge, but do not have their pride to preserve, or the "American face" to save, before this disastrous tragedy of American military policy, which is Vietnam? Here is the advice of Townsend Hoopes, Under Secretary of the Air Force (1967-69), in his book, *The Limits of Intervention*:

> *"Deliberate, orderly but complete withdrawal has become in my judgment the only practical course open to the United States if we are to restore our foreign policy to coherence, regain our psychological balance, alleviate the deep-seated strife in our society, and restore our national priorities in ways that will win the support of a large majority of our own people . . . In particular, there can be no truce between the generations . . . until Vietnam is terminated . . . If we can forthrightly acknowledge the basic, unpalatable truth — that our intervention in 1965 was misconceived, that, viewed through cold, clear eyes, it could not be justified on the grounds that vital national interest was at stake—then we can bite the bullet in Vietnam. We can acknowledge past failure and the inevitability of some degree of defeat . . . as a means of liquidating an enterprise that is beyond retrieval and a condition that is poisoning the bloodstream of our society."*

Perhaps our only hope lies in the projections of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, September, 1959,:

> *"I like to believe that people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than are governments. Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days, governments had better get out of their way and let them have it."*

When will that day come? Will members of our churches, as an expression of their patriotic and moral duty, lead the way? ■

Dr. Fray is Minister of the Eliot Church (United Church of Christ) of Newton, Mass. Praise for his article was virtually unanimous among members of his congregation who read it before it appeared in TEMPO. Dr. Fray was the subject of a profile-interview in TEMPO, Nov. 18, 1968.

A Searching Look at Possibilities for Peace in The '70s

THE STATE OF THE WORLD

by Howard G. Kurtz and Harriet B. Kurtz

The Rev. Harriet B. Kurtz, an ordained minister of the United Church of Christ, conducted a pioneering research ministry into the jungles of self-interest and power surrounding the global arms race. Howard G. Kurtz, a former Lt. Col. in the U.S. Air Force, an engineer by training, and a management consultant by profession, works with his wife as a "church and world task force" in search of new strategic power and initiatives to avert world catastrophe and oncoming world crisis. Mr. and Mrs. Kurtz are co-founders of the non-profit, tax-exempt War Control Planners, Inc., an educational endeavor to open pro and con professional and public discussion of man's new powers to make Planet Earth safe from war.

WHAT has gone wrong? Although the United States is the most powerful nation in history, each year the inflation crisis; the taxation crisis; the youth crisis; the university crisis; the urban crisis; the poverty crisis; the race crisis; the pollution crisis grow worse—not better—despite the publicity and political activities. All indications are that these crises will be worse next year than they are this year.

Like passengers in flight across the ocean waking up to the fact that their pilot is lost, the American public may be on the verge of the nightmare of realization that the Government is lost in the world crisis. We only half-believe that the Government knows what to do to regain the sinking national security, and the open-ended global arms race each year commandeers the increasing natural and financial resources of the nation as well as the most creative human beings required to meet and overcome the domestic crises which threaten the future of American civilization.

Every leader in the national security hierarchy, from the President on down, has become so preoccupied with fighting immediate spreading fires, that no one has the time or the energy or the talent to work on the far more crucial problem of building a fire-proof house, or a war-proof world.

It is a mistake to tell the public that we must make a priority choice between solving domestic crises or solving world crises. They all are symptoms of a single on-rushing global storm and the collapse of an historic era. A pilot can fly through a thunderstorm if he understands its dynamics, and we believe that the American people can make a democratic form of government fly safely through the grave dangers ahead if the press and the public opinion-molders will allow the public to understand the dynamics of world crisis at this climax-moment in history.

The dynamics of "war"

Back through history, after each war the two most powerful nations or tribes which were within range of each other's weapons, began to react out of fear of each other. As a protective measure, Nation A would strengthen its defense posture against possible attack by Nation B. But this strengthening of Nation A was seen as an increased threat by Nation B, and Nation B then took defensive action which, of course, was interpreted by Nation A as verification of its fears and an increased threat to itself.

Year after year, this dynamic of fear increases in intensity. Each year, each side acts "in the interest of national defense" to increase its powers of destruction. The size of the increase in powers of destruction increases on both sides as the dynamic intensifies. Eventually "war" breaks out. And, after the war, the storm again begins to generate between two of the most powerful remaining nations or tribes which are within range of each other. The public on both sides is manipulated by propaganda, "in the interest of national defense".

The propaganda myth that the Soviet-American war threat is caused by the fact that the auto factories in the U.S. are owned by corporations and the auto factories in the U.S.S.R. are owned

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

No Sanctuary

by the Communist government, is completely false. The oncoming catastrophe is not a battle between economic theories. A generation ago, the United States was mobilized for all-out war against *capitalist* Germany which had an economic system so identical to the American system that many wealthy Americans had their capital invested in German industry. Today, Communist U.S.S.R. faces the possibility of war with Communist China with equal possibility of war with capitalist America. The dynamics of present and oncoming crises of powers of destruction would be built up into the thunderstorm of global war today, no matter what economic dogma was in power in the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. (or in China or in Japan).

The propaganda myth that the Soviet-American war threat is caused by the fact that Americans believe in God and the Soviet people are not supposed to believe in God, is completely false. The oncoming catastrophe is not to be a collision of beliefs or disbeliefs. Every war that "Christian" America has fought has been against "Christian" people:—"Christian" England; "Christian" Spain; "Christian" Mexico; "Christian" Germany. In the crisis of "war" Christians may fight Christians; Moslems may fight Moslems; Communists may fight Communists; and every other possible combination of beliefs can be found fighting each other as well as peoples of other beliefs.

The opinion molders on both sides of the present power build-up feed their own public the traditional false myths required to picture the "enemy" as the evil one, the devil, as part of the conditioning of the people for sacrifice in war, when it comes.

The public on neither side is allowed to understand the dynamics which have made war a continuous plague throughout history, without respect for race, color, creed or nationality.

The new dimension

The American people are not threatened by ideas in the old testaments of Karl Marx as the Soviet people are not threatened by ideas in the Old or New Testament of the Bible. The American people are threatend by escalating Soviet global strategic power, as the Soviet people are threatened by escalating American global strategic power.

Modern technology has produced catastrophic weapons capable of decimating a national population and soon to be capable of destroying world civilization, and has produced delivery systems which bring the entire world civilization within range of the threat of a major nation.

An American missile resting in a submarine on the bottom of an ocean, carrying a nuclear warhead, will be able to destroy any city in the world upon command, and a Soviet missile resting in a submarine on the bottom of an ocean, carrying a nuclear warhead, will be able to destroy any city in the world upon command.

In the fictional charade called "diplomacy" or "foreign policy" the *sovereignty* of a nation extends three miles out to sea—within this area it is right and proper to destroy a threatening enemy. This was a tenet of belief invented in the day when enemy cannon could shoot two miles!

Advancing technology has projected world civilization into a new era. The era in which our history books were conceived and written has collapsed. No one has yet told the public.

There is a precedent for this. In the Middle Ages when gunpower appeared in cannon for the first time, rendering the castle indefensible, a historic era began to collapse. It made little difference whether the lord of a castle was a "dove" or a "hawk". If he was a "dove" and chose weakness in the face of an oncoming powerful enemy, he and his people disappeared from future history. If he was a "hawk" and mobilized armies to defend the system, he and his militia destroyed more and more castles (as did the other competing commanders) until, in several hundred years, the ruins of castles all across the landscape signalled the final collapse of the historic era in which men sought security from the protection of a castle's walls.

Today modern technology has produced the catastrophic weapons and global delivery systems which are rendering the nation indefensible in the 1970's. The self-generating dynamic of hostile power confrontation at the beginning of the 1970's already has pyramided beyond public imagination in outerspace, in airspace, on the high seas, on the sea bottoms, and in military and political and economic front lines in nations all across the earth.

The danger of weakness

If either side should suddenly turn weak or make a major strategic miscalculation at this point in world crisis, the opposing potential global power would make decisive moves to prevent the opponent from regaining power. The

Pierotti in New York Post

"Hey, don't you know who's in charge?"

winning side would move decisively toward final dominion over the resources of the world. This, as we shall see, is the unspoken strategic objective of the unseen power command posts on both sides of present conflict.

If the President of the United States gives in to the "stop the war now" pressures, or makes a miscalculation in unilaterally withdrawing forces from Vietnam too quickly, for domestic political capital, it can be a fatal mistake in American history. If either side should escalate the war, or make a major strategic miscalculation at this point in world crisis, world civilization can be destroyed, for all practical purposes. The strategic power balance today is without precedent in history. It is as though all world populations have been crowded into a single gas-filled room. The gas continues to pour in, escalating the total global danger with each succeeding day. And in this pre-explosion tension, obsolete commanders on both sides are holding matches in their hands, threatening to strike them "in the interest of national defense".

In the 1970's the threat of powers of destruction will collapse. All Japanese national security planning is based on the core-myth that, if Japan is attacked at a certain magnitude by China, the United States will respond by massive nuclear retaliation against China. Only a few people on earth still believe that President Nixon would "push the button" at this point, bringing on the destruction of world civilization. These few people who hang on to the dead myth are the up-tight tacticians in the Pentagon whose concepts must remain small enough to fit into the electronic brain of a computer, with which they remain in day-long conversation.

All NATO security planning is based on this same dead myth—that the U.S. will respond to any attack on Europe by the U.S.S.R. by massive nuclear retaliation, destroying world civilization in the computerized escalation of the final global disaster.

The protective three-mile limit to protect the U.S. from enemy weapons and the protective three-mile limit to protect the Soviet Union from enemy weapons—the moral dimensions of "sovereignty"—have now been stretched to encompass the entire earth. Every American lives within the sovereign boundary of Soviet defense and every Soviet citizen lives within the sovereign boundary of American defense. The truth is that advancing technology has destroyed the "sovereignty" of the U.S. and of the U.S.S.R. and of every other nation or locality on earth.

The end of an era

Throughout history, he who commanded the power of destruction, imposed his will upon all within range. This Machiavellian theory of political power is the basis of "law-and-order" in all nations, Communist, Socialist or Capitalist. In history the actual process is reversed—it is "order-and-law" in that some power has first established "order" by command of the powers of destruction within an area, and then that power has caused "law" to be created within that area.

The balance of powers of destruction among nations has been given the polite term of "diplomacy". But in the 1970's, this history-long theory of power will collapse. Already cracks are appearing on all sides. The U.S., the most powerful nation in history, cannot impose its will on the tiny half-nation of North Vietnam, cannot prevent North Korea from stealing an American naval vessel, cannot prevent a Latin American company from nationalizing an American-owned company, cannot impose its will upon the United Nations any longer, cannot prevent a dozen more "Vietnams" from exploding in the next few years, in many parts of the world, in sum, can no longer assure the security of the United States of America.

The Soviet Union is suffering the same paralysis as its global powers of destruction swell to fantastic proportions. In the 1970's, there will be a new concept of power or history may end.

For the first time in history, human beings in the 1970's will command the power to destroy mankind in the twinkling of an eye. Until now the mythology has contended that God alone could command such force. But today some very human beings, like President Nixon and Premier Kosygin, have their hands on such power. In the 1970's, the cost of producing weapons of extermination will drop to the point where more than twenty nations might command such force. Worse than that, by then the non-nations, or cabals of fanatics, or even organized gangsters may possess power to hold mankind hostage.

There are no precedents in political science or history to guide the men who must wield this swelling power. The textbooks have become irrelevant for the college and high school generations, which must create an unprecedented new world order in the coming decade or in a questionably available longer period of grace.

We already live precariously in a new historic era in which men who command the powers of destruction no longer will be able to im-

Engelhardt in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The American Nightmare

pose their will upon all within range. We have not yet built the structures to defend and protect the new world community from the new global dangers of destruction.

There is a peculiarity which becomes apparent as one attempts to study near-God-sized power. *Simultaneously*, it is the power to destroy mankind and the power to protect and enrich the life of Man on earth. Through the National Security Council and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the President of the United States has superior command and staff assistance in wielding the power of death for mankind right up to the moment when the "button" is handed to him to bring an end to civilization. The President has no supreme strategic council and has no competent command and staff assistance in wielding the compassionate power to protect and enrich the life of Man on earth.

When a human being holds the power to destroy mankind, he *also* holds a fearful and awesome responsibility to see that mankind is not destroyed and that life on earth for all human beings is enriched. In the early 1970's—the very early 1970's—there is an imperative for the Office of the President of the United States to graduate beyond the dead era of world influence through powers of destruction, and to provide world leadership in a new era.

Strategy for the 1970's

Anyone who has watched a football game on television or from the grandstand (and it is reported that the President of the United States is a football fan) can understand the character of the new U.S. global strategy, appropriate to the character of the American people. Like a successful football coach, the President will have to command not one, but two different kinds of strategic power. He will have to command *superior defense power* or *containment power*, to prevent the opponent from breaking through to *his* goal of world domination.

But a team sent into a game with nothing except defense plays, will lose the game. That is only half the responsibility of the coach. *In addition* he will have to command an unprecedented *superior forward power* to provide world leadership toward a new goal of a future world order free from war. In addition to the essential defense effort, the President could invite all nations to cooperate in a *war prevention decade* in which research and development and acquisition of new knowledge in many fields will be directed toward experimental stages or prototype models of the global armed forces management structures required to make Planet Earth safe from war, and to allow productivity to be redirected toward meeting the needs of human beings everywhere.

There are hundreds of such large-scale unilateral initiatives which could be started by the U.S., without jeopardy to the essential defense effort (just as the Manhattan Project was mobilized in addition to prosecuting World War II).

Although all nations would be invited to cooperate, the War Prevention Decade experiments can go forward with U.S. initiative no matter what nations hold back at present. No risk to the national security would be involved, because no nation would be asked to turn over its defense to the experimental safety systems, just as no one is asked to buy tickets on the experimental supersonic transport plane during the prototype development years.

There is no need to first "negotiate" with the opponent, before breaking the darkness of dread which engulfs the world, by a historic commitment of American leadership to the task of pioneering the future world order and world law capable of guarding the national security and political independence of *all* nations. Progress year after year can be tested and demonstrated to the public in a continuing series of International War Prevention Games among the cooperating nations.

The *people* of the nations do not yearn for a world order dominated by either Soviet or American powers of destruction. The *people* of all nations yearn for protection from foreign enemies, and for production of food, clothing, housing, health, education and welfare for themselves. The *people* of all nations may project into world leadership the Head of State of the great nation who first breaks his present course, leading toward political or economic empire and domination of other nations, and make a believable national commitment to pioneer the complex systems of military - technical - economic - legal - political - public opinion - moral resources required to create a new echelon of world civilization for the safety and well-being of the people of *all* nations.

The next giant stride

After World War I, the League of Nations was established to bring an end to war. The operational concept was not adequate. After World War II, the United Nations was established to bring

(Continued on page 11)

An Urban Indian Says:

WE WANT TO SPEAK FOR OURSELVES

Interview with Jess Sixkiller – by Martha Lane

JESS Sixkiller represents a new and different generation of American Indian — alert, knowledgeable and determined to help see to it that American Indians do not get lost and buried in the urbanized crush of today's America when they opt to leave the reservation for life in the city. To carry out his convictions and his mission, Mr. Sixkiller helped to found, and now heads, American Indians United, the nation's first organization to represent and fight in the interests of Indians in the city.

Born a Cherokee in Oklahoma, he attended an Indian school in Kansas, and then moved to Chicago where he picked up skills under a U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs program to become successively a welder, tile-layer and carpenter. He took a year's leave of absence as a detective with the Chicago Police Department to go to the AIU.

He is here interviewed by Associate Editor Martha Lane of Together whose January, 1970 issue carried the interview originally. It is here reprinted by permission, © 1969, The Methodist Publishing House.

Where do the nation's American Indians live?

They live on reservations, in urban areas, and in other off-reservation locations. It's estimated that 230,000 to 250,000 — roughly one-third of today's total Indian population in America live in cities.

In Chicago alone the Indian population is between 12,000 and 18,000 — depending on who's doing the counting. I'd say an educated guess would be somewhere around the middle — 14,000 or 15,000. The population tends to shift back and forth, depending on the season and the job availabilities on or near reservations.

"Home" is not Chicago or any other city. The prime consideration of most of us is to find economic fulfillment off the reservation, then to retire to "home" back on the reservation.

Must Indians have permission to move off reservations?

No, this is an erroneous idea which many people have. You have to go back in history to clear it up. When the Army gave up control over the "Indian problem" and the Bureau of Indian Affairs was created, Indian agents were appointed. Initially these agents were sort of little gods — they granted permission to Indians for a number of things. This is where the notion originated, I suppose, that Indians wanting to leave the reservation had to more or less get permission from their captors. There is no restriction on our travel today. One of the biggest reasons is that we were made citizens in 1924.

You mentioned the Bureau of Indian Affairs. There have been charges that the BIA is not very effective in working with and for Indians. Are they valid?

In the main the superintendents of reservations and different BIA departments, and area BIA directors are probably doing the best job they know how to. The only problem is they forget to ask Indians what Indians would like done. The Bureau seems to have evolved a policy that in effect says to Indians, "We're here and we're doing you a favor by being here." But really we Indians are doing them the favor — because we are here, they have jobs.

The Bureau has gotten to be such a gigantic octopus that — like all government departments — it's uncontrollable, unadministrable, and almost unchangeable. There are people in the Bureau who are very dedicated to Indian causes, but in the main they're stymied by bureaucracy because it's their bread and butter.

I'm not saying they should revamp the whole thing, but I certainly feel the BIA's traditional concepts and policies and its bureaucratic organization are wrong.

Where does the BIA fit into the Federal Government structure?

The BIA comes under the U.S. Department of the Interior, which is primarily concerned with the conservation and management of the nation's natural resources. The BIA commissioner comes under the Assistant Secretary in charge of public land management.

Do individuals receive Government payments because they are Indians?

No, not just because they're Indians. Some do receive what they call per capita payments, but generally this is from the leases of Indian-owned land, oil and gas leases, or from settlements on past claims and treaties that have been broken by the United States Government, private investors, or industry.

Unfortunately, the Federal Indian Claims Commission has been largely ineffective in processing and presenting claims. Since we represent less than one-half of 1 per cent of the total American population today, you can imagine the amount of effectiveness we would have in pushing for legislation and claims. We have to rely on friends who are willing to lend their moral and written support to us.

Another misconception is that Indians don't pay taxes. We do. We pay as much and in some cases more taxes than other people do.

What problems do Indians have that other minority groups do not have?

This is a question you should ask someone more knowledgeable than I, but I'll say this off the top of my head: Other minority groups in America today have been raised in a white society. American Indians have not been raised in a white society. We've been raised in a tribal, communal, highly segregated society, so when we come into urban and metropolitan areas, it's a completely different world.

In a way our past world has been both our master and our slave. It has segregated us from the dominant society of America, but at the same time it has made us relatively pure in our bloodline and has kept us intact as tribal and communal people. So what originally started out as the solution to the "Indian problem" is the very thing that has caused our high birth rate, that has caused us to be more tribal and to retain our heritage and culture — even though vast attempts have been made to breed this out or kill it off, to make us into white Red Men.

All our problems are unique to us, as the Negro problem is unique to the Negro, the Puerto Rican, and so on. I think Indians can safely say that we've felt all the problems other minorities have. But we have one thing that none of them have. Our heritage, our culture, and our background are *here* in this country. You can't take that away. It's been our salvation a lot of times.

What problems do urban Indians have that rural Indians do not face?

Remember that Indians, in the main, are a rural race. The majority of us are first generation urban, and this has caused a lot of grief because we come from a completely different society. We come from a system that is not "dog eat dog" into one that tells us that we must get ahead of our neighbor, earn more money than he earns, buy a newer car than he has, whether we can afford it or not. This goes completely against our human values, against the principles that are very dear to us. This is one thing we've found not to our liking — that we have to practice this one-upmanship.

Let's turn to American Indians United, the organization for urban Indians you helped found. Was it necessary? What are its goals?

One reason it's necessary is that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has specific programs for reservations, but it's totally lacking in anything for off-reservation Indians. AIU is also necessary because the society in which urban Indians live is not an Indian society. One of the things AIU is reaching for is a sort of Indian community that goes beyond the boundaries of tribal identity. I think this is already happening in Chicago. We have over 90 tribes that participate in the American Indian Center (the local Indian organization) for example. We know that we can't be one-tribal, we can't follow the customs and traditions of the Sioux, or the Cherokees, or the Navajos. At the same time we must follow all these cultures.

American Indians United is made up of local Indian organizations. It's run and staffed by Indians who are at present not reservation people.

AIU is necessary because the Bureau of Indian Affairs has told urban Indians, "We can't relate to you because you're no longer on reservations." And the social-welfare agencies that exist in metropolitan areas have said, "You have a whole department of government devoted to you, so go to it."

AIU amounts to a sharing of Indian talent, Indian ideas, Indian programs, and Indian funds.

I understand AIU wants to publish a textbook.

Yes. We have a saying that each Indian family generally has one mother, one father, three, four, five or six kids, and an anthropologist. In the past all the anthropologists have done with their material on American Indians is to archive it. AIU wants to take this information that has been gathered from our families and come up with a significant, broadly based supplement that could be added to American history textbooks.

Heretofore, we've been written out of history, even though our contributions to this society are unbelievably vast. Our textbook supplement would help correct that. It's a long-range program. We're figuring on five years of actual research and writing.

And, as always, there are a lot of obstacles in the way, one of the largest being lack of financial resources. Our proposals run over $3 million. We have the people to write it and the material. All we need is money.

It will be written by Indians. It *must* be written by Indian people, mainly because we've been written about, been surveyed, tested, poked, punched, felt, interviewed, and so on by almost everybody in the world. Now it's time to do something with all this information.

Let me ask this. First, what do Indians want and need? Secondly, how can church people help you reach these goals?

We want and need to be able to become self-determining. The churches can help through providing money, according to *our* guidelines and proposals for a change.

Would such proposals go to national denominational boards?

We would like to start with local funding

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WASHINGTON COMMENT

THE WELFARE REFORM DEBATE by David M. Ackerman

THE prospects for significant welfare reform in this session of Congress are becoming more and more promising. By the time this column reaches Tempo readers, the House should have passed the Administration's Family Assistance Plan virtually intact. The focus of attention now is the Senate, particularly the Finance Committee which has jurisdiction over legislation in this area. The Senate is traditionally more liberal on welfare issues than the House, and it has before it several alternatives with which the House had no opportunity to deal. The chances are good, therefore, that it will approve a bill even stronger than the House version. The following is a detailed description (indeed, it may tell you more than you really want to know!) of the major proposals now pending before the Senate.

The House Version

The House bill (H.R.16311) differs little from the plan proposed by the Administration last August (see "Welfare: The Unfinished Revolution," Tempo, Oct. 1, 1969). The changes that the Ways and Means Committee did make were largely in the direction of strengthening the Federal role in the nation's Federal-State-local public assistance system.

Under the House bill, the present Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program would be replaced by a new Family Assistance Plan (FAP), and the present categories of aid to the blind, the disabled, and the elderly would be combined into one new category. The FAP would make all families whose income is less than $3,920 a year eligible for some aid. The working poor, consequently, would no longer be excluded. Single persons and childless couples, however, would continue to be excluded from the Federally-aided categories of public assistance unless blind, disabled, or elderly.

Eligibility would be determined quarterly and would be based on income. To maintain eligibility, all able-bodied adult head-of-household recipients would have to register for employment or job training with a public employment office. Failure to register or to accept a job or job training when offered would result in the loss of benefits.

This work requirement is eased by the provision of work incentives in the FAP benefit schedule. According to the schedule, a family with no income at all would receive a basic Federal payment, computed at the rate of $500 per year for each of the first two members of the family, plus $300 per year for each additional member, supplemented by whatever additional amount their state of residence chose to pay. As an incentive to work, a family could earn up to $720 a year with no reduction in the FAP benefit; earning over that amount would reduce the benefit payment by fifty cents for each dollar earned. A family of four, therefore, would receive an FAP benefit of $1,600, plus whatever supplement the state paid. A family earning $2,000 a year would receive an FAP benefit of $960, making its total income $2,960 (plus the state supplement). Not until a family's income totalled $3,920 a year would the FAP benefit be reduced to zero.

The states would be required to supplement the Federal payment for those who would be eligible under the present AFDC program (including AFDC-UP) up to the level of the present AFDC payment or to the poverty level, whichever is lower. The states would *not* be required to supplement the payment to the working poor. In response to the criticism that the FAP provides the most fiscal relief to the states that now pay the lowest AFDC benefits and the least relief to the states that pay the highest, the Ways and Means Committee amended the Administration proposal to provide for 30 per cent Federal matching of state supplements up to the poverty level. Thus all states will receive some fiscal relief.

Added State Incentives

The Committee also altered the administration of the FAP program to provide greater incentive to the states to opt for full Federal administration. Three alternatives are available: (1) The Federal government through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) can administer both the basic payment and any state supplement; (2) the states can administer both payments; or (3) the states can administer the supplementary payments and the Federal government the FAP benefit. Only under the first option, however, would the Federal Government pay all the administrative costs. Under the second and third alternatives the state would have to pay part of the costs. There is, consequently, a strong incentive for the states to contract with the Federal government for Federal administration of both the basic FAP benefit and the state supplement.

To support the requirement of registration with a public employment office for a job or job training, the House bill also makes provision for job training and child care services. The present Work Incentive Program (established by the 1967 Social Security amendments) would be replaced by a new program to be administered through the Department of Labor. The program would make use, wherever possible, of other existing manpower programs to provide the necessary training and services for each registrant. Ninety per cent of the cost of such programs would be paid by the Federal Government. In addition, the fill requires child care services to be provided for recipients taking job training or working. The Federal Government would pay 100 per cent of the cost of these projects.

Finally, the House bill would combine the adult public assistance categories of aid to the blind, the disabled, and the elderly into one new category. It would have a minimum benefit level of $110 a month for an individual and $185 a month for a couple, with the Federal Government paying ninety per cent of the first $65 and twenty-five per cent of the remainder up to a limit set by the Secretary of HEW. The blind and disabled would be permitted to earn up to $85 a month and the elderly up to $60 with no reduction in benefits, and could earn above those amounts at a loss of fifty cents in benefits for each dollar earned.

A welfare panel of the Democratic Study Group, representing about 120 liberal Democrats in the House, praised the House bill when word of its contents was released in early March as containing "a number of commendable initiatives," but called for several improvements. Among the panel's recommendations were exemption of the mother of school-age children as well as the mother of pre-school children from the compulsory work requirement; a progressive increase in the FAP benefit level from $1,600 to the poverty level; an increase in the minimum income for the adult categories to $150 a month; and a gradual assumption by the Federal Government of the full cost of the adult program. However, as of this writing, it is expected that Rep. Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.), chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, will take the bill to the floor under a closed rule, so there will be no opportunity to amend the bill on the House floor. The Senate, of course, does have that opportunity, both in committee and on the floor, and it undoubtedly will take advantage of it. The following indicates the directions some of the efforts to amend will take.

The Harris Bill

Sen. Fred Harris (D-Okla.), the recently retired chairman of the Democratic National Committee, has introduced the "National Basic Income and Incentive Act (S.3433). Co-sponsored by eight other senators, the bill so far is the main Democratic alternative to the Administration proposal.

The Harris bill would completely Federalize the public assistance system, both in administration and financing. It would eliminate the present system of categorical aid and create one system covering all poor persons, including individuals and childless couples. It would, in a series of steps over three years, establish a minimum income floor equal to the poverty level ($2,520 the first year, $3,060 the second, and $3,600 the third, according to present statistics for a family of four). It would require work of the able-bodied but exempt the mother of school-age children as well as the mother of pre-school children. It would provide an incentive to work by disregarding the first $75 earned in any month, plus one-half the next $150, and one-fourth of the remainder, in computing benefits. It would require that jobs for recipients pay the minimum or prevailing wage, that recipients not be used as strike-breakers, and that job training lead to a "suitable" job that will be available when training is completed.

The Harris proposal is an agreement with the Administration plan in that both provide for a Federally financed floor under income, for a work requirement coupled with incentives, and for fiscal relief to the states. But the Harris plan is much more sweeping: it would completely Federalize the system rather than perpetuate the present Federal-State approach; it would provide a floor under income substantially greater than the $1,600 the Administration proposes (in introducing his bill Sen. Harris termed that part of the President's plan its "single most objectionable provision"); it would set strict standards for the jobs and training slots to be made available to recipients (the Administration bill has no such standards); and it would provide substantially greater fiscal relief to the states.

Since Senator Harris is a member of the Finance Committee that will be considering the various welfare reform proposals, it can be expected that the provisions of his bill will receive considerable attention.

Other Proposals

Other major proposals, either before the Senate or expected to be introduced soon, include the recommendations of the President's Commission on Income Maintenance (the Heineman Commission), a children's allowances proposal by Sen. George McGovern (D-S.Dak.), and the position of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO).

The Heineman Commission was created in January, 1968, and spent 22 months studying the income needs of the poor and the government programs intended to meet those needs. In its final report, entitled *Poverty Amid Plenty: The American Paradox*, the Commission proposed the following:

> "Our main recommendation is for the creation of a universal income supplement program financed and administered by the Federal Government, making cash payments to all members of the population with income needs. . . . We propose that the program be initiated providing a base income of $2,400 for a family of four. . . . (This) basic payment would be reduced by 50 cents for each dollar of income from other sources."

The Commission emphasized that its recommendation of $2,400 was not because it felt that to be an adequate income but "because it is a practical program that can be implemented in the near future." It urged that the benefit level be raised "as rapidly as is practical and possible in the future."

Children's Allowances

Sen. McGovern has not yet introduced a bill, but he has sketched its major components. Termed the "Human Security Plan," his proposal has four elements: (1) a children's allowance of $50 to $65 a month for *every* child in the country; (2) guaranteed employment at a decent wage for every able-bodied working age citizen; (3) improved Social Security benefits for the elderly and disabled; and (4) a residual public assistance system. He has yet to spell out the details of his plan, but it is clear that children's allowances are at its heart. These allowances would replace the existing Federal income tax exemption for dependent children, and consequently would benefit most those who have the least income.

Finally, NWRO, a rapidly growing organization of welfare recipients, is highly critical of the welfare reform proposals advanced so far.

The question is no longer *whether* the nation will reform its welfare system but *how*. The above proposals show the "hows" that are now being debated. The Senate Finance Committee will have the next major word to speak on the subject when it holds hearings and marks up a bill. In short, it is clear that those who want to help shape the debate on welfare reform had better join it soon, or else they may have to wait for a generation to pass before a review of the nation's economic security system as thorough as this one occurs again. ■

Mr. Ackerman, a staff associate in the Washington, D.C. Office of the National Council of Churches, reports frequently on the Capital scene for TEMPO.

it says here . . .

BLACK STUDENT PROTESTS RESULT IN 984 ARRESTS

GREENVILLE, Miss. — Ignored by virtually all major daily newspapers in the country, the largest mass arrest of college students in the nation's history took place February 10 on the campus of Mississippi Valley State College at Itta Bena, Miss. The college has an all-black student body of 2,300.

The facts in the situation, which has involved the U.S. Justice Department, are so disturbing that the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches, with headquarters in Greenville, has called for an investigation.

Discontent had long been brewing among the students, the Rev. Henry L. Parker, reports. As DM information director, he has detailed the events of February 10 and their aftermath.

In January, the Student Government Association presented a list of 30 demands to State College President J. H. White. These included such items as refunds for uneaten meals, elimination of campus dress regulations, a full-time physician, academic instead of athletic scholarships, etc. The president agreed to some of the demands but failed later to implement any of them.

On Feb. 5, the students began a boycott of classes which was 100 percent effective. On Feb. 9, the student government president and vice-president were arrested and President White ordered the students back to classes. Next day, 894 students conducted a peaceful march on the campus which the State Highway Patrol broke up, arresting all the marchers and jailing them under a total bond of $178,000.

Mr. Parker reports that the white trustees of the college had met previously in Jackson with the Highway Patrol officers who then rounded up 60 black police officers from around the state, and used them to make the actual arrests.

When the students were released two days later on token bond or in their own recognizance, they found they had been suspended from the college and could only be readmitted on an oath of "repentance."

"A strong student movement for democracy has been pushed down," says Mr. Parker. "Who did it?"

He answers his own question by reviewing the new Law Enforcement Assistance Act which is part of the Justice Department and which has a regional office in Atlanta. This office (all white) works closely with the State Highway Patrol and was responsible for the mass arrests of peacefully demonstrating students on their own campus.

Mr. Parker quotes a U.S. official in Atlanta as saying: "Justice Department cooperation was excellent. Department officials think this has some application for use elsewhere."

"There's no doubt about that," says Mr. Parker, "unless enough people say No, now." He adds: "We've come a long way since the mid-'60s when the U.S. Justice Department at least appeared to be supporting the black people in Mississippi." ■

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THE AFSC ASSESSES THE ANTI-RIOT ACT

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — What exactly does the law say under which the Government tried the "Chicago 7" and may try others. The American Friends Service Committee has prepared an analysis of the law, and its consequences. The text follows:

In 1968, Congress passed a law prohibiting the use of interstate facilities with the intent to incite a riot. Under the terms of this act (18 U.S.C. Sections 2101, 2102) any person who crosses a state line or telephones or telegraphs across a state line and thereafter performs some act that could imply an intention to start a riot, can be fined $10,000 and imprisoned five years.

It is not necessary that the act implying intent result in a riot. Nor is it necessary for the prosecution to show that the intent implied by the act existed at the time when interstate facilities were used or that it has not since been abandoned. No connection needs to be established between (1) the use of interstate facilities, (2) the overt act implying intent, and (3) any riot that might ensue upon the act. To be found guilty of breaking the law, it is necessary only to (1) use interstate facilities and (2) engage in any act thereafter that could imply an intention to start a riot.

Moreover, the act of inciting a riot is defined so sweepingly in the law as to include any verbal expression approving violence or seeming to approve violence. The professor who travels to a college in a neighboring state to lecture on the rightness of violence in certain circumstances, such as the American Revolution, is in violation of this statute. The civil rights worker who travels to a neighboring state and there uses language critical of "law and order" may be in violation of this statute. The peace activist who plans an anti-war demonstration in another state — or who phones an out-of-state friend to share his plans — may find himself in violation.

Since an intent can never be disproved and since the overt act necessary to indictment under this law need only imply intent to a prospective jury, any person agitating for peace or for rapid social change, or belonging to a group agitating for such changes, risks indictment under this law if he crosses state lines or makes a telephone call across state lines.

The question then is: How will this law be enforced? The "conspiracy trial" of the Chicago 7 suggests an answer.

Even when an indictment results in acquittal, the proponents of change can be disabled for long periods of time by the expense and notoriety of a lenghty trial. The purpose of the law can be clearly inferred from this brief survey of its contents and possible applications. That purpose was made a matter of public record when the passage of the law was debated in Congress, and it was confirmed by the first use made of the law when the leaders of eight unpopular organizations were indicted in Chicago in recent months.

The American Civil Liberties Union has ably argued that the provsions of this law are unconstitutional, and we agree. Clear, precise and constitutionally-tested laws already exist that protect the legitimate interests of the state against the abuse of individual freedoms. These include laws against incitement to riot. Unnecessarily drastic and sweeping, the provisions of this present law abridge the First Amendment freedoms of travel, speech, assembly and petition. These freedoms are the basis of political democracy.

The aim and effect of the present law is to hamper the opponents of the Vietnam war and to disable the leadership of excluded minorities that are now agitating for equal rights and opportunities. Because they combine powerlessness with visibility, the sting of this law may be especially felt by blacks and hippies. It is therefore obvious that the application of this law will work to perpetuate and deepen the social injustices of poverty and racism and the political injustice of inequality before the law. We believe with Jefferson that all men are created equal and with George Fox that all men are equally infinite in value. We are therefore compelled to speak and act boldly against this law.

Injustice breeds violence as surely as violence breeds injustice. Deep social inequalities that are not corrected by constitutional means will surely be attacked by any available means. We are committed to social justice and we are convinced that social justice is best served by non-violence, to which we are also committed. Repressive legislation — and the arbitrary use of police power which it encourages — can only widen the divisions in American life while promoting a common contempt for real law and order. If we are to bear a ministry of reconciliation in an age of conflict, we must speak out against this law, help to induce a test of its constitutionality, work for its repeal, and support those who are penalized by it. We do not intend to limit our activities through fear of this law.

Such a plan of action was approved by the Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee in January, 1970 ■

NEW YORK — The Rev. Randolph Nugent, New York City, has been named to head the overseas ministries program of the National Council of Churches. The 35-year-old Mr. Nugent, as Associate General Secretary for Overseas Ministries, will direct the largest of the NCC's five main program divisions and administer an annual program of some $38 million, including $25 million — in overseas aid to the needy. A United Methodist minister who has specialized in urban mission work, Mr. Nugent comes to the Council from New York's Metropolitan Urban Service Training (MUST), a church-supported program designed to strengthen churches in their inner-city community work. He will assume his new duties April 1.

NAACP PROTESTS FUND GRANT TO BLACK AGENCY–CHURCH UPHOLDS IT

BOSTON (RNS) — National leaders of the NAACP visited offices of the Massachusetts Conference of the United Church of Christ here to protest a $1 million grant to a Black Ecumenical Commission (BEC).

Officials of the country's oldest civil rights organization said the church's action violated the principles of "integration" and was tantamount to supporting racial "separation."

Masschussetts United Church executives defended their action, and they were supported by written statements from heads of other local denominations. The UCC is the largest Protestant group in the state with 531 congregations.

The confrontation changed no minds, but it provided an extensive airing of issues. The session was orderly.

At stake is a decision by the directors of the United Church conference to give $250,000 to the Black Ecumenical Commission and to pledge $750,000 more. The funds would come from unrestricted capital holdings.

The first $250,000 was paid out in January, and the full amount is to be allocated by the end of 1971.

As an NAACP spokesman, Bishop Stephen Spottswood (A.M.E. Zion Church) said white churchmen were "gullible" in funding all-black organizations and he linked the United Church conference's action to Black Manifesto demands for "reparations."

The Rev. Paul C. Clayton, chairman of the UCC conference directors said alternate agencies to the BEC had been considered — including the NAACP — but the black commission was chosen because it was a Massachusetts group, was related to the Church and would "empower black people through black churches." ■

An Eskimo Leader Fights for Native Alaskan Rights

THE EMIL NOTTI STORY

by Dorothy Rensenbrink

EMIL NOTTI is an native Alaskan engineer who once worked in Los Angeles on the Minuteman Missile project and felt like a trained mouse. "All those cubicles and us responding to the buzzers." He didn't feel badly about working in the war machine, "because all I was doing was perfecting a tiny light and you never tell yourself that the light goes on a nuclear missile or what it might be used for." But he wanted to get out of the mouse cage. So he looked around to find something better to do, and he found it back home.

Somewhere lost in the welter of public issues which stir up Americans today is the quiet fact that the U.S. Congress is about to write another chapter in its book of dealings with American natives — in this case the Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts of Alaska. Emil Notti, who is an Eskimo, wants it to be a better chapter than those that came out of the Old West — and before that, the pre- and post-Colonial East. In fact, he thinks Congress has its last chance to deal fairly with the land claims of aboriginal peoples. So he decided to work for the Alaska Federation of Natives, representing 60,000 natives in their claim for a decent share in the development of their land.

He is fighting powerful pressure from industry of many kinds to get land title (98 per cent of which is still in Federal hands) so that it can develop the last American frontier. And he is working on borrowed time—a land freeze put in effect by former Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall before he left office in 1969, preventing the State of Alaska from selecting land until December 31, 1970.

What does Emil Notti want from the churches? Help in getting the Natives' story through to Congress. "If the Natives' story were generally known among the people of the churches in America, it would do a great deal toward moving us toward a solution," he says.

"Even though this is a crisis problem in Alaska and very much on the minds of the Native people, it gets lost on the mainland in the Vietnam War, in crime on the streets, rioting on the campuses and all the other issues facing the nation. Unless it becomes generally known to the Congressman from Alabama or New York or Massachusetts or wherever, he's not likely to vote on it.

"But if church people write their Congressmen, letting them know they are concerned that this government try to redeem its relationship with the Natives by thinking of people before money, it will be a large step ahead of the human problems the church may have to face in years to come."

He has enlisted strong support from Walter Hays, president of the Alaska Council of Churches. Last December they appeared together at the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches in Detroit and brought their case before the national church leaders. The Assembly responded by passing a resolution of support for the Federation's bill and urged member communions and church members to make known their support to their Senators and Representatives.

On the side, Emil Notti has already managed to get a U.S. Labor Department contract for on-the-job-training and has placed 200 Native trainees in the past 18 months. He has also obtained an Economic Development Administration grant to help the Natives.

"There's no end to the possibilities to help people if you look hard enough to find them. And it's much more fun than being a trained mouse in a cage, working on a light for a nuke." ■

THE STATE OF THE WORLD

(Continued from page 7)

an end to war. The operational concept was not adequate. As the nations of the world today waste time, waiting until after World War III before establishing an operational war safety control structure capable of maintaining lasting world peace, time is running out. After World War III it will be too late.

If the United States can lead the world toward a future free from war, without endangering the national security during the prototype development decade, why the inaction?

During the 1970's, advancing technology will open up the oceans and the seabeds for exploration. The potential wealth and resources in the oceans and under the seabeds, completely dwarfs all known wealth in the world today. The supranational power which can establish "sovereignty" over the resources of the oceans, or "inner space," will then have the resources to complete the conquest of the resources of the whole world.

The two supranational powers which dictate the grand strategy of the open-ended global arms race tend to be invisible to the Soviet people and to the American people. The supranational Communist power community operates in foreign nations, beyond the jurisdiction of the Congress of the U.S.S.R., and beyond the reach of Soviet Law, yet this power community has sufficient influence over the Soviet Government to have the protection of expanding Soviet global military power. These men of power operate behind a protective curtain of silence by the Soviet press.

The supranational financial power community operates in foreign nations, beyond the jurisdiction of the Congress of the United States, and beyond the general reach of American Law, yet this power community has sufficient influence over the United States Government to have the protection of expanding American global military power. These men of vast financial power operate behind a protective curtain of silence by the American press.

The best kept secret in Washington is the "war aim" in the global arms race. As technology and general knowledge continue to progress during the 1970's, the feasibility of creating a global armed forces management system to bring an end to war between nations, will increase. If civilization is to avert catastrophe, there will be a future global security authority of some kind. It will maintain management control of powers of destruction of all nations, and will assure that all nations are disarmed down to the requirements of domestic law-and-order. No nation will be permitted to have the destructive powers to threaten war upon another nation, or to threaten the global safety authority. There will be "peace". The vast resources now invested in the arms race can be redirected toward other purposes. But the one remaining crucial question is threefold:—

I. Will the global power management authority, in turn, be under the command of the supranational Communist power community, making Communist satellites of all nations? The *people* of all nations will be in constant rebellion.

II. Will the global power management authority, in turn, be under the command of the supranational financial power community, making all nations economic subsidiaries of an American holding company empire? The *people* of all nations will be in constant rebellion.

III. Will the global power management authority, in turn, be under the command of an unprecedented system of checks and balances and control of a reconstituted United Nations, or a new world organization, capable of maintaining the national security and national independence of all nations? Will the *people* of all nations support the safety structure which will guarantee their national security and national independence?

The "war aim" of the Soviet Union, in the global arms race, is quite clear. It is Option I, above. The "war aim" of the United States is never discussed with the public.

Is it Option II above? Are the resources, which should be utilized to reduce the taxation crisis; to reduce the inflation crisis; to solve the urban crisis; to finance the pollution crisis solution; to meet the education crisis, being drained off to the open-ended arms race to protect the private foreign investments and economic empires of a relatively few men of great wealth?

During the 1970's, it is predicted that the American people and the American press will wake up to the fact that there are hundreds of large-scale unilateral initiatives the U.S. could launch to lead world civilization toward Option III above without jeopardizing the national security in the process. God-sized power may then begin to serve the *people* of all nations. ■

WE WANT TO SPEAK FOR OURSELVES

(Continued from page 8)

sources, and broaden the circle until we get sufficient funding.

Say there is a local congregation that wants to make some type of contribution to an Indian center, but it doesn't have very much money. What can it do?

There was such a group in Chicago, and I suggested that they sponsor an intern at the Indian center for a period of months or for however long their funds would last.

What do you mean by "intern"?

I'm talking about an Indian whom we could put in an Indian center, who would be salaried by an organization such as a church. He would learn how an Indian center operates. He would study in specific areas — community organization, the makeup of centers, maybe family services. In turn he could train Indian people in centers all over the country.

It is well and good to donate old clothing and food — it does a lot for the conscience and for the heart. But instead of doing this short-term type of thing that will be forgotten soon by both giver and receiver, do something substantial. I think one of the most substantial contributions a church could make is the funding of an intern. This person would become their investment. He could do a lot of good around the whole country — wherever he went.

Is any denomination doing this now?

At the moment, no. You see if church people really want to do something, forget this old attitude of "you're all my children." Start thinking of us Indians as actual people, with capabilities and wills and determinations of our own. ■

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TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

Reviewing:
"Tell Them Willie Boy Is Here"

Produced and directed by:
Abraham Polonsky

HEADS down, kiddies. Okay everybody, now let's all think about Indians! What comes to mind? No peeking now. Yes, American Indians, not "indian" Indians. What are the images? Honest now? Tonto? TIME magazine says he's dead. Hiawatha? The shining big sea water is polluted now and a Gulf station now stands on the spot once occupied by the lodge of old Nakomis. How about that fierce but funny-looking guy in the front of the cigar store? But if you're under thirty you don't remember him anyway. Who else? Geronimo? Sitting Bull? Crazy Horse? Pocohantas? For the most part what the word "Indian" touches off in our minds is a circle of whooping redskins riding bareback round and round the brave little clump of covered wagons while John Wayne or Errol Flynn shoot them off their horses one by one.

Despite Alcatraz, the rise of Red Power and the popularity of *Custer Died for Your Sins*, most of our semi-conscious mental images of the American Indian are products of the mass media or childhood stories, or both. No wonder. Few of us have ever met an Indian. If it is rare for a white middle-class American to know a black person, well how much more unusual it would be for him to know an Indian. Yet I don't really believe most Americans today think of Indians as bloodthirsty savages or rampaging warriors bent on collecting as many scalps as they can. For most of us the Indian is a victim of our forebears' greed or ambition, but a victim about whom we today cannot really do very much. The most enduring picture of the Indian that comes to mind when we close our eyes and reach down below what we know to what we feel is that famous picture entitled "The End of the Trail": an utterly exhausted Indian on a horse, obviously at the end not only of his physical but of a lot of other trails.

Now Mr. Abraham Polonsky is back from his political exile and is displaying his considerable talent as a filmmaker in *Tell Them Willie Boy is Here*. In many ways it is a stunning movie and made with obvious competence. But where it leaves the Indian is another story. First, however, a word about Polonsky. After a promising start in 1947, he spent the next twenty years in enforced oblivion, a victim of the McCarthy era and its quaint practice of blacklisting filmmakers who seemed ideologically suspect. Polonsky wrote a couple things under a pseudonym, but this is the first movie he has made under his own name in all that time.

Why Polonsky can make movies now is a question worth pondering. Some might see it as evidence of a softening up of the political repression we associate with McCarthyism, and, therefore, as a bright sign in a season clouded by Judge Hoffmann, John Mitchell and the Chicago Police Department. I disagree. It may in fact be a sign that Those in Power no longer feel that repressing the film industry is necessary. Even with considerable criticism from filmmakers, they can just go ahead running things anyway. They may be smarter than the rest of us. Somehow we still believe that if we can just get enough good ideas and images circulating, things will change politically. But maybe that's not true. Maybe Mitchell, Agnew, Daley *et al* can rule without very much popular support.

Anyway, Polonsky is back. And he has thrown his feathered bonnet into the campfire circle in the current (transient?) revival of interest and guilt feelings about the Original Americans. Willie Boy is a Paiute living on a reservation during those halcyon old days reigned over by President William Howard Taft who pays a visit to the section in which the reservation is located. though we never see him. This dates the movie somewhere between 1909 and 1913.

Willie Boy is a real bad injun. He has been driven off the reservation once before, because one of the older Indians did not like the attention he was paying to his daughter. Now Willie Boy is back. Apparently, the husband of the white lady he was living with returned. But he seems less than welcome on the reservation, or in the town. Within a matter of hours he has gotten drunk, had a fight in the pool hall (where someone has told him to get back to the reservation) and shot the father of his sweetheart who discovers them making love in the woods and threatens them with a gun.

Though it seems like a case of manslaughter, Willie Boy doesn't trust either white man's or Indian's justice at this point. So he adds kidnapping to his quivver of accomplishments and takes off with his girl-friend into the Mojave Desert. Although it is a case of marriage-by-conquest, both the boss-lady of the reservation and the local sheriff decide Willie Boy and his squaw better be found. The rest of the movie is a spine-tingling chase in the great Western tradition.

Polonsky is no beginner. He uses no slick tricks. He makes few mistakes. The suspense of the chase builds up, and there is hardly ever a slack in the precise pacing. Willie Boy and his woman are on foot, but they manage to elude a posse on horseback for a long time. Once, when they are trapped, Willie Boy shoots the horses out from under his tormentors, carefully trying not to hit the men themselves (unlike John Wayne, as I recall, who always shot the Indians *off* the horses). Also, the photography of the Mojave Desert is incomparable. Just as "the land" in *Easy Rider* became almost a part of the action, so do the cactus, dunes and sand cliffs predominate in *Willie Boy*. Polonsky is not afraid to let his camera tarry now and then on the splendid turf. It is lifeless, barren, stark, beautiful and tragic. For Willie Boy, and for what he represents, it is the "end of the trail."

But are we really any better off? Willie Boy is depicted as a race-conscious red man decades before his time. He despises white men, retaining a grudging respect only for the laconic sheriff, who returns the compliment, but finally does him in, anyway.

Then what's so great about *Willie Boy*? Nothing. It's an average-to-good Western, that's all. It is not a social documentary and it is decidedly not a contribution to the Red Problem. Kathleen Ross, who plays Willie Boy's girl friend, is no Red Panther. She is the Indian equivalent of Lena Horne, except that it takes a little Mantan to darken Kathleen up. She replicates on the Indian side what black people have been complaining about for years: that when Hollywood depicts a beautiful black woman, she has white features. Kathleen was better caste as the girl friend of Dustin Hoffman in *The Graduate*. She turns in a passable acting job, but I doubt if the United Tribes of America are ready to claim her as one of their own.

And what about Willie Boy himself? Is it really an advance to move from Tonto to a new stereotype — the mean, whiskey-gulping, white-hating Paiute terror? (Red Power gonna' git yo' momma!)? I doubt it. I haven't checked in on what the Alcatraz Weekly (if there is such a paper), says about *Willie Boy*. But I doubt if they will be very impressed. Why should Indians, anymore than other people, enjoy having whites, with the talent of Abraham Polonsky, piece together new stereotypes for old? Of course, Willie Boy's pathology is the result in large measure, at least, of what white men have done to destroy red men. Of course, he should have the privilege of despising the people who stole not only his land but his culture and his self-identity. But it's soon going to be time to put away every celluloid Indian from Geronimo (also a white-hating toughie) to Willie Boy and start relating to Indians in the flesh. My guess is that's what they want us to do anyway. ■

BOOKS:

A Reader for All Men

THE BIBLE READER, an Interfaith Interpretation by Walter M. Abbott, S.J., Rabbi Arthur Gilbert, Rolfe Lanier Hunt, and J. Carter Swaim. Geoffrey Chapman Ltd., London, & Bruce Brooks, New York. Pg. 995. $3.95 paper. $7.95 cloth.

This helpful volume, useful for interfaith groups, has been prepared by the four editors and compilers in an unusual common effort. During his years of service in the National Council of Churches' Department of Religion and Public Education, Dr. Hunt came to feel the need of a Bible version or adaptation which would be usable in school classrooms, one which could not be characterized as sectarian.

About the same time Father Walter Abbott, then with *America* magazine, came to a similar conviction believing for a time that what was needed was the creation of a new English Scripture version produced by the joint efforts of Roman Catholic and Protestant scholars.

Enter Rabbi Arthur Gilbert, associated with many inter-church endeavors and committed to finding some acceptable way of dealing with religion in the American public schools.

Carter Swaim, who also was on the staff of the National Council of Churches, became quickly interested in the venture and brought to it a rich background of New Testament teaching at Western Theological Seminary in Pittsburgh and later of the National Council's Department of English Bible.

This volume is the result of the work of this remarkable quartet. A preface sets forth its purpose. A section (written by Carter Swaim, I would judge) answers the question, "What is the Bible?" The Old Testament then begins. Not all, but most of it, is included. Short introductions precede each book and sections of books. The New Testament is similarly treated (omitting the texts of II and III John), and in between are six of the books of the Apocrypha. Six appendices and an index add to the usefulness of the volume.

One complaint. It would have been helpful if the passages were identified as being the Revised Standard Version, the Confraternity Edition or the Jewish Publication Society's translation. I doubt that its usefulness would have been impaired had these identifications been made.

Here is a worthy product of our current ecumenical endeavor. Here is a useful book for its further advance. ■

Gerald E. Knoff
(Associate General Secretary for Christian Education, National Council of Churches)

TEMPO

In Pace With The Changing Church **April 1, 1970**

MISSION AND WORLD DEVELOPMENT
— SEE PAGE 3 —

Yale Divinity Library
New Haven, Conn.

SHOULD MISSION STOP AT U.S. BORDERS?

by Bruce Hilton

WHY SHOULD WE SEND MISSIONARIES OVERSEAS when the problems of our own country are so great, and seem so far from solution?

What right have we to "export" Christianity when we haven't really begun to practice it here?

Why shouldn't the millions spent by American churches on overseas missions be made available instead for development among this country's desperately poor and oppressed?

These questions are all "of a piece" — in other words, "Why overseas missions?"

I hear them asked in schools of mission, on picket lines, in mission board meetings, and from the platform at black power rallies.

These questions have some validity; therefore they deserve answers.

First of all, mission giving has too often been a cop-out for American churches. It can be a conscience-soother. Sending sums to fill a need far away can be a way of forgetting that there are needs closer at hand.

At the same time we were unpacking truckloads of food and clothing sent to the Mississippi Delta from the north in 1967, the white churches of Greenville were packing boxes of food and clothing to send to refugees in Vietnam. Mississippi's white churches contribute more to overseas missions per capita than the churches of any other state. The church in the Dayton suburb which gave most to overseas missions was the first to move out when the neighborhood began "changing."

The "overseas" study sponsored by Friendship Press each year is traditionally more popular, and sells more books, than the "domestic" study paired with it.

To see and meet a need overseas doesn't involve any guilt; we tend to feel that we didn't create the situation. But to admit that hunger and poverty exist in the USA is a threatening idea to us; it would mean possibly admitting some guilt for the situation.

Also, there is the feeling that we are exporting western culture more than Christianity, and that missions funded by Americans tend to be colonialism in a new disguise.

The grim picture of James Michener's *Hawaii* is based on fact. The history of world missions is filled with preachers who thought the essentials of the gospel included covering up bosoms, teaching 19-century English hymns in place of "pagan" local music, and erecting Gothic stone churches in tropical forests. No matter how sincere they were, some missionaries couldn't distinguish between the body of the Gospel and the western trappings which surrounded it. And now, when the young men and women of newly independent nations are rejecting all that's irrelevant for them in western "civilization," they also reject the Gospel they were taught to identify with it.

Church-sponsored literacy work in action — a class in West Pakistan learning how to read.

Identification of the United States as a "Christian" nation has meant that every Ameri-

(Continued on page 7)

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell

ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler

PROMOTION: David Poindexter

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull

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THE CHURCHES PLAN FOR WORLD DEVELOPMENT

by Dorothy Rensenbrink

"DEVELOPMENT" is the one-word message that, since Uppsala, 1968, the churches have most consistently heard from the World Council of Churches. There were indications in New York last month that the major ecumenical churches in the U.S. are ready to pick up the development theme, and that its pursuit holds promise of a creative interplay between overseas and national mission.

The occasion was an expanded meeting (March 12 and 13) of the Program Board of the National Council of Churches' Division of Overseas Ministries — expanded in this case to include many people working primarily in social action and international affairs.

Before the group was a report from the World Council Consultation on Development held in Montreux, Switzerland in January and a proposal that a Joint Program (with the United States Catholic Conference) in international development be initiated. Monsignor Marvin Bordelon, director of the USCC's Department of International Affairs, was on hand to indicate that the Catholics were ready to move on the Joint Program.

At first blush, one wonders what overseas mission executives have to do with "development." NCC General Secretary R. H. Edwin Espy reminded them that American churches have historically been involved overseas in two endeavors: evangelization and service. Development, with its strongest connotation of economic justice, does not seem to some church people to fit in with these concepts. Yet development, as described by British economist Dr. Charles Elliot, who spoke to the group, involves much more than money. To Dr. Elliot, who is also an Anglican priest employed by the Society for Development and Peace (SODEPAX), it is also a re-learning of what community means, increased political participation and a chance at cultural creativity. Development in this sense needs to take place in western society and has a religious dimension as well as an economic base. "It's only western money being sent to the Third World if all you think about is money."

Dr. Elliot rejected the 1960's concept of "have and have not" nations as being one too much money-centered. He also saw large areas of the U.S. in need of development in its purely economic dimension.

His theory was strongly supported by Dr. John Coventry Smith, General Secretary of the United Presbyterian Commission on Ecumenical Relations and a WCC president. "It was because I have confronted black aspirations here that I knew what the Third World people meant. They're talking about the same things," he insisted.

Development Includes U.S.A.

Dr. Smith sees the development theme as a "challenge to respond to world needs and, within that context, to respond to minority economic development in the USA. The NCC action in Indianapolis (response to the Black Manifesto) provided for this.

"This is decidedly not an issue to be left to Church World Service, or the Divisions of Overseas Ministries or Christian Life and Mission. This is a question for all the churches and the whole NCC."

In a sense, NCC-related churches are already heavily involved in development, but in fragmented ways—without a unified approach. The decision at the Indianapolis General Board last September to raise $500,000 for IFCO and the National Committee of Black Churchmen and to seek to raise "tens of millions of dollars for economic development" was a development decision. Several denominations have ghetto business investment corporations. Overseas, Church World Service increasingly becomes involved in development projects, moving from a traditional charity orientation to one of starting self-help projects. Yet most of these projects were started as a result of minority group pressure or, in Church World Service's case, from a practical decision about a wiser use of available funds. Church Women United is perhaps the only US church-related organization which voluntarily began a one percent for development program, a few years ago. The development theme holds out the chance of gathering these projects together in a more coherent and integrated plan, giving churchmen "documentation to proceed," in Dr. Smith's words.

"Tithing" at Two Per Cent

On the World Council level, the Executive Committee followed the January Montreux consultation by deciding to establish a Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development at its meeting February 16 through 20. The Montreux consultation appealed to the churches to contribute annually not less than two per cent of their total income for development programs and projects around the world, including those in their own countries.

The "expanded" meeting of the DOM Board, in drawing up its final resolution, stated that it received and studied initially this appeal and affirmed the basic philosophic statement on development from Montreux without specifically mentioning the two per cent.

It also urged that US churches respond to the challenge of development and stated its belief that an "educational process must have priority among us and among church constituencies before we can participate fully." The Joint Program in the U.S. would primarily be aimed at education.

Emphasized by the DOM Board was the fact that development is a process which must start with people where they're at, while it keeps in mind the galloping rate of separation between rich and poor nations. The mission executives also are concerned that the proper role be defined for the churches. Certainly, even if every church in America contributed two per cent of its total assets, the sum would be a mere "drop in the bucket" in relation to world economic needs. Therefore, the two per cent figure named by the World Council is simply symbolic — the churches doing themselves what they would also be asking their governments to do.

As it is now, the United States allocates only one third of one per cent of its Gross National Product to foreign economic aid, the lowest of any major donor country, and the percentage has been steadily dropping, according to the *New York Times* (March 15). The World Bank's Pearson Commission has proposed a US aid target of one per cent of the Gross National Product.

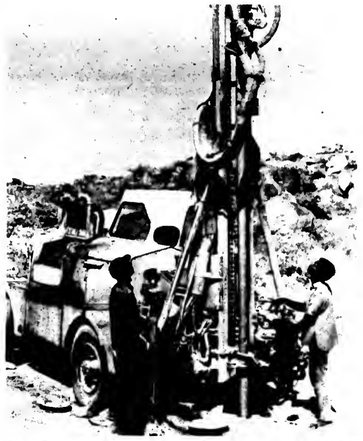
Multi-Lateral Foreign Aid

A Presidential Task Force on International Development proposed a new approach to foreign assistance in mid-March that would move foreign aid from a primarily bi-lateral approach to multilateral, channeling funds through institutions like the World Bank and the United Nations Development Program. The church executives applauded this move on the theory that, in the past, foreign aid has too much tended to become tied to political considerations and has wound up, in the main, being spent on military supplies.

Dr. Tracey Jones, General Secretary of the United Methodist Board Missions and a delegate at the Montreux consultation, told the mission executives that it would not be realistic for the churches to think in terms of supporting international development with "new money."

"It's a matter of setting priorities with what we have," he said.

Whether or not, the NCC's first priority does indeed become development will be decided at its General Board meeting this June, when the issue will be discussed. In the meantime, the DOM Board has asked General Secretary Espy to immediately appoint an ad hoc committee to coordinate the thought and action of the various divisions and departments of the NCC and to plan for a "fuller response by the General Board." ■



Youth power moves into action in construction of new classrooms for a mission-supported school in Botswana (left). At right, well diggers at work in chronic struggle to bring water to parched lands in India, a project financed in part by Church World Service.

Reporting on A Tour of Major Community Projects

THE IFCO STORY

by Audrey Wennblom

Reynaldo de la Cruz, president of the IFCO-supported South Texas Association of Community Organizations, and friend. He explained the work of STACO to touring group at McAllen, Texas.

FLY into Washington, D.C. on a clear night and below you'll see the glow of light, bathed in a glow of light, surrounded by a spectacular pattern of color. It looks real good.

Later, drive down Gales Street in the Capital East section of Washington and, to put it mildly, it doesn't look good at all — mutilated cars lining the curbs, mounds of uncollected trash, dead animals, rubble heaps where houses were torn down or burnt out, people whose lives are falling in on them. Here you've really come down to earth.

But Linwood Chatman and the Capital East Community Organization (CECO) believes things can be changed, and they are working hard to make that happen.

"A handful of us got together two years ago and decided that our community had to clean itself up," says Chatman, who is CECO's executive director. "Crime, drugs, bad housing—you name it, we had it. We drew up a proposal, got a $97,000 grant from the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), plus some money from white churches, and went to work.

"The first thing we had to do was to cut down on crime," says Chatman. "There are 115,000 people in the four-square miles that make up the Central East section of Washington. Thee-fourths are black. And three-fourths of those blacks are living in poverty. We had a big job to do."

CECO got some tough organizers together and made it clear that they considered any crime to be a crime against the black community.

"A potential criminal knew that the eyes of the community were on him, that anyone might turn him in to our crime detection agency," says Chatman. "To turn in a purse snatcher is not snitching on a brother, it is loyalty to the community."

Their campaign cut crime by 75 percent in the Capital East area.

"Our next move," continues Chatman, "was to get the black businessmen to help us develop the economic potential of the black community. We told them they had to act differently from the white merchants who were burned out during the April '68 disturbances. We charged those white folks with taking money back to suburbia and we see no difference between that and a black businessman who might spend all his profits on big Cadillacs and personal pleasures."

Risk Loans

The businessmen were convinced by CECO's tough talk that they had to take some positive action fast or there would be no community in which to have a business. They formed the Capital East Community Businessmen's Association and, in the first year, put $35,000 of their profits into a community owned "bank."

The money actually went into credit unions where a person could borrow up to double the amount he had in his savings account on just his signature—at 4 percent interest. "We feel it is our job to take that kind of risk," says Darnell Mitchell, who is on the board of directors of the businessmen's association. Some money was put into regular community banks as an investment.

CECO took the same idea into the high schools. Students solicited $1 memberships into the businessmen's association, which allowed them to save their money through the credit unions. "Many black students had something they never had before—a savings account and a place to borrow money," says Chatman.

The businessmen then went to the black churches. "They gave the churches the same message CECO gave them," says Chatman. "They told the churches: 'You've been getting money from the people in the community all these years. Now it's your turn to help them.' "

It worked. Twenty-five black churches pledged $1,000 a year to the businessmen's organization. That, too, is going into the credit unions to provide loans for people in the community.

The community had needs beyond economic development, though. There are hard social needs of all sorts. Friendship House, a local settlement house, was already meeting some of these needs.

"Until recently it was the old paternalistic approach," says Thornell Page, who is now the director. "The place operated on the hand-out philosophy — 'Big House on the Hill will take care of you.' "

Community Control Factor

CECO organizers, along with Friendship House's Neighborhood Advisory Board, pressed the settlement house's main board to start dealing with the real issues of the community. They pressed them so hard that the neighborhood people eventually got control of the main board and hired Page as the new director.

Neighborhood control was especially important because Friendship House was the temporary funder of OEO monies in the Capital East area. "We were told this was because local blacks had no expertise," says Chatman. "But we didn't see any signs that control was being turned over to the neighborhood after we got the expertise."

Some of the programs at Friendship House, which works hand in hand with CECO, are still in the building—youth activities, a day-care center for 80 children, a drama group and a photography class. But Page knows you have to get out into the community if you ever hope to get at the basic causes of people's problems.

"Now, we are planning to lease a service station where we can start a training program for auto mechanics," he says.

Two months ago, Friendship House started the Martin Luther King Food Store. A group of women who had been buying groceries cooperatively in large quantities wanted to make these prices available to others. They got a loan from a white church and went into business, keeping their prices competitive or below. They gross $2,000 a week, have two paid staff and volunteers to run it.

"When the loan is paid off," says Mrs. Beatrice Gray, who manages the store, "our prices will drop even more."

Once a month the store sends a bus to pick up and bring some "senior citizens" to the store to shop. "We started that service because one or two of them got mugged on the way home," says Mrs. Gray.

Says Chatman: "We got word on our hot line about the muggings. Very soon those boys will be carrying home the groceries for the old ladies." People who know Chatman don't laugh at that kind of talk. They know he intends to do just that.

Free Book Scheme

CECO recently instituted a major "join your library" drive among the elementary school students. It got the public library to simplify the procedure to get a card, then set up a contest to encourage students to take home books. "More than 11,000 students got library cards during our drive," says Francis Smith, who is on the CECO staff. Students carry a CECO card that gets punched whenever they take home a book. After so many punches, CECO gives them a free book.

CECO's biggest coup was to pull together the 70 or more organizations working in the Capital East area for the first Annual Assembly last November. It was the largest and potentially strongest coalition of community groups in the history of the area. And coalition means people doing things together instead of everybody doing his own thing. "And that means we get the job done faster, better and cheaper," says Chatman. The assembly enabled CECO to get community consensus on common problems and a commitment to work together toward solutions.

Organizations like CECO don't just happen. They are the result of some of the hardest work that is being done by anyone, anywhere. "Last night we were here (CECO's headquarters at 1500 E. Capital Street) until 2:30 in the morning analyzing and picking over what we did and didn't do during the day," says Beth Berkeley, who is on the CECO staff. "Community organization is not a job, it's a way of life. You never stop thinking about it. You stay late at the office, you work at it when you get home, you sleep, eat, and breath community organization."

Where IFCO Comes In

Community organizations like CECO are also the result of foundations like IFCO, the ecumenical agency that nine denominations founded three years ago to support self-help projects of minority communities. It was one of the first groups in the nation to take seriously the concept of self-determination as expressed by the community organization movement.

Since then, IFCO has given nearly $2 million to 57 projects scattered all over the country. The projects cross color lines (black, brown, red) and express a variety of styles. The way CECO operates in Washington is not the way the Committee for a Unified Newark (CFUN) operates in Newark, although there are similarities. And the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) does not operate exactly like CFUN or CECO. All this is as it should be, because each group is in a different situation, meeting the needs of different people.

IFCO has a stiff set of requirements that all projects it funds must meet, but it doesn't waste time worrying about whether you're wearing a dashiki, a three-button business suit, Indian headdress, bell bottoms, long hair or all of these at once. If you are getting the job done, that's what gets you IFCO's support and money.

Unfortunately, there isn't enough money to go around. "We had to turn down 125 projects requesting a total of $11 million in 1969, even though they met our approval for funding," says the Rev. Lucius Walker, IFCO's executive director, an American Baptist minister.

IFCO has just wound up a series of three regional tours to nine of the community organizations and development projects that it helps fund.

"We wanted to give churchmen related to affiliated agencies of IFCO a first-hand view of community development efforts in black, Mexican-American and American communities," says Walker.

Here's a quick look at a few of the groups the touring churchmen saw:

Durham, N.C. Foundation for Community Development (FCD). FCD is a state-wide organization that helps set up economic development projects designed to plow back profits into low-income communities. FCD's executive director Nathan Garrett, a Yale University graduate and former CPA, believes financing business efforts of individuals, where profits go into one man's pocket and not into the community at large, is not enough to lift the poor out of poverty. FCD is launching a supermarket chain, called United Durham, Inc., that will sell shares at $5 apiece. Shareholders whose annual income does not exceed $3,000 will receive over-the-counter dividends in merchandise discounts every time they make a purchase. Shareholders whose income exceeds the poverty level will be paid dividends on year-end profits.

Texas State Senator Barbara Jordan addresses IFCO tour members during their stop at Houston. Mrs. Jordan is the only black senator in the state legislature.

In addition, FCD helped form 11 community organizations in rural and urban areas of the state and conducts training and leadership development schools.

New York City. City-Wide Coordinating Committee for Welfare Rights, an affiliate of the National Welfare Rights Organization. City-Wide is made up of more than 80 welfare rights groups in the five boroughs. Its job is to maintain contact with and coordinate the activities of all welfare rights groups in New York City. It gets information on welfare laws, current welfare policy, coming changes in law or policies, local action projects and neighborhood crisis. City-Wide has supported welfare recipients' efforts to change the welfare system. It consists of locally elected delegates from each affiliated group and has an executive board which is elected by the general membership. Board chairman is Mrs. Beulah Sanders. Its director is Mr. Ike Igarashi, formerly with the National Council of Churches.

San Juan, Texas. South Texas Association of Community Organizations (STACO), a coordinating council of representatives from Mexican-American groups working for social, economic and political change in the Rio Grande Valley. Organizations represented include: the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee which, among other things, operates a health clinic for poverty-stricken Chicanos and, through a daily radio program, advises migrant farm workers on working conditions; Colonias del Valle, a coalition of numerous neighborhood groups addressing a variety of issues and which has initiated economic development projects; a welfare rights organization; and the Mexican-American Youth Organization, an activist group of students which, through protest demonstrations and boycotts, has made progress toward obtaining educational reforms in predominantly Mexican-American public schools.

Minneapolis, Minn. American Indian Movement (AIM). Established in October, 1968, AIM has launched one of the most varied and effective programs for urban Indians, including housing, youth, legal aid, employment, Head Start information, a health clinic, foster homes, and an Alcoholics Anonymous chapter, in addition to the establishment of a Police Patrol which has considerably helped curtail the number of Indians arrested.

"The American Indian Movement is Indian and thinks Indian," says Dennis Banks, chairman, adding: "We do welcome and solicit advice from 'well meaning whites and blacks,' but we make the decisions and determine the course of action."

Headquarters of CECO whose campaign has cut crime by 75 per cent in the Capital East area in Washington, D.C.

Epilogue

As we left City-Wide headquarters in Harlem, a churchwoman on our tour recalled a Dr. Seuss story that she had read her children recently about a turtle named Yertle. Yertle had piled up about 20 turtles and was sitting on top of them. This made him king of more than just a turtle pond—it made him king of the other things that he saw.

But a plain little turtle on the bottom named Mack kept complaining that his neck and shoulders and knees were hurting. Yertle told him that he was just a plain turtle named Mack and that he should shut up. Then Yertle proceeded to pile up 200 more turtles.

Again Mack cried out: "We on the bottom can't stand it. Our shells will all crack. Besides we need food. We are starving."

But Yertle, who had just looked up and seen that the moon was still higher than he, was in the process of piling up 5,000 more turtles when that plain little turtle whose name was Mack decided he'd taken enough. He got a little bit mad and did a plain little thing. He burped. And, of course, everything came tumbling down.

"The moral of the story," said the churchwoman, "is that I'm very happy IFCO is dealing with the down to earth before there is a very loud burp." ■

—Mrs. Wennblom is a staff writer with the Division of Communications, American Baptist Convention.

it says here . . .

CATHOLIC AND ANGLICAN PRIMATES DISCUSS CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES

NEW YORK, N.Y. — One of the most outspoken leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, Leo Joseph Cardinal Suenens, ended a ten-day visit to this country with the statement that the "paternalistic" style of church government is dead and that church people must seek new forms of co-responsibility at all levels.

The Belgian churchman, Archbishop of Malines-Brussels, and the Archbishop of Canterbury Michael Ramsey were in this country to lead a seminar for Episcopal bishops at Trinity Institute. Their visit was highlighted by a joint lecture at The Riverside Church here and numerous interviews.

Cardinal Suenens has for years fought the authoritarianism of the Vatican, stressing the collegiality of the bishops. Asked his views concerning celibacy for the priesthood, he discounted the issue as a reason many priests are leaving the church and said: "Even if tomorrow we were to have a situation like the Eastern Rites (with married clergy) there will always be the ultimate value of celibacy." However, the Cardinal said that he did favor mature married men becoming priests.

In his talk at The Riverside Church, Archbishop Ramsey warned against making theology a thing in itself. Religion, he said, can become "a self-contained realm" providing a false sense of security.

The seminars at Trinity Institute were closed to the press and public. However, reports indicated that the two churchmen were extremely close in their theological outlook.

NEW YORK — Archbishop Michael Ramsey of Canterbury, left, and Leo-Joseph Cardinal Suenens of Malines-Brussels share a light moment during their joint press conference at Trinity Institute in New York March 9. The Anglican primate and the head of the Roman Catholic Church in Belgium agreed that birth control is not a matter for governmental control. The two men were in New York for a seminar of Episcopal bishops. (See story, this page.)

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CHICANOS PLEAD BEFORE TEXAS CHURCH ASSEMBLY

DALLAS, Tex. — Four Mexican-Americans who came to the recent first assembly of the Texas Conference of Churches to demonstrate in support of their movement expected to be thrown out. Instead, they found themselves seated as voting delegates.

Bishop Kenneth Pope, TCC president, welcomed the demonstrators and invited them to present their grievances before the TCC Board of Directors and Assembly of Representatives.

Narciso Pena III, Maria Dolores Mora, Victor Flores and Raquel Martinez were selected as spokesmen for the 70 Chicanos who had driven from the Rio Grande Valley to plead the cause of several Valley organizations.

Among their requests were: massive aid for the Valley; recognition and funding of three local groups organized to help the poor; enlargement of the TCC staff in the Valley; and self-determination of priorities for Valley projects.

Members of the Board voted to do everything reasonably possible to meet these requests, then approved the appointment of the four demonstrators to fill vacant delegate seats. In the closing business session of the Assembly, a proposal was approved to raise one million dollars for a revolving fund to help underwrite new self-help projects.

In other action, Roman Catholic Bishop John L. Morkovsky of Galveston-Houston was installed as president of the TCC, succeeding Methodist Bishop Pope.

★ ★ ★

CHANGING TRENDS IN CHURCH GIVING STUDIED

NEW YORK, N.Y. (RNS) — The American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel predicts a "freeze on religious giving" in the '70s due to inflation and competition for the consumer's dollar.

In the April issue of "Giving USA 1970," the association noted that religion in America is undergoing a crisis of change which will culminate in "new approaches" for religion with both positive and negative effects on giving patterns.

Contributions for religious purposes have consistently made up nearly half the philanthropic dollar, the study found. During the past decade, total religious giving rose from $4.18 billion in 1960 to $7.93 billion in 1969. However, the ratio of religious giving dropped by 5.2 points to 45.8 per cent of the total.

Despite declining church attendance, individual giving is up for religion because the person who goes to church is giving more, the study explained. Total giving for religion in 1969 was reported "just enough above the inflation rate" to show a gain of 5.4 per cent from the 1968 total.

Church membership as a percentage of total US population was reported continuing its downward trend this year to 63.1 per cent. Also, the annual Gallup Poll shows that 70 per cent of adults feel religion is losing its influence in this country—a complete reversal of 1957 figures when only 14 per cent thought so.

The report explained that, from the philanthropist's viewpoint, such changes create "a shift in emphasis, a rechanneling of resources." As an example: "Churches were moving in the direction of providing more funding to social action programs, but James Forman's $500 million confrontation (through the Black Manifesto demands for reparation) prompted sudden close re-examination of priorities."

"What had been a slow curve in the road became a sharp turn to an as yet unclear destination," said the report.

The analysts warned that a trend which could have future repercussions on religious giving was the taxing of church businesses. Another trend foreseen for the '70s was "discretionary buying" by religious groups to force their suppliers to adopt equal opportunity policies. A decline in religious construction was also noted.

★ ★ ★

COCU PLAN OF UNION

ST. LOUIS, Mo. (RNS) — The presentation of a specific plan of union to the nine denominations seeking to form a new united church is a milestone, but the task of finalizing the plan is far from completed, Dr. William A. Benfield told the opening session of the Consultation on Church Union (COCU), meeting here.

Dr. Benfield is pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Charleston, W.Va., chairman of the delegation from the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and chairman since it was formed two years ago of the Plan of Union Commission.

More than 200 delegates and alternates of the nine church bodies and observers from other churches attended the sessions.

As it now stands, the plan of union will be sent to delegates for revision and further revisions will be made over the next two years by the participating denominations.

The name, Church of Christ Uniting, has been proposed for the new organization. However, in "feed back" from the 12 seminar groups, objections to that name were voiced

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DRAFT BEING STUDIED

A survey of views of United Methodist missionaries overseas shows they oppose U.S. involvement in Vietnam by an almost three-to-one ratio. The Vietnam question was included in an informal study just released by the Board of Missions' World Division of missionaries' attitudes toward problems of international peace and U.S. foreign policy.

Of the 269 respondents who recorded their view of the Vietnam war, 163 agreed with the characterization of the war as "a tragic blunder that, by misreading the nature of the conflict, has greatly harmed both U.S. and Vietnam interests." Fifty-nine called it "a tragic but necessary containment of world communism," while 47 checked the "other view" category. Most of these, however, indicated in their comments that they opposed the U.S. role in the war.

The great majority of respondents indicated they had taken some concrete steps to express their convictions—signed statements, written letters to newspapers and public officials, joined organizations or in other ways made their convictions as citizens known. Only 21 indicated agreement with the statement on the questionnaire: "I don't think missionaries should involve themselves in such issues."

SHOULD MISSION STOP AT U.S. BORDERS — Continued from page 2

Okinawan boy gets an injection at a United Methodist mobile hospital.

can—including the slave traders of old and the CIA gunrunners of today—is seen overseas as a representative of Christianity.

Dr. Gilbert Anste, director of the Institute of Africa Affairs of the University of Ghana, told delegates at the Interdenominational Furlough Missionary Conference this summer: "You may feel you are quite separate from the Standard Oil man or the Green Berets in the area where you serve. But people who live there don't see the distinction."

Overseas missions often are a substitute for action at home, and often have been a kind of colonialism, maintaining American influence abroad.

But to stop there would be a little too easy. To settle for such a limited picture of overseas mission, is in itself a cop-out—a refusal to face all the facts about world mission.

We need to face the fact, first of all, of desperate, documentable, widespread human need in other countries, as well as in our own. The world mission of the church is justifiable, not on the basis of some false motives by some contributors, but on the basis of need—and of the Gospel's clear demand that we meet it.

To argue, "We should meet the need at home first," is very dangerous. There is nothing in the Gospel that makes a man our neighbor strictly on the basis of geographical proximity. On the contrary. Often it is the unseen neighbor, the distant and forgotten one, whom the Scriptures emphasize.

"Where do I draw the line between selfishness and love?" asks Dr. David Stowe, executive director of the Division of Overseas Ministries of the National Council of Churches. "It has to be at my own skin. Either I give to myself, or to others. If I give to others, there is no difference in merit between my love for those close to me or those far away."

The danger is in the "either-or" nature of the argument. The idea that we can be concerned about overseas needs to the exclusion of domestic concerns, or vice versa, is false. It won't hold up and should have no place in Christian thought.

To the second charge—colonialism—the advocate of responsible mission overseas can rightly say, "Times have changed. Do your homework; find out what your mission money really is spent for."

It may be that mission interpreters themselves are partially responsible for the lingering image of 19th-century mission practice. While the mission has changed radically—from preaching to service, for example, and from direct relief to economic and social development—those who contribute in the local churches seem to like the old picture better. Thus we stress that literacy makes it possible to read the Bible without pointing out that it facilitates community organization or the ability to vote. We stress the distribution of food to hungry children, more than the mission-supported training of Mozambique refugees to return and free their country.

Changes in Mission

It doesn't take much study to find out just how much Christian mission has changed. Just leaf through the reports of the United Methodist Board of Missions, or the Division of Overseas Ministries of the National Council of Churches. (If reports are not available, articles on overseas missions in *response*, *World Outlook* and *Together* reflect these changes.)

You'll find first of all that the great bulk of mission money sent to other nations by the major American denominations is spent by the indigenous residents of those countries. Self-governing national and regional churches, or ecumenical groups like the All-Africa Conference of Churches and the East Asia Conference of Churches, get financial help from us—but they make the key decisions in spending it. Many individual churchmen supported from America are national citizens of the third world countries where they work. While there probably will be a need for expatriate technicians from this country for a long time, many are replaced each year by indigenous leaders.

Major mission support is provided for higher education in scores of lands. Shown are students leaving class at the College of West Africa, Monrovia, Liberia.

The second thing reports and articles will show you is that while evangelism is still at the heart of Christian mission, the definition has been expanded to include a concern for the whole man. (This broad concern is biblical, but periodically we have tended to narrow it to "preaching the Gospel.")

In Mozambique, South Africa, Rhodesia and other captive nations, mission money is being quietly but effectively spent on long-term projects of education and development among oppressed peoples. It is no coincidence that Angola expelled its United Methodist missionaries; far from being colonialist, these men were allied with Angolans in the struggle for human dignity and freedom.

The Ecumenical Program for Emergency Action in Africa, set up with major funding from American mission boards, helps 700,000 refugees in Africa—with projects like reception centers and hospitals, job training and economic development, secondary schools and community organization.

In many third world countries, where jet fighters and steel mills tend to rank higher than schools on the priority list, mission-supported schools are the only chance for education for rural people.

The Churches' Literacy Program

An American missionary from Milwaukee was the only individual honored by UNESCO at the recent International Literacy Day ceremonies in Paris. All the other awards went to national committees.

The man honored was the Rev. Charles Hein, who for 11 years has been working for the Ewe Evangelical Church of Togo in a literacy program sponsored by Lit-Lit (the ecumenical Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature). The citation pointed out that he had trained more than a thousand Togolese literacy teachers, and that the techniques he developed are now being adopted by the Togo government, along with his primers, in a greatly expanded literacy program.

American mission money goes to strengthen the development of indigenous churches, to provide mass communication through which indigenous churches may reach others, to train leaders, to soften the shock of typhoons, floods and wars, to catalyze family planning programs, to train farmers in modern methods, and to help the poor start and operate small businesses. Increasingly the emphasis is on development, on self-determination, on fighting the root causes of poverty, hunger and oppression.

To ignore these needs would be more than a violation of the spirit of the Gospel. It would be a contribution to world disaster.

"We are ignoring the same factors in the world at large," a top mission board executive said recently, "as we ignored in this country in the 1930's. Poverty, discrimination and oppression existed in this country then, but we failed to act. Now it's almost too late. To make the same mistake for the rest of the world would be a far greater mistake."

No one argues that the church alone can solve the world's problems, including the widening economic gap and the imminent specter of uncontrollable famine. But the church's role as a gadfly to governments, as an experimenter and catalyst, is essential. And its role in emphasizing the dignity of man as a child of God in such activities is unique.

The situation of the world's hungry and oppressed is equally inexcusable, because we have the technology, the communication skills, and the money to make it right. All we lack, as President John F. Kennedy once pointed out, is the will to do so. ■

—Mr. Hilton, whose career covers the two worlds of civil rights in the U.S.A. and overseas mission, is presently associated with Lit-Lit, the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature of the National Council of Churches. His two latest books are "The Delta Ministry" and "Highly Irregular", both published by MacMillan.

BOOKS:

WHAT MAKES THE MELVIN LAIRDS RUN?

by Leon Howell

THE ECONOMY OF DEATH

by Richard J. Barnet
(Antheneum, New York, 1969)

IT is coincidental, but not without interest, that the frontispiece of Richard Barnet's new book on the military industrial complex carries the same text from Deuteronomy 30:19 that the National Council of Churches used for its General Assembly last December: "Therefore Choose Life, That You And Your Descendants May Live."

After reading the book but before beginning this review, I found myself vaguely unhappy with *The Economy of Death*. The subject is hot, Barnet's expertise obvious, his analysis penetrating, and the writing remarkably lucid on a subject easily given to obfuscating details. Yet something seemed to be lacking; perhaps it was all too rational, too detached, too cool.

The very next day in a letter to the *New York Times* a man wrote:

"I find it most difficult to understand the reasoning of those who criticize the implementation of an ABM system. Would it not be in the best interests of not only the US and the USSR, but of the world and of peace if the major powers became defensively oriented? Would not the construction of effective protective shields preclude the possibility of a pre-emptive assault, and thus serve as the strongest conceivable deterrent to nuclear holocaust? . . ."

And suddenly the words from *The Economy of Death* came to mind: "Years ago the military lost the ability to defend the people of the United States. . . . Any power that is in a nuclear arms race with us is a threat. The *real issue* (emphasis mine) is whether building more nuclear weapons increases or decreases the threat to national security."

On February 20, Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird stated that the Soviet missile build-up, if continued at its current pace, could place the US "in a second-rate strategic position" within five years. He then called for the expansion of the Safeguard antiballistic missile system. Again, Barnet's words came back:

"Since there is almost no weapons system remotely imaginable which the Soviet Union could not build if it devoted enough time, energy, and resources, the only limit to US military spending is the Pentagon's imagination. In the real world, individuals who spend most of their money to arm themselves against threats that exist only in their minds are called paranoid. In the world of national security, the system itself is paranoid."

The Trap of Rhetoric

If my experience is any example, *The Economy of Death*—this 180-page primer on the care and feeding of the military-industrial establishment—obviously has the potential to heighten dramatically our awareness of what is at stake in the current debates about military spending. It offers clear outlines of the obvious ways in which the death-oriented economy has us all hooked, but it also provides some tools to begin to fathom the more subtle ways in which we are trapped by the rhetoric of the cold war. My hunch is that no more useful book is likely to emerge on the subject.

Richard Barnet, who spends most of his time as co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., has had considerable experience both inside the government defense establishment and longer service as a harsh critic of the suicidal direction in which it is moving our nation. In this book we receive the carefully distilled benefit of his experience and his own agonizing with the complexities of the "Complex."

Barnet begins with a brief rehearsal of the growth of the military-industrial complex over the past 30 years. The guiding thesis of this whole period has been that more nuclear weapons equal more national security. He demonstrates that the US in fact has an almost total "superiority" in numbers of weapons but feels that "the danger of making a religion of national security is that it discourages the application of either reason or experience to human affairs. For a generation it has been enough to justify additions to America's monumental nuclear arsenal by pointing out that the Soviets have nuclear weapons and are building more."

He does not attempt to discount the danger of any enemy with a full arsenal; if we continue the paranoid analogy from above, it is fair to say that even paranoids may have enemies. But it is also obvious that the sum of the past 30 years is a *loss* of security.

Most of the public debate about nuclear weapons and deployment of American forces around the world is couched in the language of deterrence, as Laird illustrated on "Meet the Press" on February 22. Barnet digs into the "counter-force strategy" by which nuclear strategists and game players move beyond deterrence to talk of a "first-strike" potential that can bluff our enemies out of certain actions. This he feels is not only genocidal but suicidal when followed to conclusion. What Barnet does best is describe how our attitudes are determined less by what Russia or China do than by our own inner drives.

Counter-Insurgent Wars

Exhibit number one is the General Purpose Forces, including all men and equipment in the military fold other than those tied up with nuclear activities; about 50 cents of each tax dollar goes to sustain these forces. But the truth is that they exceed any logical defense function; rather we need them to be able to fight *three* wars simultaneously. When the rhetoric is peeled back, we are talking primarily of wars of counter-insurgency which Barnet sees both as a matter of national pride and economic policy.

In spite of fears about the loss of natural resources and fertile markets, if revolutionary forces that may or may not be Communist take over some of the countries now friendly to us, he makes a very telling point when he outlines how France was able to work out a successful trade policy with Algeria even after losing the war there. It is possible, he asserts, "to develop trade arrangements that are fair to both rich and poor countries."

But we are most clearly locked into the "economy of death" at this very point for we cannot continue to purchase economic advantages with military power. The financial and spiritual cost will kill this democratic state, sooner than later.

Perhaps the most helpful chapter in the book is Barnet's description of the "Complex" and how it works. Those who parasitically feed off the country are so fully protected that it looks as if a conspiracy must exist. "But conspiracy is not the answer. The sad truth is that it is not even necessary." And he goes on to describe how the uniformed military, the militarized civilians (whom he feels are the most important link in the chain), and the industrialists all combine to determine US defense posture.

As an example, Thomas Morris, in his last year as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Procurement, approved a jump in contracts to Litton Industries from $180 million to $466 million. He then became vice-president of Litton. While such cases abound, Barnet states that they may not involve visible wrongdoing. "The important point is that their past careers, future expectations, and professional experience make them tolerant of waste in military spending and entirely comfortable with the idea of a permanent arms race."

In short, we have developed *military socialism;* there is little competition and, once a contract is set, almost no chance of loss for the companies involved. The military contractors receive vast subsidies in dollars while more important needs at home, such as education, receive presidential vetoes because they are inflationary.

In his third chapter Barnet outlines beginning ways of switching from the "economy of *death*" to the "economy of *life*." The only force capable of "bringing about the conversion of the society is a nationwide movement of Americans who see the militarization of America as our number one national security problem and are prepared to fight, for a generation if necessary, to free the nation from its grip.

Any movement dedicated to rescuing the American people from the "economy of death" has two principal tasks. First, it must persuade enough Americans that neither peace nor security is to be achieved through the endless preparation for war. Second, it must hold up an alternative vision of an American economy that can function without military socialism and an American society that does not feel compelled to seek security through violence."

Barnet has specific suggestions for reconstitution of the National Security Council to allow domestic priorities to compete for funds with military needs; and the creation of a National Conversion Commission to deal with the problems not only of reordering priorities but also of finding new political forms for allocating resources.

Most important, he feels, is the matter of will and incentive. And he sees four principal groups—students, scientists and technologists, concerned businessmen who are not Pentagon clients, and members of Congress—which might coalesce to increase understanding of the nature of the disease and then act to turn death into life.

Well, maybe so. Perhaps my uneasiness expressed at the outset has something to do with Barnet's conclusion. One illustration Barnet uses to accentuate the power of the "Complex" may pinpoint my skepticism. In late 1969, the Pentagon had 6,140 public relations men on its payroll. Yet Congress has prohibited by law the spending of any funds by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to propagandize the American people.

I doubt that more people will band together to raise, in Barnet's rational way, the questions of military domination of international affairs, than will be frightened by the Lairds and Agnews into supporting a continuance of the arms race.

Short of an international calamity that might provide a wedge through the rhetoric of fear, I'm very pessimistic about the kind of working within the system that Barnet describes. It seems much too tangled and intertwined for that. Massive disassociation from the government, already well underway, would appear a more likely course. It is in areas such as this that the revolutionary language takes on more meaning. Anything short of a drastic changing of the system of government will probably be overrun by the momentum of the "Complex."

In the meantime, one has memories of the impregnable fortress of Singapore, painstakingly constructed to protect the British interests in the East. In early February 1942, the Japanese walked in the back door. The huge guns of the fortress pointed only toward the sea routes; no one expected an overland attack.

So there we sit in 1995, with our finger on many nuclear triggers dearly developed, secure as can be —to be choked to death by our own pollution oozing in through the back door. ■

Mr. Howell is Communications Secretary, United Ministries in Higher Education.

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In Pace With The Changing Church

April 15 — May 1, 1970

GOD, MAN, AND ENVIRONMENT

Yale Divinity Library
New Haven, Conn.

GOD, MAN, AND NATURE

by John E. Nutting

WHEN we read in the Bible that man should multiply, subdue the earth, and have dominion over every living thing, does this give the human race license to do what it can get away with to all other forms of life and the environment as a whole? Is man the only one of real and abiding value on the face of the earth?

These questions are being raised by conservationists, Audubon clubbers, and ecologists, and they are laying them at the doorsteps of the churches. Environmental activists accuse the Christian faith of giving man the idea that he can exploit the earth with no regard for the consequences.

At a recent ministerial meeting the subject of the environment was brought before the group as something which might concern the churches. Only half of the clergymen said that they could see any relation between such issues and their work.

Even though many clergy and laity may feel that way, the world will not let the Church sidestep the issue. There is clearly hostility and suspicion toward the Church because it has seemed to separate man from the natural habitat in which he is set. Also the Church has been so occupied with the massive human issues of war, peace, poverty, and racism that its limited energies have not been focused on the environment.

So here we are with another battle of basic attitudes on our hands. Clergymen will be asked to give leadership. Deacons will be asked to help interpret this as a "spiritual" matter which should lie in their province. Christian educators must find a relevance for summer camping programs. With all of the property the Church owns, such as conference centers that are wooded and streamed, we have a built-in laboratory for getting involved with environmental education.

The days of scoffing at "finding God in nature" must be left behind, because if we don't find traces there of His power and His purpose, we may suffocate ourselves with smog and other poisons. It may be that we've spent too much time looking for God in nature and not enough time seeing man in nature. Our Protestant heritage has tended to elevate man foolishly and arrogantly above his habitat and let us forget that he has been created in a delicately balanced brotherhood with soil, insects, rodents, fish, water, plankton, trees, and air.

Life As It's Meant To Be

Can the Christian tradition and the Bible serve mankind in its current ecological/environmental crisis?

The Bible clearly shows us that nature is not holy and neither is she to be worshipped. That is the point of the creation story in Genesis and its affirmation in the Psalms, "Bless the Lord, O my soul. Thou didst set the earth on its foundations so that it should never be shaken." God is He who rules over nature and man. He uses the environment to bear His messages and work His will, Psalm 29:

"The voice of the Lord breaks the cedars,
The Lord breaks the cedars of Lebanon.
The voice of the Lord makes the oaks to whirl,
strips the forests bare;
And in His temple all cry, 'Glory!'"

In Psalm 148, both man and nature are summoned to praise God together:

"Praise the Lord.
Praise Him, sun and moon, praise Him, all you shining stars!
Praise Him, you highest heavens and you waters above the heavens!
Mountains and all hills, fruit trees and all cedars!!
Beasts and all cattle, creeping things and flying birds!
Kings of the earth and all peoples, princes and all rulers of the earth!
Young men and maidens together, old men and children."

When the judgment and wrath of God are let loose, not only is man punished but his environment is ruined also. The opening chapter of the book of the prophet Isaiah cries out, "Your country lies desolate, your cities are burned with fire; in your presence aliens devour your land; it is desolate, as overthrown by aliens." Ezekiel thunders forth, "They shall eat their bread with fearfulness, and drink water in dismay, because their land will be stripped of all it contains. . . . And the inhabited cities shall be laid waste, and the land shall become a desolation; and you shall know that I am the Lord."

Probably the most important argument for man's careful and responsible use of the soil, air, and waters is to be found in the simple command of Jesus that we should love God with all our heart and soul and mind and our neighbor as ourself (Matthew 22:37ff). And in the first letter of John we read, "For this is the message which you have heard from the beginning, that we should love one another, and not be like Cain who was of the evil one and murdered his brother." If we pollute and destroy our environment we do not love our neighbors and we are well on our way to killing ourselves.

Rediscovering Earth's Riches

It goes without saying that man has abused his power and separated himself from his close relatives in the natural world. It may be that the idea of having dominion has gone to man's head and that he has taken the command to subdue to mean exploit. The crimes of excessive exploitation are laid at the doorstep of mankind. And they will be piled highest in front of the men of western civilization, especially of those nations such as our own which produce, consume, and dispose of more things than all of the others put together.

Perhaps we might say that technology is the modern version of the tower of Babel recorded in Genesis II. Men have learned how to talk the language of the test tube and equation clear around the earth. This common speech has made possible the building of undreamed towers of progress and development. Humility has been lost, and the human race has been bent on making a great name for itself. Amazing achievements in communications, medicine, transportation, etc., have all been made by technological man. But he has forgotten his place among the stones and the starfish. His head has been too much in the heavens — or the machines of his invention.

A new age is upon us. This is the age of environmental cultivation. All of nature's treasures, including sulphur, aluminum, and the diverse elements of garbage, must be recycled. Like

(Continued on page 15)

THE interconnected problem of unchecked overpopulation and despoliation of the environment are nowadays emerging as major religious concerns. In recent times the National Council of Churches has set up an Environmental Stewardship Action Team, which will coordinate a nationwide, churches-wide emphasis on the problem. Many groups joined in the national teach-in on environmental problems on April 22, while local churches and church councils focused on the issue by observing April 19 as Environmental Sunday. In the fall (October 15-18), the National Council will sponsor a study conference on Human Survival and The Quality of Life, which will bring some 800 churchmen to Washington, D.C. to plan effective action on regional and local levels.

With this issue, TEMPO joins many other religious publications in accenting this critical concern. Its eight extra pages in a combined April 15/May 1 issue — caused in part by the virtual impossibility of publishing during the recent postal strike — permit us to carry a more comprehensive coverage of both facts and comment. For any wishing to learn or do more, the bibliography and organization list on page 15 should be helpful.

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ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler
PROMOTION: David Poindexter
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maxa Tilghman, John W. Turnbull
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CREDITS: Cover photo, N.Y. Public Library; p. 3, Frick Collection; pp. 7, 11 & 13, Religious News Service; p. 9, Ebony Magazine; p. 12, Loren Kelley, Chicago; p. 16 (bottom) from a Hans Holbein engraving, "The Soldier" (Dance of Death).

Has Christian Thought Legitimized Total Exploitation of The Environment?

ECOLOGY IS A RELIGIOUS ISSUE

by Edward B. Fiske

OVER the centuries the growth of Western science and technology have been closely tied to Judeo-Christian religious values. Isaac Newton and other early scientific giants explained their activities and findings in religious terms. The fundamental teaching of Genesis that man is created in God's image and intended to have "dominion" over the rest of creation gave ultimate significance to the scientific method.

As men become increasingly concerned with polluted streams, foul air and other evidence that technological advances do not necessarily constitute progress, it is not surprising that some of these fundamental religious assumptions are also coming to be questioned. The result is what may prove to be the most far-reaching new religious issue of the 1970's — the theology of ecology, or man's relationship to his environment.

Last fall the National Council of Churches established an Environmental Stewardship Action Team that hopes to put theologians, scientists and others to work on the problem. Several conferences have already been held by an association of 75 religious thinkers known as the Faith-Man-Nature Group. (A Christian focus will be placed on the combined issues of environment and population control at a four-day study conference to be held by the National Council of Churches in Washington, D.C. next October 15-18.. Ed.)

Religious Remedy

The fundamental assumption of these groups—one that is shared by ecologists outside the church — is that the current environmental crisis is not simply scientific and political in nature. "Since the roots of our trouble are so largely religious," wrote Lynn White Jr., a historian, in *Science Magazine*, "the remedy must also be essentially religious, whether we call it that or not."

For support of his view he cited the teachings of St. Francis of Assisi who, he said, tried — unsuccessfully — to "substitute the idea of the equality of all creatures, including man, for the idea of man's limitless rule of creation." Mr. White proposed that the 13th-century saint—"the greatest spiritual revolutionary in western history" —become the patron saint of ecologists.

Most work in the field begins with the recognition that despite the fundamental biblical affirmation of the goodness of creation, Christian thought has entertained ideas that have, as Julian Hartt, a Yale theologian, put it, "legitimized man's total exploitation of his environment."

One such emphasis has been an excessive other-worldliness — a tendency to see God as totally transcendent, or outside the world, and the consequent assumption that Christianity is essentially concerned with man's fate in the next world rather than in this one.

Individualist

Another is the rampant individualism that has characterized much of post-Reformation theology. For many Christians, salvation is simply a matter between the individual and God and has no necessary connection to his relationship either to other persons or to the world in which he finds himself.

Such thinking may be regarded as the equivalent in the ecological area of assertions by sociologist Max Weber and others that aspects of Calvinistic piety contributed to economic exploitation during the development of capitalism.

While some might argue that it might have been better for the natural order if Baal and other nature gods had triumphed over Jehovah when the Israelites moved into Canaan, theologians of ecology argue that these tendencies of individualism and other-worldliness are essentially distortions of the Christian faith.

The Christian God, they say, is transcendent, but the "incarnation" of Christ is a sign that God is also involved in history and the natural process. The salvation of an individual, they continue, cannot be dissociated from that of all men and indeed — as St. Paul wrote in Romans 8 — from that of nature itself.

They emphasize that man's "dominion" over creation is tempered by responsibility and an ethic of love, and that the raping of natural resources for personal gain is essentially sinful. "We are basically dealing with the problem of greed," said Daniel Day Williams, a Union Seminary theologian.

Joseph Sittler, a Lutheran theologian active in the field, declared, "Reason says that destroying clean air is impractical. Faith ought to say it is blasphemous." Others have suggested that evils resulting from the destruction of the ecological balance must be understood as a form of divine judgment.

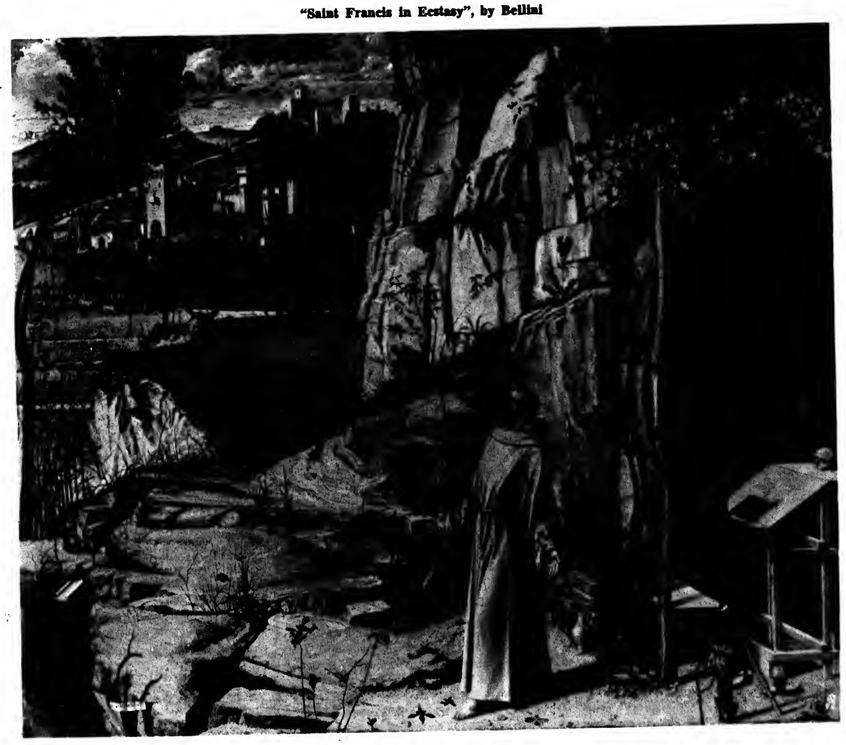
Thus far the new interest in ecology has been largely academic, but church leaders hope that local congregations — like elements of the New Left on college campuses—will soon make issues such as air pollution part of their social action programs.

This may not be as uncontroversial as it sounds. Ecologists now recognize that fighting for clean air and water is not like supporting motherhood but involves fundamental shifts in national values and priorities.

"If we're serious about increasing the quality of life for all men," said the Rev. Nordan C. Murphy of the NCC, for instance, "we may have to declare a moratorium on how much we consume. We may have to reject the assumption that a Gross National Product that goes up each year is a good thing." ■

—Mr. Fiske is religion editor of the New York Times. *(Copyright 1970 by the New York Times Company, reprinted by permission.)*

"Saint Francis in Ecstasy", by Bellini



At The Rate We're Consuming, India Might Outlast The U.S.A.

AMERICA THE

Overpopulated — And Over-Consuming

by Wayne H. Davis

I DEFINE as most seriously overpopulated that nation whose people by virtue of their numbers and activities are most rapidly decreasing the ability of the land to support human life. With our large population, our affluence and our technological monstrosities the United States wins first place by a substantial margin.

Let's compare the US to India, for example. We have 203 million people, whereas she has 540 million on much less land. But look at the impact of people on the land.

The average Indian eats his daily few cups of rice (or perhaps wheat, whose production on American farms contributed to our one percent per year drain in quality of our active farmland), draws his bucket of water from the communal well and sleeps in a mud hut. In his daily rounds to gather cow dung to burn to cook his rice and warm his feet, his footsteps, along with those of millions of his countrymen, help bring about a slow deterioration of the ability of the land to support people. His contribution to the destruction of the land is minimal.

An American, on the other hand, can be expected to destroy a piece of land on which he builds a home, garage and driveway. He will contribute his share to the 142 million tons of smoke and fumes, seven million junked cars, 20 million tons of paper, 48 billion cans, and 26 billion bottles the overburdened environment must absorb each year. To run his air conditioner we will strip-mine a Kentucky hillside, push the dirt and slate down into the stream, and burn coal in a power generator, whose smokestack contributes to a plume of smoke massive enough to cause cloud seeding and premature precipitation from Gulf winds which should be irrigating the wheat farms of Minnesota.

Nutrients: From Cradle to Grave

In his lifetime he will personally pollute three million gallons of water, and industry and agriculture will use ten times this much water in his behalf. To provide these needs the US Army Corps of Engineers will build dams and flood farmland. He will also use 21,000 gallons of leaded gasoline containing boron, drink 28,000 pounds of milk and eat 10,000 pounds of meat. The latter is produced and squandered in a life pattern unknown to Asians. A steer on a Western range eats plants containing minerals necessary for plant life. Some of these are incorporated into the body of the steer which is later shipped for slaughter. After being eaten by man these nutrients are flushed down the toilet into the ocean or buried in the cemetery, the surface of which is cluttered with boulders called tombstones and has been removed from productivity. The result is a continual drain on the productivity of range land. Add to this the erosion of overgrazed lands, and the effects of the falling water table as we mine Pleistocene deposits of groundwater to irrigate to produce food for more people, and we can see why our land is dying far more rapidly than did the great civilizations of the Middle East, which experienced the same cycle. The average Indian citizen, whose fecal material goes back to the land, has but a minute fraction of the destructive effect on the land that the affluent American does.

Interlandi in The Los Angeles Times

"Yes, sir, we enjoy the highest standard of living known to the world"

Thus I want to introduce a new term, which I suggest be used in future discussions of human population and ecology. We should speak of our numbers in "Indian equivalents." An Indian equivalent I define as the average number of Indian citizens required to have the same detrimental effect on the land's ability to support human life as would the average American. This value is difficult to determine, but let's take an extremely conservative working figure of 25. To see how conservative this is, imagine the addition of 1000 citizens to your town and 25,000 to an Indian village. Not only would the Americans destroy much more land for homes, highways and a shopping center, but would contribute far more to environmental deterioration in hundreds of other ways as well. For example, their demand for steel for new autos might increase the daily pollution equivalent of 130,000 junk autos which *Life* tells us that US Steel Corp. dumps into Lake Michigan. Their demand for textiles would help the cotton industry destroy the life in the Black Warrior River in Alabama with endrin. And they would contribute to the massive industrial pollution of our oceans (we provide one third to one half the world's share) which has caused the precipitious downward trend in our commercial fisheries landings during the past seven years.

The U.S.A. And India

The per capita gross national product of the United States is 38 times that of India. Most of our goods and services contribute to the decline in the ability of the environment to support life. Thus it is clear that a figure of 25 for an Indian equivalent is conservative. It has been suggested to me that a more realistic figure would be 500.

In Indian equivalents, therefore, the population of the United States is at least four billion. And the rate of growth is even more alarming. We are growing at one per cent per year, a rate which would double our numbers in 70 years. India is growing at 2.5 percent. Using the Indian equivalent of 25, our population growth becomes 10 times as serious as that of India. According to the Reinows in their recent book *Moment in the Sun*, just one year's crop of American babies can be expected to use up 25 billion pounds of beef, 200 million pounds of steel and 9.1 billion gallons of gasoline during their collective lifetime. And the demands on water and land for our growing population are expected to be far greater than the supply available in the year 2000. We are destroying our land at a rate of over a million acres a year. We now have only 2.6 agricultural acres per person. By 1975 this will be cut to 2.2, the critical point for the maintenance of what we consider a decent diet, and by the year 2000 we might expect to have 1.2.

You might object that I am playing with statistics in using the Indian equivalent on the rate of growth. I am making the assumption that today's Indian child will live 35 years (the average Indian life span) at today's level of affluence. If he lives an American 70 years, our rate of population growth would be 20 times as serious as India's.

But the assumption of continued affluence at today's level is unfounded. If our numbers continue to rise, our standard of living will fall so sharply that by the year 2000 any surviving Americans might consider today's average Asian to be well off. Our children's destructive effects on their environment will decline as they sink ever lower into poverty.

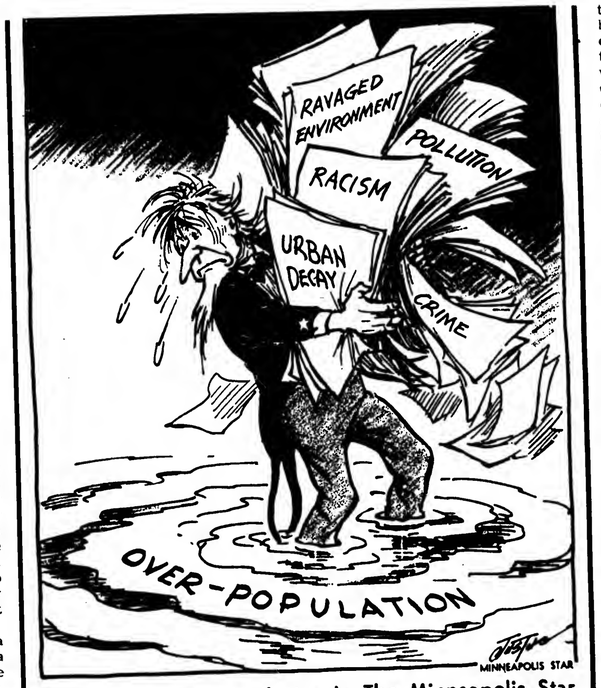
Misleading Affluence

The United States is in serious economic trouble now. Nothing could be more misleading than today's affluence, which rests precariously on a crumbling foundation. Our productivity, which had been increasing steadily at about 3.2 per cent a year since World War II, has been falling during 1969. Our export over import balance has been shrinking steadily from $7.1 billion in 1964 to $0.15 billion in the first half of 1969. Our balance of payments deficit for the second quarter was $3.7 billion, the largest in history. We are now importing iron ore, steel, oil, beef, textiles, cameras, radios and hundreds of other things.

Our economy is based upon the Keynesian concept of a continued growth in population and productivity. It worked in an underpopulated nation with excess resources. It could continue to work only if the earth and its resources were expanding at an annual rate of 4 to 5 per cent. Yet neither the number of cars, the economy, the human population, nor anything else can expand indefinitely at an exponential rate in a finite world. We must face this fact *now*. The crisis is here. When Walter Heller says that our economy will expand by 4 per cent annually through the latter 1970s he is dreaming. He is in a theoretical world totally unaware of the realities of human ecology. If the economists do not wake up and devise a new system for us now somebody else will have to do it for them.

A civilization is comparable to a living organism. Its longevity is a function of its metabolism. The higher the metabolism (affluence), the shorter the life. Keynesian economics has allowed us an affluent but shortened life span. We have now run our course.

The tragedy facing the United States is even greater and more imminent than that descending upon the hungry nations. The Paddock brothers in their book, *Famine 1975!*, say that India "cannot be saved" no matter how much food we ship her. But India will be here after the United States is gone. Many millions will die in the most colossal famines India has ever known, but the land will survive and she will come back as she always has before. The United States, on the other hand, will be a desolate tangle of concrete and ticky-tacky, of strip-mined moonscape and silt-choked reservoirs. The land and water will be so contaminated with pesticides, herbicides, mercury fungicides, lead, boron, nickel, arsenic and hundreds of other toxic substances, which have been approaching critical levels of concentration in our environment as a result of our numbers and affluence, that it may be unable to sustain human life.



Justus in The Minneapolis Star

—And There's Another Little Problem

Thus as the curtain gets ready to fall on man's civilization let it come as no surprise that it shall first fall on the United States. And let no one make the mistake of thinking we can save ourselves by "cleaning up the environment." Banning DDT is the equivalent of the physician's treating syphilis by putting a band aid over the first chancre to appear. In either case you can be sure that more serious and widespread trouble will soon appear unless the disease itself is treated. We cannot survive by planning to treat the symptoms such as air pollution, water pollution, soil erosion, etc.

Reversing Population Growth

What can we do to slow the rate of destruction of the United States as a land capable of supporting human life? There are two approaches. First, we must reverse the population growth. We have far more people now than we can continue to support at anything near today's level of affluence. American women average slightly over three children each. According to the *Population Bulletin* if we reduced this number to 2.5 there would still be 330 million people in the nation at the end of the century. And even if we reduced this to 1.5 we would have 57 million more people in the year 2000 than we have now. With our present longevity patterns it would take more than 30 years for the population to peak even when reproducing at this rate, which would eventually give us a net decrease in numbers.

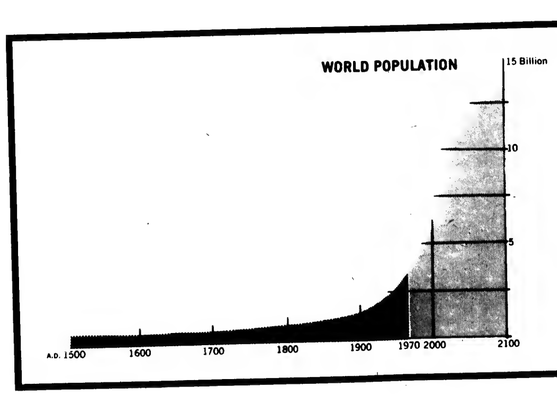
Do not make the mistake of thinking that technology will solve our population problem by producing a better contraceptive. Our problem now is that people want too many children. Surveys show the average number of children wanted by the American family is 3.3. There is little difference between the poor and the wealthy, black and white, Catholic and Protestant. Production of children at this rate during the next 30 years would be so catastrophic in effect on our resources and the viability of the nation as to be beyond my ability to contemplate. To prevent this trend we must not only make contraceptives and abortion readily available to everyone, but we must establish a system to put severe economic pressure on those who produce children and reward those who do not. This can be done within our system of taxes and welfare.

The other thing we must do is to pare down our Indian equivalents. Individuals in American society vary tremendously in Indian equivalents. If we plot Indian equivalents versus their reciprocal, the percentage of land surviving a generation, we obtain a linear regression. We can then place individuals and occupation types on this graph. At one end would be the landed poor; they would approach unity in Indian equivalents, and would have the least destructive effect on the land. At the other end of the graph would be the politicians slicing pork for the barrel, the highway contractors, strip-mine operators, real estate developers, and public enemy number one—the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

We must halt land destruction. We must abandon the view of land and minerals as private property to be exploited in any way economically feasable for private financial gain. Land and minerals are resources upon which the very survival of the nation depends, and their use must be planned in the best interests of the people.

Rising expectations for the poor is a cruel joke foisted upon them by the Establishment. As our new economy of use-it-once-and-throw-it-away produces more and more products for the affluent, the share of our resources available for the poor declines. Blessed be the starving blacks of Mississippi with their outdoor privies, for they are ecologically sound, and they shall inherit a nation. Although I hope that we will help these unfortunate people attain a decent standard of living by diverting war efforts to fertility control and job training, our most urgent task to assure this nation's survival during the next decade is to stop the affluent destroyers. ■

—Dr. Davis teaches in the School of Biological Sciences at the University of Kentucky. His article is reprinted by permission of the New Republic. Copyright 1970 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.



BIRTH AND DEATH RATES AND LIFE EXPECTANCY

Region	Birth-rate	Death Rate	Life Expectancy
WORLD	34-35	14-15	55-56
Africa	48	22	40-45
Western	54	27	38-42
Eastern	47	20	38-42
Middle	44	23	38-42
Northern	45	19	47
Southern	41	16	51
Europe	18	10	71
Western	18	11	71
Southern	20	9	70
Eastern	16	9	70
Northern	18	11	72
USSR	18	7	70
Northern America	20	9	71
East Asia	32-36	14-16	49-55
Mainland	34-39	15-18	45-52
Japan	18	7	71
Other	36	12	63
South Asia	44	18	46
Latin America	38	12	56
Caribbean	39	14	51
Mid-America	44	11	55
Tropical	40	12	54
Temperate	25	9	69
Oceania	25	11	65
Australia, New Zealand	20	9	71
Melanesia	45	20	38-42
Polynesia, Micronesia	40	10	50-55

Birth and death rates are per 1,000 persons. Life expectancy is in years. All figures are for 1965, the most recent year with complete data.

"The Time Has Come to Treat Crimes against The Environment on A Par with Crimes against Society . . ."

THE MASSIVE ASSAULT ON OUR ENVIRONMENT

by Russell E. Train

CAN man survive, in a world worth living in?

Perhaps the best answer at this time is: The issue remains in doubt.

And the ultimate answer will depend on man's actions and on the institutions he creates to anticipate, judge and control the potentially adverse effects of those actions as well as to give positive direction for human betterment to the forces which are now at his command.

The future is open. Whether we take the road to deterioration and destruction or turn toward a future environment that not only sustains but enriches human life, the choice is ours.

To proclaim that such a choice exists is itself an act of faith, one which may be increasingly difficult to accept. We live in a time when the forces around us—social, economic, and technological—seem all too frequently beyond our control. For many individuals, it is probably a major source of frustration that we have so little ability to shape and direct the events around us.

This is particularly true with respect to the environment.

Our greatest concern, and the one from which many of our most pressing environmental problems spring, is the growth of human numbers. Our world population is estimated to double from the current 3.5 billion to 7 billion over the next 30 to 40 years. Optimists say that we will be able to feed these hordes, citing the new miracle grains, protein from the seas and other sources of food. I am not so sure. The plain fact is that we are not feeding adequately the people we now have.

Serious as they are, however, the problems of food supply probably do not present the greatest threat posed by our expanding civilization. In this country, where advanced technology has made possible a generous food supply, the environmental consequences of that technology present risks which are less obvious than food shortages but which, in the long run, may be even more disastrous.

The adverse impacts of our technology multiply at an accelerating rate. Indeed, the very extent and rapidity of change appear to be a major characteristic of our time. Such change makes it increasingly difficult for man and his institutions to adapt successfully to the new environments which are created at every hand.

For instance, we continue to pump toxic substances into the living environment, so that each person now carries measurable amounts of DDT and other poisons in his body. Only a few months ago, we read that 28,000 pounds of Lake Michigan Coho salmon were confiscated because of the high level of DDT and Dieldrin in their flesh. Recently, the Public Health Service warned of evidence that sugar substitutes in soft drinks are causing physical defects, including genetic damage.

Refuse and Rockets

Pollution of air and water, despite some local improvement, is becoming world-wide in scope. In the developing countries, industry and agriculture, with its massive applications of fertilizers and pesticides, are proceeding almost everywhere without regard to pollution control. In this country, the use of chemical fertilizers is damaging the natural, organic fertility of our soil.

The solid wastes of our technological civilization mount skyward. Dr. John Hanlon, new president of the American Public Health Association, describes us as "standing knee-deep in refuse, shooting rockets to the moon."

The combustion of fossil-fuels and the elimination of vegetation combine to produce changes in the oxygen-carbon dioxide balance of our atmosphere—with what results for our global climate, indeed for life itself, remain in question.

In our cities the adverse effects of environment are at their starkest. Who doubts that urban tensions, frustrations, and violence have their roots, to some degree at least, in the environment in which our city people live?

Man is the biological product of an evolutionary process which has stretched over millions of years, and natural environments have been the primary determinant in shaping his character and being. The people of our cities are alienated from the natural world for which they are primarily adapted and live instead in a man-made environment from which there is no escape—an environment of constant stress, of crowds, noise, litter and concrete.

From the perspective of the Department of the Interior, one is constantly reminded of the results of environmental mismanagement, as well as the opportunities for better management. The resources of the sea and the resources of the land should be managed as interrelated parts of the total environment.

Water pollution control is a major program of the Department to which Secretary Hickel recently assigned highest priority. Our people demand clean water. Moreover we cannot sustain our economic growth in an unhealthy, polluted environment. Industry will not want to locate nor will people want to work and live in the absence of clean water. Unfortunately, there is little evidence that we are making any significant progress in controlling water pollution. Indeed, we may even be falling behind. We have failed—and are continuing to fail—to make the investment necessary for water pollution abatement.

Resource development and utilization must go hand in hand with environmental protection.

Meanwhile, at Santa Barbara

A spectacular lesson is the Santa Barbara oil spill. There is little doubt that, in our off-shore oil development, we have permitted immediate monetary gains to overshadow potential environmental costs—costs measured in terms of polluted beaches, destroyed wildlife and damage to marine eco-systems.

The technological explosion of our times doubtless can mean a constant succession of Santa Barbaras not only on the Continental Shelf but throughout the environment. These will not be isolated cases to be lamented but otherwise forgotten. I predict that environmental accidents will multiply at a geometric rate as man's power to modify the environment increases without parallel improvement in his organization for environmental management.

Moreover, it is not only the spectacular accident that must concern us but also the less dramatic actions which gradually but just as surely erode the environment—the filling of an estuary, the paving of an aquifer, the destruction of a species.

To reverse this course, some basic changes must be made—changes in our attitudes, in our approach to planning and in governmental organization.

We must take a far stricter view now and in the future of the duties of the individual and of businesses toward the environment. The time has come to treat crimes against the environment on a par with crimes against society. Crimes against the environment strike at the very future of mankind.

Fortunately, a large and growing number of highly responsible individuals and businesses takes the longer view. But it is unrealistic to expect them, in the aggregate, to police themselves. The individual automobile owner whose vehicle contributes only minutely to the pollution of the air will seldom volunteer the investment necessary to control his own exhaust. In the case of industry, competitive conditions frequently make it impractical for any individual company to maintain higher standards than its competitors unless it possesses a high degree of market dominance.

Enforcement Needed

To meet this challenge with success we must be willing to establish strict standards of conduct and performance and then rigorously enforce these standards.

Secretary of the Interior Hickel recently took an important step in this direction when he acted to impose absolute liability without limitation for the cost of clean-up those responsible for oil spills on the Outer Continental Shelf. I believe that this action constitutes an important landmark in the development of new concepts of responsibility for environmental protection.

We must develop a far more positive approach to the need for long-range planning. Most of our environmental programs today represent limited—and usually belated—responses to problems. We can no longer afford the luxury of such an approach.

We must develop long-range environmental policies for the future. We should seek to determine optimum relationships between people and their physical environment, including its quality, its ecological health, the supply of water and other natural resources, the supply and distribution of open space. We should determine long-range needs for energy and open space and natural resources generally and then develop policies designed to meet those needs.

How large a population do we really want? How should it be distributed? At the present time, we simply make projections of future growth and then scramble frantically to provide the water, the sewers and the highways to accommodate that growth—successfully insuring that the growth does in fact occur whether desirable or not.

Of course we will delude ourselves if we look solely to national planning to solve our environmental problems. This nation is too big and too diverse to permit such an approach. State, regional and local planning are of the utmost importance.

It is often at the local level, the country or the town, that the critical decisions are made—decisions concerning open space, land fills, pollution control and zoning variances of all sorts. The sum total of local decisions is reshaping the American landscape and shoreline.

Unfortunately, many local governments either have no planning or zoning mechanism at all, or they give way too easily to the pressure for variances. As is true in the case of individuals and businesses, the leadership of local government often permits short-term (and frequently illusory) development gains to outweigh the goal of long-range quality. The pressure of competition with other local governments further distorts the decision-making process.

Everybody's Business

The solution to this problem does not lie in some Utopian plan masterminded from Washington. On the contrary, we must develop more effective planning and land use controls at the local level. To this end, a system of national incentives may be in order. Above all, we must recognize that sound land use is a matter of national concern.

Picnic, Anyone? Roadside Scene in Redding, California

Progress in this field will doubtless require developing new legal approaches to the problems of social direction and regulation. An important responsibility now rests with the nation's lawyers to suggest concepts, mechanisms, incentives and controls within the framework of law to control the growing environmental dangers to society.

The objective of sound environmental planning presupposes a firm foundation of knowledge. Thus, it is essential that we substantially increase our investment in environmental research.

We need to know far more about human behavior, human response to environmental factors and what constitutes an optimum environment for human life. We need to develop far more effective guidelines for development which will protect and enhance environmental quality.

How many more Santa Barbaras must there be before we realize we can no longer afford environmental ignorance?

I have suggested that the third major change lies in improved government organization. This need has several facets.

To implement our environmental goals and actions will require a massive infusion of resources—funds; new organizational and institutional arrangements; needed and effective laws; authority and responsibility; manpower, training, and facilities—at each level of government. These actions, institutions and resources must be coordinated and integrated into an overall, meaningful program for environmental protection and management.

Lack of funding not only results in deferment of programs but also frequently means the permanent loss of opportunities. A prime example is open space acquisition. If we do not act now to set aside open spaces for the future, particularly in and around our rapidly growing urban centers, many of the best opportunities will be gone forever.

The indicators of economic productivity and of the material goods available to the average citizen are no longer adequate measures of national or individual health and well-being—if they ever were.

Economic productivity, gross national product and per capita income indicate that this nation is moving ahead. Yet, based on the average individual's freedom from noise, polluted air, access to unspoiled nature and ability to escape the environmental degredation which surrounds us, we are becoming impoverished.

Protecting The Biosphere

The environment is not a strictly national problem. As radioactive wastes, pesticides and the products of fossil-fuel combustion are distributed over the earth, we are beginning to understand that we live in one biosphere—a thin film of air, water and soil on a small planet.

The processes that affect the healthy functioning of the environment recognize no political boundaries. A United Nations Conference on Problems of the Human Environment scheduled for 1972 reflects the need and concern for closer international cooperation in attacking these matters.

In conservation and environmental management generally, a major opportunity exists for the United States to provide world leadership and technical assistance where possible in international development programs. For too long, and often with disastrous results, these programs have failed to recognize ecological and environmental factors.

At home, we have discovered that traditional political boundaries create serious impediments to effective programs of river basin management and air and water pollution abatement. New regional mechanisms must be explored and tried. Interstate river basin compacts, such as that of the Delaware, are a promising step in that direction, although their full effectiveness remains to be determined.

Federal programs with major resources and environmental impact are scattered throughout the Federal establishment, but they do not consider the side effects, for which completely separate agencies are responsible, i.e., air pollution as a by-product of highway construction. The present piecemeal and lack of central policy direction and control of these programs obstruct any effective implementation. More than just efficient administration is at issue.

Just as we must avoid reductionism in our science, we must also avoid single-interest treatment of environmental problems. At all times we must seek to develop integrated approaches to the complex systems which constitute our total environment.

There is no easy solution. A mere reshuffling of agencies will not solve these problems, although a more effective grouping of resources and environmental responsibilities would doubtless be helpful.

The Nixon Administration is keenly aware of the need to improve environmental management within the Federal government. President Nixon recently established an interdepartmental Council on Environmental Quality.

The new Council will create a focal point for coordination of environmental protection and management programs and will help provide the overview necessary to predict, judge and control the effects of our environmental actions.

—Mr. Train, formerly Under Secretary of the U.S. Department of Interior, now serves as Chairman of the new Federal Council on Environmental Quality, mentioned immediately above. He declares that the Council has the power to hold open hearings on environmental threats where, he says, "the public will have an opportunity to raise a little Cain". His article originally appeared in "Trial," publication of the American Trial Lawyers Association, and is reprinted by permission.

East Side, West Side, All Around The Town: New York City Bathed in Smog

"We Must Move Now to Renovate, Rejuvenate And Recapture Our Environment"

PUBLIC COMMITMENT COMES FIRST

by Senator Edmund S. Muskie

LAST summer an era came to a close. It was an era of exploration, outreach, and headlong advance. Fueled by the eager consumption of technology and material accomplishment, man has forced his way out of his environment, at least as far as the moon.

Now we look to further growth, but our world does not grow with us. No matter how far or how fast we grow, no matter how far afield our explorations take us, and no matter how great our vision, we must always return to this earth. For the foreseeable future, we have but one home and one natural environment.

If we do not begin to repair the damage we have caused as we have flexed our technological muscle, we will soon be ecological orphans—faced with an environment which cannot support simple human existence, much less the exploration of outer space.

For the generation of Americans that set for themselves that test of strength and will and courage, landing on the moon was a romantic adventure, fulfillment of a dream thousands of years old—a scientific feat unparalleled in the course of human history. It has been an incredible accomplishment for a generation which watched space technology grow.

But there is a new generation of Americans who are reaching maturity now. They have little recollection of a world without the conquest of space or of a world gripped by the Great Depression and staggered by the second World War. They have known the wonders of space almost as long as they have known life on this earth. Their perspective is different.

To a great degree, their values have been shaped by a world which they have not known—but which they have heard and read about. It was a world, in short, where the survivability of man was not nearly as questionable as it is today. The issues of war, equal rights for all men, poverty, hunger, and disease are all parts of this question. They have a great deal to do with man's ultimate survival.

The Basic Threat

But even after all of these questions are answered and reassurances given, there is one basic threat to the survival of man which remains unmet: the pollution of our environment and the dwindling resources of our air, our water, and our land.

It seems, at times, that man expects to use this good earth only for a short time; that, when all our resources are consumed, our water is useless, our skies are black, and our lands defiled, we will pick up and resettle on another new frontier.

But no. We must move now to renovate, rejuvenate, and recapture our environment. We must maintain that which is not defiled, enhance that which is degraded, and restore that which has been destroyed. While we may dream of the frontiers of space, we must act on the frontier of recovery.

If we set goals for the 1970's, this must be one of them. If we are to embark on a romantic adventure, this must be it. There is no time to lose.

Mankind may simply reach the day when there is not enough air, water and land to support life on this earth. We may reach a day when the task of restoration is too great. And we may reach a day when the task of replacement is impossible. We are now in the midst of an environmental crisis, not approaching it.

I do not need to enumerate for you how many tons of sulfur and nitrogen oxides, carbon gases and particulate matter are poured into our atmosphere every day. Nor how many millions of gallons of municipal and industrial wastes enter our rivers and streams. Nor how many billions of tons of solid non-degradable wastes scar our landscape. These are mere descriptions of the proportions of the crisis.

The important questions are less often asked:

How much of a commitment are we willing to make — now? How much money can we convince the government to spend? How far is industry willing to go to help? How much pressure will the public exert?

The People's War

If the people of this nation leave the decisions and the efforts to government and industry alone, little will be done. The priorities of the Federal Government are not directed at dealing with the environmental crisis. And industrial response to the crisis has been keyed to the pace of the government.

In the absence of governmental and industrial leadership, it must be the people who say: This is our world and the world of our children; no matter how far we explore, we must return here. And it must be a livable world. We have laws on the books today to assure public participation in policy decisions affecting their future.

The first stage of the water quality program has been a good example. During the period when states were required to set water quality standards, they were also required to hold public hearings to ascertain what kind of water quality the public wanted. The same basic system — with some modifications — has been established for air quality standards. But having environmental quality laws on the books is no guarantee.

Those who have profited in the absence of such statutes will always be better prepared, have more information, and spend more time protecting their interests. Individual citizens tend to join battles on a crisis-to-crisis basis — when they recognize a crisis — and fight unorganized battles. And government develops vested interests which become more concerned with self-perpetuation than social values.

Sometimes economic interests and government agency interests become so intertwined that the public cannot distinguish between the two. When this continues for a long time, a clash between the individual citizens and the combined forces of public agencies and private interests is almost inevitable.

We have seen this develop in the dispute over the location of nuclear power plants licensed by the Atomic Energy Commission, in the leasing of offshore lands for oil production by the Interior Department, and in nearly all independent regulatory agencies.

Enough of these clashes have occurred in recent years so that we should be aware by now that, if the public is not sufficiently motivated to demand a change in our approach to the environment, the survival of man is doubtful.

A New Commitment

But we can change course. We can make a commitment to a livable environment just as we made a commitment to put a man on the moon—if it is important enough to us. We can say that by 1976:

1. We will develop the technology to control all sources of air pollution and insist that adequate controls be in effect.

2. We will require tertiary treatment for all discharges into our streams and rivers and we will invest the funds to accomplish this purpose.

3. We will recover resources instead of destroy them.

This, I think, is the kind of romantic adventure and technological quest which is relevant to the generation now reaching maturity, the generation that has not known clean air, clean water and a livable environment. It is also the kind of adventure without which none other will ever be possible.

Our nation suffers from an extraordinary misapplication of our immense technological knowledge:

● The government has spent millions developing the techniques of generating nuclear power; we have spent little to protect our waters from the waste heat of those plants. But we go on building them.

● We have committed vast sums to highways with but a cursory nod in the direction of urban mass transit. But we go on building.

● The government leased the lands of the Santa Barbara Channel for oil production, with no thought for the risk of oil pollution. Oil production in the Channel goes on.

This is not the way out of our crisis. There is no easy or convenient way. A new spirit with a new rhetoric is not the answer to our crisis, but it can persuade others to join in our efforts. Good intentions are not the answer to our crisis, but they are a way to begin. Broadened political participation is not the answer to our crisis but we will not find the answer without it.

The only answer is a decision by the American people that we must spend the money necessary to end unacceptable living conditions in the United States. This must be our first order of business. We have the resources and we have the technological skills, but we have misapplied both.

We can never achieve the environment of our past, but we must recognize as James Fenimore Cooper long ago said in *The Prairie*: "The air, the water and the ground are free gifts to man and no one has the power to portion them out in parcels. Man must drink and breathe and walk and, therefore, each man has a right to his fair share of each." ■

Fischetti in Chicago Daily News

"I can't understand kids today—we gave them everything"

BIRTH CONTROL AND THE NEGRO WOMAN

by Mary Smith

ACROSS America, black people are raising queries about birth control: Is birth control just a "white man's plot" to "contain" the black population? Is it just another scheme to cut back on welfare aid or still another method of "keeping the black man down"?

The questions come mainly from the black ghetto (middle-class Negroes have accepted contraceptive practices well), and they come not only because of concern about "containment" and welfare cutbacks, but also because of a very prevalent idea that birth control actually means "black genocide."

That was the key phrase in an anti-birth control resolution passed at last summer's Black Power Conference in Newark. Since then, opposition to birth control has grown. The opposition ranges from that of a small California group called EROS (Efforts to Increase Our Size), which picketed when a physician lectured on family planning, to that found in Pittsburgh, where black people have organized strong protests against Planned Parenthood programs, to that of New York's ultra-militant Five Percenters whose spokesman has said: "See that sister there? She's having another baby for me. I need an army, and this is how we're going to get it."

IN Pittsburgh, Dr. Charles Greenlee, health committee chairman of the Pittsburgh NAACP, and NAACP branch president Byrd Brown have charged that Planned Parenthood, the international family planning agency, has "coerced disadvantaged black people to employ birth control by sending 'workers' door-to-door until women feel they are forced to go to a clinic." The 'workers' are untrained in any medical specialty, Dr. Greenlee says, but ask questions about a woman's pregnancies, her "personal" habits, and such things as whether she and her husband use contraceptives.

"I don't oppose contraceptives per se," Dr. Greenlee says, "but I'm against this 'pill-pushing' in black neighborhoods where many people are made to feel that they'd better obey 'official suggestions' to visit a birth control clinic or risk losing their monthly welfare check."

Several years ago, Dr. Greenlee remembers, the Pittsburgh Department of Public Aid mailed welfare checks along with notices about PAP tests, the vaginal smear test for detection of cancer in women. "A lot of husbands didn't know what the tests were all about, but since the notices had come in the same envelope with the welfare checks, the husbands showed up at clinics for PAP tests too." Fearing that door-to-door "pill-pushing" will spread to other cities, Dr. Greenlee warns: "Our birth rate is the only thing we have. If we keep on producing, they're going to have to either kill us or grant us full citizenship."

FAMILY planning workers and doctors say that the loudest protestors against birth control are men, not women. Says one worker: "The black man's opposition has a lot to do with his virility hang-up. They like to brag about the number of kids they've fathered. They think it's the ultimate proof of their manhood." Says another: "I've found that many men feel insecure about a wife who uses birth control. Why this insecurity? Well, they feel that 'The Pill,' for example, puts the wife on an equal sexual plane with them—that it makes it easier for women to 'two-time' because there's little or no danger of pregnancy."

Critics charge that official census figures discriminate against the poor: wealthy whites can afford private clinic abortions, which would cut down on the "official" white birth rate. But if figures are to be believed, the black illegitimate birth rate has risen from 16.8 per cent to 23 per cent of all black births since 1940. The corresponding rate for white illegitimate births has gone only from 2 per cent to 3.1 per cent. Further, three out of four such white babies are adopted, while only one out of ten such black babies is adopted. The remaining nine black babies usually end up on Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) rolls. Still, the birth control opposition persists. The militants' arguments are believed. "They're just trying to save money on welfare." "It's just another scheme to keep black men down."

Such organizations as Planned Parenthood have to cope with the arguments—and with certain fears that ghetto women have. The organization's Douglas Stewart, director of the national office of community relations, says: "Many Negro women have told our workers, 'There are two kinds of pills—one for white women and one for us . . . and the one for us causes sterilization.' This is a very real fear for some women. Perhaps it's because many of them are from the South where black people have heard of instances of unwarranted sterilization by white clinic workers whose attitude seems to be 'Let's get the Negro before he's born.' These women bring their fears and suspicions with them when they move North."

It is Stewart's job to relieve these fears. He says, "It is my opinion, as director of community relations, that birth control programs might fare better in large cities if more black people and members of minority groups were represented on planning boards of clinics in their neighborhoods."

THE naivete of the uninformed young woman can be seen at any one of the hundreds of family planning classes that are being held around the country. In Chicago, for example, at Operation Venus, a Federally-funded program sponsored by the city's Commission on Youth Welfare, a girl wants to know if "The Pill" she takes will sterilize a man: "My boyfriend told me it would hurt him if I took those pills," she confided. With patience, the nurse explains everything. "We're not here to encourage you to use birth control," she says, "but simply to inform you that there are alternatives to being pregnant all the time."

Seeking these alternatives, black women are crowding the waiting rooms of birth control clinics in almost every good-size city. "I've heard all the talk about 'genocide' and such things," says a tired-looking woman of 30 at Cleveland's Bell Neighborhood Center clinic. "What the 'Black Power' people want — well, that's their business and I guess there's nothing wrong with it. But I've had eight babies and two miscarriages, and honest to God, I just can't have no more. Birth control is my only salvation." It is for such a woman, and for young couples wanting to limit family size, that science is providing such "salvation."

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WASHINGTON-COMMENT

A LAST CHANCE FOR ARMS LIMITATION?

by Allan M. Parrent

Genesis Mark II

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APRIL began in Washington with the nation at a major crossroads in the 25-year-old nuclear arms race. By the end of this month there should be some indications available concerning the direction the nation will take in its strategic nuclear policies over the next decade and, because of the determinative nature of those policies, some indications about the future climate of the international arena.

At this writing a Senate vote is imminent on the Brooke-Cooper resolution (S. Res. 211, with 43 co-sponsors) which calls for a mutual halt to further deployment of all offensive and defensive nuclear strategic weapons systems. The resolution has an excellent chance of passage, even though the President has referred to it in advance as "irrelevant."

Later in the month the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) with the Soviet Union will convene in Vienna; the Administration will finally have to make some decisions about its negotiating posture at those talks; the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will conduct three weeks of key hearings on the ABM, MIRV (multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles), the SALT talks, and the arms race in general; and the infighting on Phase II of the Safeguard ABM will get underway (with some optimism among the opponents that this year the ABM can be stopped).

In the midst of this array of coming attractions, the Nixon Administration has committed itself to two actions which, given the wealth of nuclear weapons now extant and the admitted rough parity which exists between the U.S. and the USSR in deterrent capability, will at least inhibit and possibly kill and chance of capitalizing on the present golden opportunity to halt the nuclear arms race.

"Nose Under the Tent?"

First is its commitment to proceed in a modified form with Phase II of the Safeguard ABM. This announcement followed, after an indecently short interval, the final appropriation of funds for Phase I. Several of last year's supporters approved ABM primarily for research and development purposes and did so only after the Administration had indicated that the technical and political situation following Phase I deployment would be seriously evaluated before it would seek to expand the system. The hasty action of the Administration in moving to Phase II is interpreted by some as vindicating those who last year charged that Phase I was only a "nose under the tent" for a heavy, nationwide, multi-billion dollar ABM deployment which virtually all experts agree would be useless against a sophisticated nuclear attack.

It is also not difficult to imagine that this action only increases the Soviet impression that the U.S. is determined to complete the Safeguard program as rapidly as possible, come what may. Furthermore, the Administration has in part returned to the questionable rationale that the ABM is necessary to defend against a primitive, irrational attack by still non-existent Chinese missiles, a rationale ridiculed by Mr. Nixon himself in 1968. When the factors are added to the old but valid arguments against Safeguard, it is not surprising that there is real optimism concerning the chances of defeating the requested authorization for Phase II ABM funds when the military authorization bill comes to the Senate floor this spring.

The second action to which the Administration regrettably has committed itself is the deployment of multiple warheads (MIRV's) on Minuteman ICBM's immediately upon completion of two years of testing in June. It is currently planned to "MIRV" about one-half of the 1,000 Minuteman missiles, beginning in June, as well as most of the 656 Polaris missiles carried by the 41 Polaris submarines, beginning in early 1971. The several-fold increase in individually targetable warheads which will eventually result cannot help but undermine the stability of the strategic balance, and such destabilization in turn cannot help but bring on a new escalation of the arms race.

Technological Momentum

The original justification for the MIRV development was to guarantee the effectiveness of the U.S. nuclear deterrent against what was thought to be a large Soviet ABM development. An increased number of deliverable warheads, it was felt, could overwhelm the Soviet ABM defense. It is now known that the Soviet system was not an ABM system and that, except for the small system around Moscow which has already been countered by increased U.S. targeting, there is no additional Soviet ABM deployment.

Nevertheless, once the technological process was begun, it gathered its own momentum, independent of real need and, as a result, the MIRV program is now ready for deployment. The Soviets felt compelled to begin their own MIRV program, though they are significantly behind the U.S. at this point, and the U.S. is now using that fact to justify its own ABM expansion. This in turn will likely bring about a Soviet improvement in their ABM system, etc., etc., etc.

Thus, the MIRV program is being questioned in many quarters as unnecessary, wasteful, and certainly premature. Even at best it is, in Senator Edward Brooke's words, no more than a "convenient and cost effective modernization of U.S. forces which will serve as a hedge against possible future improvements in Soviet ABM capabilities" but, much more importantly, "it is positively hostile to the prospects for strategic stability."

There are several reasons for this. One involves the effect on arms control efforts. Once multiple warhead weapons are deployed significantly, it will be virtually impossible without extensive on-site inspection (which neither side is likely to allow) to determine by national surveilance how many warheads a given missile site contains. Acting on "worst case" planning, each side would be sorely pressed to escalate its own nuclear arsenal drastically, and the possibility of meaningful control would vanish.

More important, MIRV takes on the dimension of a first-strike weapon as its accuracy increases. With the present nuclear balance, both sides have a second-strike capability, meaning that neither can strike first without suffering a devastating retaliatory blow from the adversary's remaining force. When one MIRV missile can destroy more than one enemy missile silo in a first-strike counterforce attack, the possibility of eliminating any retaliatory strike becomes quite real. This gives a strong incentive for initiating a nuclear strike during some future crisis before the other side can do so. Neither side has the accuracy for this at present but continued MIRV testing will make it possible.

The statements by Pentagon officials that the U.S. is seeking to improve MIRV accuracy against "hard targets," and on the other hand, continued Soviet testing of its SS-9 missiles with their potential for carrying larger MIRV warheads which do not require as much accuracy to accomplish the same job, only serve to undermine each side's confidence that it has a secure retaliatory force. Thus for several reasons MIRV is a highly destabilizing weapon.

Giving SALT a Chance

With the SALT talks beginning April 16 in Vienna, both wisdom and common sense appear to be on the side of U.S. restraint on both Safeguard and MIRV. Nothing would be lost in terms of security by at least postponing the proposed action on both of these systems until the SALT talks are given a chance to address the issues involved. Such U.S. initiatives were in fact the first two in a series of both short- and long-term recommendations made by the recent *American Assembly on Arms Limitation, 1970* at Arden House which this writer attended.

It seems foolhardy to proceed at this time, when favorable political and strategic conditions provide an unusually opportune moment to halt the arms race, with what may be an irreversible escalation, particularly with regard to MIRV. Far from increasing U.S. bargaining strength, proceeding with current plans will only arouse suspicions, invite counter-efforts from the other side, and make negotiations generally more difficult. Arming in order to disarm has never been a particularly fruitful ploy. It is much easier to agree to control weapons which have not been fully developed or deployed than it is to do so after they have become part of a nation's arsenal.

The chance for halting Safeguard Phase II appears to be good in the Senate, and there are conjectures that because of this the Administration will actually announce a postponement. Even more important in the long run, however, is the postponement of MIRV deployment and serious negotiation at SALT both to stop further deployment of offensive and defensive strategic weapons systems and to halt all testing of multiple warheads.

These are the urgent steps needed to prevent any upsetting of the present strategic balance. The American Assembly conference recommended such action on a reciprocal basis as a second step in controlling the arms race. The Brooke-Cooper resolution will also provide strong support to the President in undertaking such efforts if he can be persuaded to do so. Subsequent to these steps, the climate of stability and mutual confidence which will have been created concurrently will allow for more lasting agreements.

But the time to start is now and the place to start is U.S. postponement of MIRV deployment and the Safeguard Phase II authorization. To quote the American Assembly's final report: "If we arm against a 'parade of imaginary horribles' on the part of an adversary, the adversary will do the same, and we will have devised a sure prescription for a dangerous and wasteful arms race. We have made this mistake in the past, from a misdirected sense of caution. In the interests of our own security we must not make this mistake again. We must end the nuclear arms race!"

Mr. Parrent regularly reviews U.S. policy developments for TEMPO readers from his Washington, D.C. vantage point as Director of Program, Department of International Affairs, National Council of Churches.

WASHINGTON REPORT

IS THE DRAFT ON THE WAY OUT?

by John W. Turnbull

WITH just a little over a year to go before authority to induct under the present Selective Service Act expires on June 30, 1971, an all-volunteer armed force, with only a stand-by draft, seems to be a real political possibility for the first time since 1948.

Pressure to end the draft comes from a variety of quarters: from the young, for whom it is probably a major source of dissatisfaction with "the system"; from a broad spectrum of political opinion (S. 503, the most important of the draft-repeal measures now in the Congressional hopper, enjoys the co-sponsorship of, among others, Senators George McGovern, Mark Hatfield and Barry Goldwater); from mounting public pressure; from civil libertarians, all of whom are uneasy about raising an army by coercion and many of whom believe it to be unconstitutional; from opponents of the Vietnam war and anti-militarists generally; and, by no means last of all, from the prestigious Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force, appointed by President Nixon a year ago, whose report was released in February.

Steps to Draft Repeal

The report of the Gates Commission (so called for its chairman, former Defense Secretary Thomas S. Gates) includes in its recommendations all of the major steps to which the broad-based draft-repeal movement is committed. Most important among these are:

—through improvement in pay and other incentives, begin immediately to eliminate the gap between the presumed manpower needs of the military and their ability to recruit to meet those needs;

—terminate the present authority to induct under Selective Service when it expires next year;

—maintain a stand-by draft system for emergency purposes, with authority to resume inductions requiring a Presidential request and Congressional approval.

Opposition to Repeal

The fact that these objectives are widely supported does not mean that draft repeal is a foregone conclusion. On the contrary, there are many political question marks. In the first place, although the President has repeatedly affirmed his commitment to ending the draft, he has not commented on the report of his Commission, nor has an Administration bill appeared (and probably will not at least until after the Senate hearings). Mr. Nixon is believed to be unhappy about the proposed requirement of Congressional action to re-activate the draft, a provision without which repeal forces believe the "end" of the draft would be an illusion. The Pentagon believes, or professes to, that the draft should be phased out, but that the Gates proposals are premature. Their argument is a back-handed acknowledgment of one of the principal points made by many draft opponents: that without the coercive power of the draft the government could not maintain the manpower required to fight the war in Vietnam.

If the Administration's position is uncertain, so on the other hand is that of many liberals and others who are wary of the all-volunteer army on one or more of several grounds: cost, the possible professionalization of the armed forces into a "military elite," the fear that a volunteer system would result in an even more disproportionate share of the burden and risk of military service being borne by the poor and by minorities than it is now. Several members of the Gates Commission itself originally shared these and other objections, but in the course of their work became unanimously convinced that they could not be sustained. Nevertheless there are important members of Congress, notably Senator Edward Kennedy, who remain unpersuaded.

Hearings Not Set

The chairmen of the Armed Services Committees of both Houses (Senator John Stennis and Congressman Mendel Rivers) are conspicuously cool to the whole prospect of repeal, and it is first of all through their committees that any draft legislation must be shepherded. At this writing, though both committees long ago promised hearings this spring, neither has yet announced dates, and it is safe to assume that they will downplay the whole matter as much as possible.

As additional legislation on draft reform and/or repeal is introduced, including a possible Administration bill, the opportunities for division among the anti-draft forces will increase. Some people, while favoring repeal, regard it as a relatively minor (and potentially deceptive) improvement in a military manpower system whose inefficiency, injustice and irresponsibility requires more drastic correction. Others, believing complete repeal unlikely or undesirable, wish to concentrate on reforms of the sort proposed three years ago by the Marshall Commission and others.

The debate on the draft touches many of the most sensitive issues of our day: the authority of government and the rights of individuals, the politics of our youth, the injustices suffered by racial minorities and their response to them, and, of course, Vietnam and our foreign and military policy generally. Moreover it touches them in a very personal context, involving at the very least major dislocations in the lives of thousands of our citizens and their families, and potentially — and for all too many actually — a claim on life itself. These circumstances make it likely that, whatever its outcome, the debate will be a hot and momentous one. Beyond that, many believe that repeal, an idea long talked about, is one whose time may finally have come. ■

—*Mr. Turnbull, who reports frequently on national affairs for TEMPO, is Associated Director of the National Council of Churches' Washington office.*

During Recent Anti-Draft Week, Protestors Dance around a Bonfire They Lit in Front of The Selective Service Headquarters in Washington, D.C.

An Interview with Edward A. Sovik, by Dorothy Rensenbrink

The Place Of Religious Architecture In Today's Environment

One of the prominent leaders of the 1970 annual National Conference on Religious Architecture (Arlington, Va. Apr. 19-22) will be Edward A. Sovik (F.A.I.A.), past president of the Guild for Religious Architecture, member of the National Council of Churches' Committee on Church and Culture, and board member of Interfaith Research on Religious Architecture. A practicing architect of international distinction, and a thoughtful layman of the American Lutheran Church, Dr. Sovik lives in Northfield, Minn. where he is a partner in the firm of Sovik, Mathre and Madson.

What follows is an interview with Dr. Sovik on the place of religious architecture today, by Dorothy Rensenbrink of TEMPO's staff.

As an architect, how do you see the current state of religious life?

It is characterized by several sets of polarities. One of these is the polarity between action and contemplation, between life in the world and the cultic experience. Another is the polarity between the limited parish and the boundaryless Christian community. A third is between ecumenical activity and denominationalism, a tension in which I see a great deal of hope. The interest in ecumenical visions is high, and even at the parish levels where people may know little about other religious bodies, there is a feeling of openness and concern.

All these issues have implications for architecture.

What do you think of current trends in religious life to downgrade interest in facilities in favor of prog ams of social action?

I think there is some real validity in the challenge these ideas present. The enormous social problems of America force us to examine more closely what the meaning of building actually is. But there are some curious myths represented in statements like "We have to concern ourselves with people, not buildings"; and in the extreme position that says we must not build at all, and in the proposals to make church buildings exhibitions of poverty.

What do you mean by "myths"?

Well, in the first place the implication that buildings don't have anything to do with people is sort of irrational. Also, the idea that we need buildings of certain quality to live in, work in and learn in, but that the activities of the church not only can, but ought to be carried on without buildings is curious, too. These flights from reason are what I think of as myth. Possibly the most devious one occurs when people of real financial capacity, living comfortably, with three cars and a swimming pool develop a conscience and decide that their church building is going to be the image of their self-sacrifice by being a minimum, "poverty" building.

Don't you think that parishes who cut their building programs increase their capacities for social action?

I've never seen any evidence, and some observers whom I respect have told me that they think the opposite is true. This gets back to the polarity I mentioned between life and cult. A building is a place for a celebration—it is itself a sort of celebration—a cultic event. And celebrations, those things which assert and nurture the common life of our communities are among the most humane and I think socially responsible things we can do. People need to be fed and healed, the barriers that divide people need to be demolished. All these goals of social action are critical. But so are those events and physical things which build the common life. Did you ever reflect that among the poorest of societies the cultic events are most treasured, and ceremonials—the things that establish the common life—are often very elaborate?

Are there ways in which architecture itself can reflect social concern?

I think so. One way a building can be an image of social concern is by serving people well. And I think it should have integrity; it should be a real thing on a real earth, not a sort of exotic vision of heaven or a sort of fairyland. A building which serves men honors them; a church building which is real and earthy implies that the world is not a lost kingdom but an acceptable and potentially holy place—which is what the incarnation teaches.

Where does that leave the mystical element of Christianity?

I think we have understood the Christian mystery in a non-Christian way. We think — or have thought—of the transcendent as remote, exotic, other-worldly, out of reach. And much of church architecture, especially the medieval, reflects that view. But the incarnation teaches that the transcendent is among us, close to us, immanent. The mystery of the heart beat is no less awesome than that of the tornado. Jesus chose as the carriers of the sacramental mysteries the most everyday and common things—water, bread and wine.

Good Shepherd United Methodist Church, Park Ridge, Ill. — A Prize-Winning Design by Stade, Dolan and Anderson, Park Ridge.

How can this mystical quality be expressed in a building which is real and unexotic?

I think that the evidence of history—the continuous association of the beautiful with the religious—suggests that the strange mystery which exists in works of art is the best human expression of the awesome mystery surrounding the divine—human relationship. In other words a building needs to be beautiful if it is to be a good Christian symbol.

What do you mean by beauty in architecture?

It's a good deal easier, maybe even possible to say what I don't think it means. Beauty doesn't imply the strange, the opulent, the arty. It doesn't mean the overwhelming, monumental, impressive or gorgeous. It surely has a great deal to do with order, coherence and integrity. A beautiful building ought to appear to be what it is. But it's impossible to provide any sort of recipe. The varieties of beauty in nature are infinite and because our technologies have become so varied and complex, the varieties of beauty in architecture are also almost infinite.

Does the spirit of Protestantism call for a different sort of building from that of Catholicism or Judaism?

The differences, particularly among the Christian groups, are superficial. The currents of ecumenism are running strong. Some of the most fruitful things written in terms of their value to Protestant builders now come from Catholics — for instance the writings of DeBuyst — and vice versa. It seems to me to be an obligation of church builders nowadays, that they leave behind the patterns and habits of denominationalism, which are almost all accidents of history. If they do, our buildings will not enshrine and renew our differences but help to prepare the way for common understanding.

Would you comment on the role of denominational architecture departments?

With some exceptions I suppose, the people who administer these departments are open-minded, sophisticated men who do a great deal to give vision and foresight to the building committees in the parishes. They perform a good service in helping them avoid simple mistakes, too. But their most valuable service is their capacity to encourage new and serious thought, and their concern for good rather than cheap architectural service. They know that you don't get good architecture unless you have a good architect. Some building committees don't.

How will multipurpose use affect a building's architecture?

Aside from the economic virtues that come from more intensive use, there is I think, one advantage and one loss. The advantage is that the intent of multipurpose use will keep churches from hanging on to irrelevant ecclesiastical formalities. Massive stone altars, for instance, are likely to be replaced by movable ones. And in other ways, too, the building is less likely to impose itself on and limit the changes that are taking place in liturgical life. The building must be more recessive in character, and the people and their activity relatively important. The disadvantage of multipurpose spaces is that although they allow many activities, they fail to give the best architectural support to any of them. That's why we don't live in studio apartments if we can afford homes with many specialized rooms.

I'm going back to your answer to my first question. You spoke of three polarities and we have touched on two of them. What did you refer to when you named the polarity between "the limited parish and the boundaryless Christian community"?

I was talking about the tension between seeing our Christian life as attached to the institutional church, and seeing its implications everywhere else. Not very lucidly stated, I guess. For one who is concerned about the relation of Christianity and architecture the question is not limited to how we might build better churches. The bigger problem, and much more subtle one, is that of how the Christian's vision can find expression in the architecture of schools, factories, shops and cities. If we are to be instrumental in God's work in the world these are problems that have to engage us passionately.

This could probably get us into a long discussion, but would you give us at least a glimpse of an example of the problem?

Well, here is an example that falls into the category of policy, or something like that, since the issue isn't technical or esthetic. A few weeks ago a bunch of architectural students picketed the offices of an architectural firm which is at work on a big project in South Africa. They didn't think the firm should have accepted the commission because the architects in accepting the commission committed themselves to designing—in all the accountrements of *apartheid*, elevators and washrooms segregated by color, and so on. I think the students were right; there is a moral responsibility which one can see or be blind to.

The issue is not only a matter of policy. It does involve the character of architecture also. A building can be humane or dehumanizing; it can surround people with illusion, artificiality, deceit and pomposity, or it can support the opposite values. The Kingdom of God will come architecturally when our environment is entirely humane, noble, real and so beautiful that we can't escape the awareness of the ineffable and magnificent mystery in which we ultimately live. ■

Will There Really Be A "Church Of Christ Uniting"?

by H. Elliott Wright

via Religious News Service

IMPLEMENTATION of a union plan aimed at merging nine U.S. Protestant denominations would have far-reaching implications for the broader movement — from the parish to the national level.

After eight years of overall planning and two years of special committee work, a draft plan of union was endorsed in mid-March by the 90 delegates to the Consultation on Church Union (COCU). The document was sent to the member churches for study, in official and community settings, and for response by 1972.

Changes most likely will be made in the scheme before and if the "Church of Christ Uniting" is realized. On the basis of the plan as it stands, impact of a COCU church on Protestant-Roman Catholic-Orthodox relations can be discussed.

Success for the consultation would, of course, represent the greatest victory to date for that part of Protestantism advocating denominational phaseout in favor of union. If all nine members agreed, a church of 25 million would result. It would be the largest single Protestant grouping in the world. For the first time, U.S. Protestantism would have a cohesively organic voice of major proportions, though flexibility of belief and practice would be maintained.

The new church would not be as large as American Catholicism, actually about half the size. It would, however, combine those Protestant traditions — except Lutheran and Baptist—considered "mainline" and would provide the possibility for more concentrated Protestant-Catholic interaction. COCU hopes denominations not participating will look favorably on joining the "Church of Christ Uniting."

The nine COCU Churches are: African Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal Zion, Christian Methodist Episcopal, Christian (Disciples of Christ), Episcopal, Presbyterian, U.S. (Southern), United Methodist, United Presbyterian and United Church of Christ.

According to Dr. W. B. Blakemore, a Disciples of Christ leader at the University of Chicago, a significant aspect of COCU for Protestant-Catholic cooperation is the very fact that a concerted plan of union has been produced. He said the plan is a sign to Catholic and Protestant that "through the consultation the ecumenical spirit is maintaining its transcendence over all temptations to drop back into sectarianism."

Three Catholic observers were present at the St. Louis meeting where COCU endorsed and forwarded the plan. Two observers, Father George H. Tavard and Father John F. Hotchkin, made public statements. They agreed that the proposed united church would be an asset to the eventual reunion of all Christian churches.

Father Tavard, visiting professor at Princeton (N.J.) Theological Seminary, noted that the COCU document did not deal sufficiently with the "real presence" of Christ in Holy Communion to be acceptable to Catholics. Father Hotchkin, associate director of the Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs of the U.S. Catholic hierarchy, was concerned over what might be over-structure in parish, district, regional and national units of the COCU plan.

Clergymen from Nine Protestant Denominations Participating in Consultation on Church Union (COCU) Hold a Communion Service at Christ Church Episcopal Cathedral, St. Louis, during Annual COCU Meeting.

Both priests were pleased with the inclusion of bishops, and Father Tavard's concern that the episcopacy be more than administrative was shared by many COCU delegates. The role of bishop as pastor was emphasized in the consultation deliberations.

Doctrinal Differences

With the changes in structures put forth by COCU and with the strong spirit of collegiality in Catholicism, Protestant-Catholic differences are likely to occur more over doctrine than organization. As far as COCU is concerned, the backgrounds of the nine participants are important in the future of the ecumenical movement. Five COCU Churches — Episcopal and the four Methodist — have a theological heritage going back to the Church of England. John Wesley, Methodism's founder, was an Anglican all his life. This is not to say these Churches are strikingly alike today. Differences exist. Three of the Methodist groups are black, meaning that social and cultural factors cannot be glossed over. Still, similarities in form and concepts are detectable.

Three consultation members spring essentially from the Reformed theology of Geneva, the Netherlands, Scotland and England —all linked to the thought of John Calvin in some degree. These are the two Presbyterian denominations and the United Church of Christ. The ninth Church, the Disciples of Christ, is an indigenous American expression begun with an ecumenical thrust.

In terms of primary traditions, COCU is seeking to bring together Anglican-Wesleyan and Reformed backgrounds. This would be no small accomplishment. Yet the COCU Churches, with the exception of an element in the Episcopal Church, are all decidedly "Protestant" when it comes to such matters as the papacy, the Virgin Mary and other ecclesiastical-theological topics of importance to Catholics. Whether COCU and the Catholic Church could ever reach agreement on authority is debatable.

The local community is the sphere where the "Church of Christ Uniting" and Catholicism might establish the greatest degree of actual inter-participation. The consultation's plan of union calls for an entirely new parish structure which would be more inclusive than a single congregation. A COCU parish might have more than one place of Sunday worship, several special task forces and centralized education. It would not necessarily be defined geographically. Catholic parishes are set up on a geographic basis.

Local Action

COCU's proposal anticipates a variety of Christian activities and programs in an ecumenical context. Some observe that many local communities are already functioning ecumenically. There has not, however, before been a Protestant denomination which characterized local church work with quite the ecumenical flexibility of COCU.

Dr. Blakemore has noted that the COCU plan needs "widespread neighborhood dialogue," including Catholic. Should such dialogues develop and subsequently influence the denominational responses to the union plan, a vast step in ecumenism would be taken: Catholic Christians would be helping Protestant Christians shape a new church in which the Catholics, in turn, could be asked to take part in some way. Protestants outside of COCU and Orthodox would presumably be welcome in neighborhood dialogues.

On top national levels, the prospect of the COCU church raises questions about the nature and functions of the National Council of Churches, now made up of Protestant and Orthodox Churches. All COCU members are in the NCC. The possibility of Catholic affiliation with the Council has been under consideration for several months.

The National Council, as currently structured, has delegated General Assembly and a General Board as its major policy making units. No one member Church presently has voting control. The fulfillment of the COCU plan, in some evaluations, could make the NCC a virtual adjunct of the united denomination, thereby diminishing the Council's role in ecumenism and cooperative Christian witness.

Especially with Orthodox Churches critically studying their future place in the NCC, the prospect of a single denomination comprising over half the Council constituency presents problems. Also, the COCU members are the major financial backers of the Council's general work and its program divisions.

COCU's meaning for the National Council was discussed by Dr. David M. Stowe, an NCC official, in a February issue of the *Christian Century* magazine.

Dr. Stowe said COCU as a "perfect giant of a denomination" would put the other NCC Churches "quite in the shade. . . . The sheer imbalance would make the Council grotesque. . . ."

Revamping the NCC

As he noted, the entire scene could be changed by accepting revamps now before the NCC. One proposal—put forth by NCC general secretary Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, calls for a "general ecumenical Council" which would encompass Catholic, Southern Baptist, Pentecostal and other churches not part of the Council. In the loose umbrella structure of the Espy plan, COCU would not be so prevailing.

Ecumenism, of course, is not dependent on any existing or proposed organizations. Dr. Paul Lehmann of Union (N.Y.) Theological Seminary, among others, has insisted that COCU started on the wrong end and, therefore, lacks the grass-roots support which would be vital for success. Dr. Lehmann objects to making "church union a major criterion of ecumenical success."

Some observers say there is already more community ecumenism that COCU founders could have projected in the early 1960s. These voices wonder why Christian cooperation, and eventual organization links, cannot grow from the ground up rather than be suggested from the top.

According to COCU officials, the final realization of church union is going to depend on the grass-roots. At least an ardent attempt is planned to hear from local communities.

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, now executive head of the World Council of Churches, proposed COCU in 1960. Commenting on the importance of the first draft of the plan of union he said a key question is: "Does the plan provide for the next steps in Christian unity?"

The document as released probably deserves a "yes" answer to that question. Deciding how and when that step will be taken will come sometime after the grass-roots respond. ■

—Mr. Wright, a staff writer with Religious News Service, recently co-edited "Black Manifesto" (Sheed & Ward, 182 pp., $2.45).

IT SAYS HERE

OHIO COUNCIL JOINS OTHER GROUPS FOR CLEANER AIR

COLUMBUS, OHIO — The Breather's Lobby has won its first victory by out-bombarding Ohio's Air Pollution Control Board in a month of battles. Citizens comprised of churchmen, union members, conservationists, housewives, students, civic leaders, teachers and others have proved that the voice of the man in the street can be powerful, if loud enough, even with the odds seemingly against him.

So reports the Ohio Council of Churches which recently joined in organizing the Breather's Lobby with the Ohio AFL-CIO and the Ohio Tuberculosis and Health Association to generate citizen action for cleaner air.

As a result of their testimony at public hearings in Cincinnati and Cleveland, the Pollution Control Board was forced to set tighter air quality standards. By a vote of 4 to 1, the Board upgraded the standards for particulates and sulfur dioxide in parts of the state. The Breather's Lobby is now working to expand the controlled areas and to include rural groups "who seem naive about the dangers of air pollution to their crops."

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NCC AIDE SAYS CHURCHES MUST HALT RUIN OF "GOD'S EARTH"

PORTLAND, ORE. — Ravishing the world through pollution is not only stupid, it is blasphemous, Dr. Richard A. Baer Jr., told churchmen here. A leading conservationist, he is associate professor of religion at Earlham College in Richmond, Ind., and a member of the ecological team recently organized by the National Council of Churches.

"The Bible tells us that 'The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof,' and we have no right to mess it up as we have done."

Calling on the churches to begin by offsetting the political power of the highway lobby, the automobile lobby and the oil companies, Dr. Baer said that American churches should call for a moratorium on freeway building. In addition, he predicted that a steam engine would cause less than four per cent of the pollution caused by the internal combustion engine, adding that some scientists think a crash program could get steam or electric cars on the roads in four to six years.

"God has made men stewards," said Dr. Baer, explaining that a newer word is "trustees." "Both Christians and Jews believe that life in this world is important, that we are not here only to get ready for the life to come."

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MAJOR RELIGIOUS BODIES CALL FOR WELFARE REFORM

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The executive heads of three major Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish bodies in the nation joined on April 5 in a statement commending the welfare reform bill before Congress and urged both houses to pass it.

The proposed bill will set national eligibility standards, keep families receiving aid together, and provide assistance for the working poor.

While citing several "shortcomings" in the proposed measure — continued exclusion of single people and childless couples, and the inadequacy of a floor of only $1,600 a year, proposed by the President — the statement commended these first steps in welfare reform.

Signers of the statement were: Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy for the National Council of Churches; Rabbi Henry Siegman of the Synagogue Council of America; and Most Rev. Joseph Bernadin for the U.S. Catholic Conference.

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CALIFORNIA LEGAL GROUP SUES TO GET RIGHTS FOR FARM WORKERS

SAN FRANCISCO — A class action seeking to close all of California's Farm Labor Offices by July 1 unless they operate under a fair employment plan has been filed in Federal District Court here. Defendants in the suit, filed by California Legal Assistance on behalf of the state's 260,000 farm workers, are U.S. Secretary of Labor George Shultz and the California Farm Labor Office.

The suit charges that the labor office is grower-controlled, grower-dominated, grower-staffed and anti-farm worker; that disregard of the labor office's own rules and regulations has cost the workers over $62 million a year and California taxpayers $25 million in unnecessary welfare costs.

The suit also calls for various training programs for minority groups; would prohibit the referral of workers to growers who refuse to provide toilets and drinking water; and would guarantee 40 hours of work "at the highest prevailing wages."

Meanwhile, through the efforts of a Roman Catholic Bishops' Committee headed by Archbishop Timothy Manning of Los Angeles, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has signed contracts with three wine grape growers in the Coachella Valley.

Cesar Chavez, leader of the UFWO, announced they are the David Freedman Co., the Wonder Palms Ranch, partly owned by the Freedman Co., and the Travertine Ranch, owned by Charles Freedman.

CITIZENS' GROUP TAKES ON STEEL COMPANY IN APPALACHIA

HELLIER, KY. — The efforts of the Pike County Citizens' Association (PCCA) to improve living conditions and the environment in one of the poorest mining areas in Kentucky are now being directed against the Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

Having successfully obtained a school lunch program for the county schools "like they were supposed to get," getting the county to remove the junk cars from Marrowbone Creek, and initiating several projects through its Economic Development Committee, the PCCA has taken on Bethlehem Steel.

"The problem is the announced plan to begin surface mining here in the Flatwoods. We asked them to fix up the old abandoned Allegheny mine, a real eyesore here and make it into a park or playground. We wrote the president of Bethlehem Steel asking him to meet with us but, so far, he has refused."

Bethlehem promised the people several years ago that they would not do any surface mining in the area, said the PCCA. "Now, because of their greed, they are breaking their word. They must be stopped and accept responsibility for the terrible damage they have caused."

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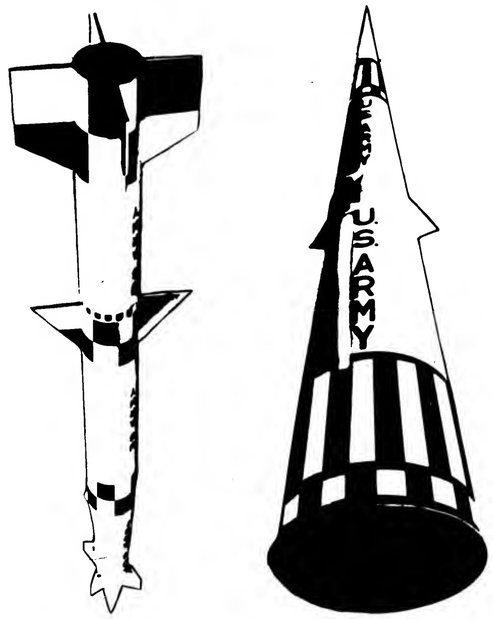
CHURCHES URGED TO STEP UP OPPOSITION TO ABM

BOSTON — Church spokesmen, both clergy and laymen, were in the forefront of last year's grass roots fight against placing an anti-ballistic-missile site in a residential area north of Boston. The conflict drew national attention to Administration plans for ABM deployment.

The Massachusetts Council of Churches notes that one action taken was the "moratorium" on research which took place last spring at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, as questions of national priorities were hotly debated. Deployment plans for the ABM System, somewhat modified, were finally passed by one vote in the U.S. Senate.

"Now, as the Administration reveals plans to build ABM sites above the number approved last year," says the Council, "opponents are counting votes again."

With a sense of urgency, spokesmen for the Council are calling on churchmen to inform their members of the danger of accelerating the arms race while risking possible fruitful developments coming out of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) with the USSR. They are also calling on the churches to express their concern to those Congressmen and Senators whose views are reportedly undecided on the ABM issue.



ENVIRONMENT REFERENCE LIST

FOR MORE INFORMATION: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

To list more than a selected sampling of the host of excellent books now available on ecology, environment, conservation and population would be impossible in TEMPO's limited space. For more comprehensive bibliographies, the reader might send for the following: **A Selected Bibliography on Family Planning, Population and Related Subjects.** Planned Parenthood-World Population, 816 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022. 25¢. **And, Conservation Education: A Selected Bibliography.** Interstate Publishers, Inc. 1968. $2.50.

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WHERE TO GET FILMS

Among the literally thousands of films available on environment-related subjects, a listing of many of the best may be obtained from the following film distributors:

Most of these films are distributed by the Extension Media Center, the Audio-Visual Center (see below), and others in addition to the listed distributors. The list which follows is far from exhaustive.

Audio-Visual Center
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

British Broadcasting Corp.
Films available in U.S. From:
Peter M. Robeck & Co.
230 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corp.
They have 12 district offices serving different regions of the U.S. The home office is:
425 N. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Ill. 60611
(312) 321-6800

Extension Media Center
University of California
Berkeley, California 94720
(415) 642-0460

McGraw-Hill Films/Contemporary Films
East:
Princeton Road
Hightstown, N.J. 08520
Midwest:
828 Custer Avenue
Evanston, Ill. 60202
West:
1714 Stockton St.
San Francisco, Calif. 94133

National Audubon Society
Film Department
1130 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10028

National Film Board of Canada
Suite 819
680 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10019

Sierra Club Films
Available from:
Association Films
25855 Cypress Avenue
Hayward, Calif. 94544

Stuart Finley, Inc.
(Films on Water Pollution)
3428 Mansfield Road
Falls Church, Va. 22041

Citizenship-Legislative Department
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union
1126 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

American Documentary Films
East:
336 W. 84th Street
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379 Bay Street
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HOW TO LEND A HAND—ORGANIZATIONS

The mushrooming of environment conservation ecological organizations in the past year and less leaves the concerned citizen bewildered about which to approach. **The Environmental Handbook,** listed above under "Anthologies," contains excellent suggestions and guides. In listing the following national groups, many of which have local or regional chapters, TEMPO draws in part from the Handbook list:

Scientists' Institute for Public Information
20 E. 68th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021

The Nature Conservancy
1522 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

The National Wildlife Federation
1412 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

National Audubon Society
1130 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10028

The Sierra Club
1050 Mills Tower
San Francisco, Calif. 94104

The Conservation Foundation
1250 Connecticut Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

The Wilderness Society
729 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

National Parks Association
1701 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
2000 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

The Izaak Walton League of America
1326 Waukegan Road
Glenview, Ill. 60025

John Muir Institute for Environmental Studies
451 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco, Calif. 94133
or, P.O. Box 11
Cedar Crest, New Mexico 87008

Citizens League Against the Sonic Boom
19 Appleton Street
Cowbridge, Mass. 02138

Planned Parenthood/World Population
515 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Friends of the Earth
30 East 42nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10017

Zero Population Growth
367 State Street
Los Altos, California 94022

American Conservation Association, Inc.
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10020

Citizens Committee on Natural Resources
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Ecological Society of America
Rexford Daubenmire, President
Department of Botany
Washington State University
Pullman, Wash. 99163

Environmental Research Institute
Box 156
Moose, Wyo. 83012

National Council of Churches
Department of Stewardship
475 Riverside Drive — Rm. 576
New York, N.Y. 10027

GOD, MAN, AND NATURE

(Continued from page 2)

a farmer who owns one good field, mankind has just so much environment and no more. There's no other, so we must gently, wisely, and carefully cultivate this one because it's the only one we have. We've been given this environment. It has boundaries and limits. Surely it will sustain more of our fellow human kind than are now living on the earth, but we need to think ahead to that day when a kind of vital balance will be found where man and the whole natural world can live together in a fruitful and mutually beneficial harmony. The age of environmental cultivation must be grasped by all segments of our society. Business, technology, government, and consumers all must see it and feel it so that we and our children can survive.

Reverence for Life

The Christian Church would do well to promote and practice the great Albert Schweitzer's "reverence for life." His basic values could go a long way toward helping us develop a different set of attitudes.

Most helpful of all would be the adoption of St. Francis of Assisi as the patron saint of the environment. Most clearly of all famous Christians, he had a sense of man's interrelation with the natural order. His lyric love affair with the sun and the birds is no longer a deviation for the hard realities of human existence; rather it is a celebration of the necessities for survival.

"We bless Thee (O Lord) for our Brother Sun,
Who blazes glad his course to run,
For Sister Moon and every star,
Who choice and chaste and lovely are,
For air and cloud and gentle rain
By which Thou dost the earth sustain,
For Sister Water's gracious flow,
Useful, precious, chaste and low,
For Brother Fire who shines by night
In roaring joy and leaping light,
For Mother Earth and flowers and fruit,
For tree and shrub and herb and root. . . ." ■

—Dr. Nutting is Minister of Mission, Vermont Conference, United Church of Christ.

LOVE, WILL, AND THE DAEMONIC IN MAN

(Continued from page 16)

not." About the development of contraceptives, Dr. May cites the curious situation of the more birth control, the more illegitimate pregnancies, and sounds this caveat: "May not the real issue be not on the level of conscious, rational intentions at all? May it not be in a deeper realm of . . . 'intentionality'?" The struggle to prove one's identity and personal worth may be an unrecognized factor here which will not yield to a change in the barbaric abortion laws or sex education. With contraceptives sex loses some of its age-old meaning, and becomes purely personal. The challenge is to find the new meaning in the purely personal expression of love. The psychiatrist more and more hears the cry: "We did it, and I didn't *feel* anything." As the cult of technique undermines feeling and passion, the lover loses the power to be carried away. The razor edge balance of anxiety and joy is lost and with it the exciting quality of love.

Playboy Magazine: Here is an expression of a new "puritanism" in American society, which gets its dynamic from a repressed anxiety in American men which underlies a fear of involvement. Non-involvement (like playing it cool) is personified in the real model for the Playboy. Readership of the magazine drops off significantly after the age of thirty, when men cannnot escape dealing with real women. What Hugh Hefner offers in the Playboy cult is an illusion of potency without putting it to the test. He himself rarely emerges from his North Chicago headquarters. The former Sunday School teacher, son of devout Methodists, lives surrounded by bunnies, drinking non-alcoholic beverages. He is onto a good thing, purveying to American males an image of themselves as young sophisticates and suave bachelors who, like the TV demi-god smoker of Silva Thins, regards the pretty girl as a personal accessory.

The Man And The Book

Dr. May's qualifications for writing on the malaise and dehumanization of our age include years of psychiatric practice and early psychoanalytic study under Alfred Adler in Vienna. He earned a Ph.D in clinical psychology at Columbia. Earlier on he studied at Union Theological Seminary in New York where, as with many present day students, his purpose was "to ask questions, ultimate questions about human beings — not to be a preacher." (He did, however, serve briefly in a parish in Montclair, N.J.). A three-year struggle with death and life in a tuberculosis sanitarium in Saranac, N.Y. may have added depth to his reflections.

His two earlier books, "The Meaning of Anxiety" and "Man's Search for Himself", excellent as they are, have been surpassed by "Love and Will" which has been emerging slowly but steadily until it has now been widely hailed as one of the most important works of 1969. For a whole class of readers—psychologists, clergymen, teachers, writers, editors and laymen who care about understanding and reshaping the world and the worlds of troubled individuals—Rollo May's *Love and Will* may be the most important book on the decade. ■

—Miss MacNeill, whose short fiction has appeared in many magazines in the English-speaking world, has long been an interested and serious student of psychology and the human condition.

BOOKS

LOVE, WILL, AND THE DAEMONIC IN MAN

by Jean MacNeill

IN this schizoid world of escalating hang-ups, individuals look to the analyst for the answers, or, if not the answers, at least for help in day-to-day dealing with life's predicaments. In the Neil Simon play "Last of the Red Hot Lovers", enlivening Broadway since the New Year, a line of dialogue sums up a common situation. Uttered by a lady fresh from the analyst's couch, the line gets the audience's laughter in instant recognition of her desperation. She says, "When we both think I'm ready, I'm going to get into my car and drive off the Verrazano Bridge."

Psychoanalysis may relax her tensions and suggest some techniques for dealing with hang-ups, but it cannot supply a new set of values, or give more than a clue to the great secrets of life. Psychotherapy may anaesthetize the acute pain of alienation and solitariness and repressed anxiety. It cannot provide the basic ingredient to make a whole personality, capable of life and love and the enjoyment of both.

Dr. Rollo May, in his latest book, *Love and Will*, offers new hope to mankind, in this age when techno-scientific mythology has led us into a hideous morass of identity problems, apathy and violence. For many years a practicing psychotherapist, Dr. May has concerned himself with ideas of existential psychology, dealing with here-and-now problems rather than early toilet training, fear of death rather than birth and early childhood trauma, the identity crisis rather than the libido.

Early chapters of the book state a case for the world of demons, and assess the daimonic side of man, for if we exorcize our demons, we also exorcize our angels. We must come to terms with the daimonic he says, for here indeed is the very salt of life. Perhaps it is only by grappling with the daimonic side of one's nature that the individual may fight back to life.

Artists, he believes, have been in the vanguard in dealing with the daimonic. Those masters who have done this in their art tend to mean most to us today: Hieronymus Bosch, Mathias Grünewald, Paul Klee, Cezanne and Picasso all have contributed to the modern language of myth and symbol. Though Dr. May has admitted to a certain heresy in his avowed belief in demons, he does not mind the company on the fringe where dwell neurotics, artists and religious nuts. He is judged by some critics to be following in the footsteps of his old teacher and friend, Paul Tillich. In Tillich's "Courage to Be", some suggestion of a new life style was formulated, which would embody meaning, awareness and the enlargement of consciousness. Dr. May carries on toward a formulation of truths for men to live by.

Intentionality

Paul Tillich spoke of concern—ultimate concern. Dr. May speaks of love and will and care, and a concept which he calls "intentionality", which is at the heart of consciousness and gives meaning to experience. Chapter 10 in the book is basic, and must be read carefully to understand the ontological background of "intentionality", the theme which runs through the book "like an obligato."

Not to be identified with "intentions", "intentionality" is the dimension which underlies them. It is man's capacity to have intentions. "Intentionality" is put forward as the key to wish and will. Not a new concept, "intentionality" was introduced into Western thought by Arabic philosophers in mediaeval times and was a central concept in the Middle Ages. Aristotle spoke of the "intention of the soul", Cicero of the soul as "the tension of the body".

In the artist as well as in the neurotic one can discern the life of the unconscious, the absurdities of life and of illness, which emerge eventually into general existence and society. The artist can give meaning to his conflicts through his creativity, while the neurotic feels the same conflicts of nihilism and alienation, but cannot give them meaningful expression. Anxiety is the first ingedient of potentiality, but severe anxiety, including frustration without creative means of expression, renders the individual impotent. His "intentionality" is destroyed. Dr. May points the way to mould the tensions of the soul and "intentionality" into the patterns of psychotherapy.

Three Phenomena

Comments on the phenomena of our times are insightful and lucid. For example . . .

Television: "In the alienated state of mass communication, the average citizen knows dozens of TV personalities who come smiling into his living room of an evening—but he himself is never known. In this state of alienation and anonymity, painful for anyone to bear, the average person may very well have fantasies which hover on the edge of real pathology. The mood of the anonymous person is: If I cannot affect or touch anybody, I can at least shock you into some feeling. . . . I shall force you to see me and know also that I am here. Many a child has forced the group to take cognizance of him by destructive behavior." To be actively hated is almost as good as to be actively liked, and the opposite of love is not hate. It is apathy. Yet apathy, as every New York subway rider knows, is a means of protection from overstimulation. It is not surprising, however, that love and will are suppressed into the background and become impossible of expression. It is not surprising when apathy takes over, as evidenced when hundreds of people witness a crime in which "they do not wish to become involved", as in the Kew Gardens murder in 1964.

Paradoxes of Sex and Love: "The new emphasis on technique in sex and lovemaking backfires. There is an inverse relationship between the number of how-to-do-it books rolling off the presses in a society, and the amount of sexual passion or even pleasure experienced in the persons involved. . . . Couples place great emphasis on bookkeeping and timetables in their love making. If they fall behind schedule, they become anxious, and feel impelled to go to bed whether they want to or

(Continued on page 15)

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TEMPOSITIONS

In A World That Is Too Much With Us

KEEPING THE FAITH

by J. Edward Carothers

IN our time the vision of God that once motivated the Church's mission into the world has perished, mainly because the world was discovered to be just outside our own doors. Suddenly the world is all around us, driving in upon us with its relentless demands. In the United States the Christian people who had once kept alive their vision of God by a commitment to convert the Africans and Chinese have abruptly discovered that their security and welfare is being nurtured by systems that inflict cruelty upon millions of their brothers and sisters whom they have never seen.

We shrink from the possibility that our vision of God will come alive only when we tackle the job of converting the cruelty systems, but that's the way it will have to be. There can be no real vision of God without a commitment to the reduction of inflicted cruelty. But the vision of God becomes clear when we tackle the issues and know as well as we know our own names that we can have only fractional success in anything we try to do.

This means that the congregational experience simply has to be the kind that celebrates the fractional achievement, and by so doing rekindles faith and hope in the human enterprise in spite of failure, collapse of plans, breakdown of communications and the pain of being mistaken, misunderstood and sometimes downright wrong-headed. Until Christians can handle their lives with faith in the ultimate outcomes of their efforts to convert cruelty into love and justice, they will not come into their inheritance of a vision of God.

The conditions for profound religious experience do not remain the same throughout the generations. There was a time when the revival meeting tent and the sawdust trail, along with hellfire and brimstone sermons, met the needs of thousands. The shifting social context has been accompanied by changes in our styles of congregational experience. All the churches (and the synagogues, too) are trying to find the key that will unlock the energies of millions who are now so "uptight" emotionally that they can hardly move into any kind of religious experiences.

Feelings of Guilt

Our basic religious problem is the sense of guilt pervading our culture. It is the guilty feeling that those of us who have it so good are somehow riding on the backs of the poor—or at the very least we are not doing what needs to be done to get them out of poverty. We manifest our sense of guilt in our loss of faith that our social systems can be trusted to do what they are supposed to do.

If the conditions for a refreshment of our vision of God require us to enter into the social engagements intended to convert cruelty systems, we need convincing proof that our efforts can produce more than fractional results—or that fractional results are in fact real achievements of a kind.

For example, there is the case of Helen, a woman of real compassion. Through the years she had led in the efforts of her congregation to do kindly things. Now she was discouraged because she had come to see that no amount of kindly actions would really make the differences that needed to be made in the world. Without knowing it, she had come to the conclusion that cruelty in our culture is inflicted by systems, and the only way you can deal with and convert a cruelty system is to develop a counter-system of some kind.

Her problem was how to connect her life to some kind of counter-system. In an issue of her church publication she discovered that her national mission board was giving mission money to the National Welfare Rights Organization. The NWRO in her city had recently been in the news, and the reports had tended to make the NWRO seem quite radical.

In spite of this she decided to investigate. She talked to some women on welfare who had joined the NWRO, and what she learned she could hardly believe. These women told her of their treatment at the hands of the police, welfare officers and retail stores. She was told of illegal actions, indecent pressures and brutal language. Helen decided to take up the cause of welfare rights for mothers. She knew that patching up the welfare system was not enough, but by now she could see that even fractional achievements would lead to the necessary next steps.

Her sense of movement began to return; her vision of God was refreshed. The congregational experience took on new vitality as she moved from one person to another with her refreshed sense of serving God. She had found new religious experience as a result of accepting fractional results that could serve God's power to multiply.

Social Engagement

This illustration could be reinforced by a great number of others. But the point is that the way to a vision of God in our time is through social engagement with the cruelty systems, with the knowledge in advance that our efforts will probably produce fractional results that will, if they are worthy, be multiplied. We do not have to do everything ourselves. There are other people. And there is God, whose world includes the social systems that mankind uses to do all the business of man. It is our task to do what we can do —no more and no less. When we get this into our heads and hearts, we can tackle the impossible tasks, knowing that whether we win notable victories or not, we are in the right line of action.

A problem is that we have a hard time if we try to live alone in our faith. The experiences that lead us to a refreshed vision of God need the reinforcement that can come only out of sharing experiences of a similar nature that others have had. Each of us is finally an individual whose life depends upon a community—a congregational experience. ■

Adapted from a chapter in Dr. Carothers' new book, THE CHURCHES AND CRUELTY SYSTEMS. *(Friendship Press, New York City). Dr. Carothers is associate general secretary of the United Methodist Board of Missions, administratively responsible for its National Division.*

Some months ago, when the City of Denver was building a new center to house the Denver Museum of Art, a wall was erected separating construction workers and the visiting public. Soon the wall became covered with paintings and sketches done by anonymous local amateurs. The one on the cover of this issue was among many expressing feelings about our times.

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell

ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler

PROMOTION: David Poindexter

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fister, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allan M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull

Subscription Correspondence: TEMPO, P.O. Box 81, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010

Editorial Correspondence: Dept. of Information, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027

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The Debt We Owe to The Martyr of Flossenburg

DIETRICH BONHOEFFER: 25 YEARS AFTER

by H. Elliott Wright (via Religious News Service)

THE name Dietrich Bonhoeffer, as one writer put it, has an "almost unchallenged prestige among younger Catholics and Protestants." Older churchmen are numbered among his disciples and admirers. Those who disagree with the ideas found in his writings rarely brush him off lightly.

It was not unexpected, therefore, that in early April the Christian world turned its memory to that day 25 years ago when Pastor Bonhoeffer was executed at the Nazi concentration camp at Flossenburg, northern Bavaria.

Is it only because he was martyred as a freedom fighter against Hitler that his influence is so widespread? Perhaps for some, but that factor alone would not explain or sustain an interest making his reputation equal to that of any 20th Century theologian.

The Lutheran clergyman, who lived 39 years and died April 9, 1945, wrote relatively little. Much of what remains is incomplete. In many respects, he was conservative. Most of his writings are thoroughly Christ-centered and in the heritage of Martin Luther and Karl Barth.

Yet Bonhoeffer is linked to practically every significant theological development of the last decade —such things as secular theology, "death of God," hope and social action—and often is quoted on more than one side of an issue.

Courage to Try Again

Bonhoeffer strikes a responsive chord partly because of a characteristic summed up by Dr. Eberhard Bethge, a friend and biographer. Dr. Bethge says Bonhoeffer gives people "a kind of courage to try anew when present structures are breaking down." He lived in a volatile, unsettled time. He met issues not with automatic answers but with courage, creating an appealing model for post-mid-century Christians faced with changing structures and searching faith.

The course of his life is intriguing. It is drama which may soon find its way to the motion picture screen. Dr. Ted Gill of Detroit has written a screenplay due to be released in printed form by Macmillan this year. The Bonhoeffer epic caught the eye of the late Mary Bosanquet, noted British author and journalist. Mrs. Bosanquet's compelling account of "The Life and Death of Dietrich Bonhoeffer" (Harper & Row) appeared last year.

The definitive biography is by Dr. Bethge and will be available in English from Harper & Row in late May. The Bethge work weaves the life and theology into an epic story which begins in Breslau in 1906.

One of several children, Bonhoeffer was the son of a psychiatrist who accepted a post at the University of Berlin in 1912. The family was respected, prosperous and altogether unlikely as the source of a revolutionary. The young Bonhoeffer studied in German universities and came to New York Union Theological Seminary in 1930 for a year of post-doctoral work.

Hitler and Nazism were on the rise. The German churches had not fully realized the enormity of the threat facing them. Bonhoeffer was in London pastoring a German congregation in the early 1930s. His English contacts, especially with Anglican Bishop G.K.A. Bell of Chichester, were to prove invaluable in later work to help German refugees.

Bonhoeffer became involved in the German Confessing Church which, to varying degrees at different times, opposed Hitler but was more opposed to the "Reich Church" which increasingly fell under the domination of the state. In 1935, he agreed to head a new Confessing seminary. He was a stern director who also knew how to enjoy life.

Weary of the on-going political and ecclesiastical upheaval, he came to the U.S. in 1939 and contemplated staying here. In a famous letter written to American theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, he explained that he could not abandon Germany. He said:

"Christians in Germany will face the terrible alternative of either willing the defeat of their nation in order that Christian civilization may survive or willing the victory of their nation and thereby destroying our civilization. I know which of these alternatives I must choose; but I cannot make that choice in security."

The Fateful Return

Bonhoeffer returned to Germany committed to active opposition to Hitler. He joined the Resistance, conspired in a 1943 plot to kill the Fuehrer and was arrested a few months before he was to be married. For nearly two years he was kept in Tegel prison where he managed to keep in touch with the anti-Hitler movement.

The fall of Germany was imminent in early 1945. The Gestapo transferred Bonhoeffer to several concentration camps and, in a rush, hanged him at Flossenburg on April 9. The area was liberated by American soldiers a few days later. In June, the execution was learned of in Geneva.

Primarily through the work of Dr. Bethge and the Bonhoeffer family, his letters, notes and other writings from the war years were collected. Bonhoeffer published a few slim volumes—growing out of his university years and teaching experience—before his arrest. But nothing from the prison years appeared until 1952 when "Letters and Papers from Prison" came out in Germany. Most of the letters had been written to Dr. Bethge from Tegel.

Seminarians in the English-speaking world knew of Bonhoeffer in the mid and late 1950s. Widespread public attention followed the boosts given by Anglican Bishop J.A.T. Robinson in "Honest to God" and Dr. Harvey Cox in "The Secular City" in the early 1960s.

A RECENTLY DISCOVERED photograph shows Dietrich Bonhoeffer (left, seated in car) touring Montrose, Switzerland with his friend Eberhard Bethge in the days before his arrest by the Nazis. The 25th anniversary of Bonhoeffer's execution by the Nazis was observed on April 9. Dr. Bethge, a colleague of Bonhoeffer for ten years, is today the foremost biographer of the late theologian. His definitive work, "Dietrich Bonhoeffer" is scheduled for publication by Harper & Row late this month.

The areas of greatest Bonhoeffer interest are probably the U.S.A., England and the nations of Eastern Europe which came under Communist domination at the end of World War II. The latter is most likely the case because the churches of Communist countries have found themselves totally without structures from the past. Bonhoeffer's insistance, from his encounter with nazism, that Christians must learn to live without the support of governmental or any other institutions has been a builder of courage among Eastern European churches.

Writings from the prison period contain most of the famed Bonhoeffer theological phrases causing extensive debate: "Jesus the man for others," "religionless Christianity," "man coming of age" and "before God, we have to live today without God." These have been variously utilized.

There seems no doubt that Bonhoeffer felt Christian people should not remain cloistered inside cathedrals. He saw no good in clinging to traditions just because they were traditions. But, as Dr. Bethge has pointed out, the spectacular and reverberating phrases of the prison letters were in the context of probes into the question, "who is Christ for today?" His answer, but one he never fully developed, was "Jesus the man for others," not the Christ of dogmatics or church institutions.

It is possible, as many Bonhoeffer interpreters have recently noted, that the phrase "religionless Christianity" has sometimes been used in ways quite divergent from Bonhoeffer's meaning. To Bonhoeffer, a Lutheran, "religion" was not a good word, but one suggesting false piety or anything else which turned people away from "faith" as the center of life.

When the idea of "religionless Christianity" is taken over into cultures where faith and religion are almost synonymous, a greater emphasis on being secular is suggested than Bonhoeffer would have accepted. He did speak of "holy worldiness," meaning: "Taking life in one's stride, with all its duties and problems, its successes and failures, its experiences and helplessness. It is in such a life that we throw ourselves utterly into the arms of God and participate in his suffering in the world and watch with Christ in Gethsemane. That is faith . . . that is what makes a man and a Christian."

That Bonhoeffer was the father of "death of God" theology, as is sometimes said, is doubtful. He did make the comment that "before God, we have to live today without God." If "before God" is taken away, the statement says something different from its intention. Yet he felt it necessary for Christians to live as free, independent persons "coming of age." He never suggested that maturity is possible aside from encounter with "Jesus the man for others."

Most likely, both the controversy and uncritical enthusiasm which once centered around "religionless Christianity" has run its course. Some question the value of further American exploration into the term because Bonhoeffer's definition of "religion" was quite specifically in a German Lutheran context not widely shared in other areas.

The more open fields of inquiry are probably his style of "doing theology" in a period of transition, his scholarly ecumenism, his commitment to what he believed was right and the way in which he linked discipline, social action, worship and theology.

Current theological stress on joy, celebration, play and human enjoyment are rooted in Bonhoeffer, and balanced with attention to discipline, action, suffering and death. Study of how these ingredients of life interrelate may be the description of a modern theology owing a debt to the martyr of Flossenburg. ■

At Issue: Fair Treatment of Black Revolutionaries under Law

THE CASE OF THE BLACK PANTHERS IN NEW HAVEN

by William Sloane Coffin, Jr.

First in Oakland, then in Chicago, next in New York and now in New Haven, Black Panthers have been and are on trial—in the courts and before the bar of public opinion.

Armed as they admittedly are for their own defense against enemies in uniform, the Black Panthers are also admitted revolutionaries seeking ways to wrest economic and political justice for blacks from whites reluctant, to put it mildly, to yield it up to them.

Churchmen, academic leaders, liberal-minded legal authorities, yippies, hippies, civil libertarians, well-to-do suburban matrons; Bernadette Devlin and Conductor Leonard Bernstein are among those who call on Americans to give the Panthers' position a calm and rational hearing—and to call off official dogs of harassment in the process.

Meanwhile, as lurid charges of alleged Panther bombings, murder and arson are brought into the courts, the white majority, silent and vocal, look on, feeling a mixture of choler, horror and dread. Few manage neutrality.

New Haven, the rebuilt Connecticut city whose cultural core is Yale University, is the latest focus in this conflict. There, 14 Black Panthers were originally held on charges stemming from the death a year ago of Alex Rackley, a New York City Panther. Among those held for trial is Bobby Seale, Panther leader who was sentenced to serve four years for contempt of court in the Chicago conspiracy trial.

As trial time in New Haven approached, tensions in the community built up almost to the breaking point. Yale students, claiming legal as well as police persecution of the Panthers, have struck classes. Demonstrations pro and counter were scheduled for the weekend this issue of TEMPO went to the printer. The demonstrations, it was feared by Yale Chaplain William Sloane Coffin, Jr., might lead to a bloody riot involving as many as 20,000 people. In fact, Mr. Coffin was so concerned that on Sunday, April 26, he announced to his congregation in historic Battell Chapel that his board had approved use of the chapel the following weekend as a medical aid station and refuge, if the riot broke out as feared.

This is the necessary background for the words that follow—the text of a sermon Mr. Coffin delivered the week before in the same chapel. His views on the issue are, of course, his own. Known best, perhaps, for his leadership in the anti-Vietnam War movement and for espousing the cause of youths unwilling to serve in it, Mr. Coffin came to national attention when he and Dr. Benjamin Spock were convicted in Boston of conspiring to aid youths in evading the draft. The conviction was later reversed and both men were freed.—ED.

MOST of us who are here today are in deep distress. The Panther trial is polarizing not only our Yale-New Haven community and increasingly the entire nation; it is also polarizing ourselves. The innermost feelings of many of us are now so sharply divided that they are destroying our capacity to think and act with anything approaching conviction and compassion.

Of the many responses, perhaps the most impressive has been the desire of some to be heroes. But our main duty is not to seek heroism but to avoid escapism. We must not seek to escape our distress, either by abdicating our ethics or by ignoring reality. Lucidity is our most immediate need. For our inner divisions can easily deepen the already bitter divisions of our communities. To those who hold this eventuality a good thing I hope to say something later. Here let me say only that I think revolutions are better after men have been pushed to do their best rather than provoked to do their worst. My call is not to prudence but to right.

If we start with things personal, I think we can sympathize with the plight, if not the politics, of the Panthers still at large. Theirs is an exposed existence and presently a desperate one. The decisions they have to make as persons and as a party are terribly difficult, which means that they must often find themselves in far greater doubt and anguish of soul than we. For all their courage, they are human and deep down they must be deeply afraid.

Beyond the personal level, Panthers offer us much to think about. In spite of their rhetoric, one cannot say that theirs is a voice of raucous irrationality. Even "Off the Pigs" is not without rationality. For Panthers want blacks to hear blacks address whites as whites have so often addressed blacks—"the only good nigger is a dead nigger." But to me that rationality is oppressive, not impressive. There are better ways of being pro-black than being anti-cop. Enough of all these efforts to enhance one segment of our population by scapegoating another!

What is impressive to me is the 10-point Panther party platform which I read essentially as a Declaration of Independence for blacks. What is tragic is that such a declaration should be necessary some 200 years after 1776; what is ironic is that it should be considered revolutionary simply because it is put forth by blacks. But it is revolutionary, and for precisely the same reason as our first Declaration of Independence was revolutionary. George III might have made all kinds of concessions. However, the concessions would have been necessary concessions which by definition are concessions made by those on top in order to remain there. What is inconceivable is that George III would have handed over the power which was the basis of his exploitation. Whites today are to blacks as George III was to Thomas Jefferson. And documents like James Forman's Black Manifesto and Panther 10-point party platform represent an attempt to negotiate with power for power — a last attempt, perhaps, to demand within the traditional system some recognition of the legitimate rights of black people. Will the descendents of Thomas Jefferson be more enlightened than George III?

Clearly Panthers have doubts, and so do an increasing number of both blacks and whites. That is why the once peaceful revolution of rising expectations is fast giving way to the violent revolution of disappointed hopes.

Bobby Seale

The Panthers have suffered, not only as all blacks have suffered in spirit, but in flesh and blood as well. Most of you know the story: In 1966, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale began following police cars around the Oakland ghetto. They were armed with unconcealed weapons which was legal under California law and was in accordance with the second amendment of the United States Constitution. Their purpose was to administer legal first aid to blacks being denied their Constitutional rights. The result was that the police harassment in the ghetto declined but the harassment of Panthers began.

One can feel sympathy for the police whose fear and fury were aroused by this novel and bold kind of challenge to their heretofore unchallenged use of power in the ghettos. But no amount of sympathy can justify the number of raids and confiscations, searches and false arrests, the amount of intimidation and general harassment, nor, of course, the shoot-outs. No amount of sympathy can justify the courtroom attack by off-duty policemen in New York when no on-duty policemen interfered and no attackers were arrested. All of these injustices constitute a record so unparalleled that it prompted an observant Californian to say a year ago: "If what is being perpetrated against the Black Panther Party was being done to any white group, including the Nazi Party, the liberal establishment—from the ACLU to the New York Times—would absolutely refuse to tolerate it further.

But once again we whites did tolerate the intolerable. Once again we sought comfort and security in place of justice and truth. Once again we showed our desire for peace at any price, so long as the peace is ours and the blacks pay the price. And, if whites won't fight whites for the sake of blacks, and if the Panthers are the bullseye and all black militants the target, then once again the choice for all blacks is: emasculation or confinement—or revolution. Why be next? Why not go first?

No wonder, then, when we hear the cry "Free Bobby Seale," something deep and real cries back, "Right on."

But then comes the conflict. What of the dead body? Isn't this a murder trial?

After Dr. Spock and the rest of us had been pronounced guilty (in the Boston case), one of the jurors publicly confessed his anguish, saying that he had found us legally wrong but morally right. I myself cannot judge or rather prejudge the defendants in this trial. The evidence is as yet inconclusive. But I am prepared as an anguished citizen to confess my conviction that it might be legally right but morally wrong for this trial to go forward.

I say legally right but morally wrong because while in the eyes of the law the defendants may be proved guilty as charged, in the sight of God all of us conspired to bring on this tragedy—law enforcement agencies by their illegal acts against the Panthers, and the rest of us by our immoral silence in the face of these acts. I think of James Bevel, beloved aide of Martin Luther King, who offered to defend King's assassin because, he said, only in the most literal, narrow and inconsequential sense could anyone say there was only one finger on that trigger.

I say legally right but morally wrong because far from promoting domestic tranquillity, the forward movement of this trial promises only to disrupt it. Instead of one dead body we may have several dead bodies before it is all over. I think of the trial of the Green Berets, which was stopped because national security was at stake, and there was a body there too. If not national security, then at least the security of a large community is at stake here.

I say legally right but morally wrong because the Court by exercising its power in this instance will undermine its power not secure it. For in the eyes of almost all black citizens and of many whites, the Court has already lost its capacity to administer justice.

I say legally right but morally wrong because Jesus stopped the stoning of the woman caught in adultery not only because others were not without sin but because he knew that punishment which is purely punitive and not curative can never be morally justified. In our personal relations we do not always punish. In our personal relations we recognize that justice without mercy becomes unjust. Can we not carry this insight into our social relations?

To those who say, "What if this were a Klansman on trial and his fellow Klansmen were threatening destruction?" I can only answer that, while releasing a Klansman would mean increasing the power of the oppressor, the releasing of the defendant in this case would mean the sharing of power with the oppressed. I said earlier this is precisely the kind of process we need to set in motion.

Were charges to be dropped I see no new murder, but rather the possibilities of a new lease on life—a chance on the one hand to persuade Panthers to lay down their arms and to lay off their rhetoric, and on the other hand a chance for law enforcement agencies to reassess their policies. Ironically these chances will surely be lost if the trial goes forward, particularly if the Panthers are found guilty.

Jews and Christians: at this time and in this place I ask you to abandon all other considerations for this one: what in this instance do you believe to be the will of God? And Christians, I ask you to consider not the dead body that can never be restored by any outcome of this trial, but rather the risen Lord who by our failure of nerve and imagination can so easily be crucified again. Is not his verdict to the defendants, and to us their co-defendants, "Neither do I condemn you. Go and sin no more."

This is the truth of the trial as I see it. If we are realistic we will find some way to drop the charges. But now we must face the true tragedy of the reality in which we find ourselves. Those of us who believe the trial should stop must recognize immediately our powerlessness to champion this truth. What we must do, we cannot do. It is necessary, but it is not possible. And in this divorce of truth from power, in this separation of right from might we see exposed the heart of a nation which has corrupted its wisdom for the sake of its splendor. This trial rips off the mask behind which American society has basked in its good conscience. This trial is a political trial —yes. But most of all this trial exposes us for who we are—a community of people who cannot see the right or, if they can, are powerless to stop "the trampling march of unconscious power."

I say we must recognize the full dimension of this tragedy for not to recognize it is to be guilty of the escapism I said it was our main duty to avoid. As there can be no reconciliation without justice so there can be no salvation without judgment. In all likelihood the judgment of history will fall on this community which now reflects the alienation and agony of the nation's spirit. Before the trial is over, we shall probably see martial law and the National Guard. For we shall be powerless to persuade those in power to remember their ethics, and at the same time we shall be unable to dissuade revolutionaries from seeking to escape their distress by ignoring reality. Even for those who believe in the necessity of violence, violent acts at this juncture are escapist. For we are not in a revolutionary situation. We are in a pre-revolutionary situation and it is wrong to exacerbate a pre-revolutionary situation in order to precipitate the outbreak of violence. Far from bursting open the door of Bobby Seale's cell, violence will cause those who hold him to bolt the door more firmly. Far from bringing on the revolution, violence will increase America's frightening drift away from the democracy it has always preached but never fully practiced to a version of fascism it has never preached but is beginning to practice with increasing zeal.

For three days now, a group of us have been meeting morning and afternoon in order to help each other come to some understanding of the reality in which we find ourselves and a possible ethical response to this reality. The reality we saw before us was that there was at this movement in time only two alternatives, both of them destructive: on the one hand the promotion of change through violence, and on the other the repression of violence caused by no change. These two alternatives are working beneath the surface of the community, slowly drawing people to them like two whirlpools. How high the water level is above them we do not know. We do know the level is sinking day by day. In seeing these two alternatives we have been trying to find a third. In essence we have been trying to revive a nonviolent movement which would honor the truth in Djilas' words: "Nothing so well reveals the reality and greatness of ends as the methods used to attain them."

I have stated my conclusion that those of us who believe this trial should stop will be powerless to halt it. I commit myself to do everything I can to prove myself wrong. But one cannot proceed on this path with any illusion that one is going to succeed.

This does not mean however that it is not worthwhile to make witness to that truth, to call the attention of the community to it, and the attention of the larger community of the nation. Therefore let all who wish in public fashion to make their witness to their belief that it is morally wrong to attempt to disrupt it by violence assemble in this Chapel next Friday at noon. We will march in single file—there will be no crowded effects—out of the door down Elm Street to the Court House. There, some will go on while those who wish will have an opportunity to underline the seriousness of their belief by engaging in a solemn non-violent act of civil disobedience placing themselves under arrest. The details have yet to be worked out but police Chief Ahern promised this week his cooperation with every demonstration of this kind. My hope is that when we are sentenced, many of us will refuse the fine and prefer to spend a short time in jail, again in witness to our belief that this trial is morally wrong.

Meanwhile if and until such time as the trial can be stopped, there is much to be done both by those who believe as I do and by those who want a trial—but a fair one. That is the minimal stand anyone of us here can take. On Friday we shall inaugurate a vigil for justice for this purpose.

Before then we must start pressing for an all black trial. Is this not a much better way to fulfill the constitution's demand that a man be tried by a jury of his peers? And if this effort proves abortive, what of the possibility of increasing the financial support for prospective jurors so that more Blacks, more poor may feel free—financially free at least—to sit on the jury, if chosen? That's the kind of use to which money should be put.

Are we to be powerless before a judge who hands down such outrageous sentences for contempt of court? Already, I believe, members of the law school, in cooperation with local lawyers and the Connecticut Bar Association are seeking to provide a group of court observers. Hopefully, they can also do something about a bailiff who makes a public that should be welcomed feel unduly unwelcome.

Some of us are also going to have to work in the area of demonstrations. What is the city going to do when the sleeping bags are unrolled on the green? What is Yale going to do? Should civilian marshals be deployed between the police and the crowd as we deployed them in Washington on November 15th?

So there is the area of the trial; there is the area of demonstrations. Finally there is a third area, the area to which the greatest number of us can address ourselves—the area of Yale's responsibility to the community, and by Yale I don't mean the Corporation alone.

I think it pretty low to keep saying to the Corporation. "Dig for some more money" when we have not even passed the hat for the Panther families. There is enough shame for all.

But I'm all for a shakedown of the Corporation in a good cause! But that does not mean half a million for the defense of Bobby Seale. Julian Bond, and I are trying to raise that kind of money in the country at large. Yale's money should go to the community. The Panthers know that. They didn't even make the demand. It came from "friends." (Sometimes I think with friends like that the Panthers don't need enemies!)

We may be powerless to stop the trial. But we need not be powerless to deal with the conditions in our community which produce tragedies like the trial. It is to these conditions we must address ourselves—all of us—to legal aid, medical aid, useful research projects, more tutoring, day care centers for our employees, the way the University buys up land, invests or does not invest its money in community projects. Wouldn't it be a terrible thing if we ended up so transfixed and paralyzed by the courthouse that we didn't do the things we were free to do in the community?

The days ahead will be rough, for they will be days of judgment. We shall have to accept our powerlessness, learn "to possess our souls in patience." We also shall have to learn to disagree with one another without letting our disagreements shade off into distrust. It will be difficult not to oppose evil with evil, not to fight hatred with hatred, but we must refuse to do so. Let all of us remember that all men have more in common than in conflict. It is this common humanity that makes possible and bearable our divisions. And let those of us who count ourselves Christians not for one moment forget Him of whom it was written: "He is our peace, he has made us one, he has broken down the dividing walls of hostility."

All power to Almighty God! ■

WASHINGTON COMMENT

Politics Post-Carswell

by John W. Turnbull

ONE'S first, and perhaps most charitable, inclination was to think that President Nixon's extraordinary outburst against the Senate following the rejection of the Carswell nomination was an essentially emotional response rather than a calculated political one. In the wake of any great battle, especially one that results in an unexpected upset of the anticipated winners, it takes everyone a while to recover his cool—especially, of course, the losers, whose first instinct in their bewilderment is almost inevitably to cry "Foul!"

No doubt Mr. Nixon was hurt and angry, and perhaps surprised, and no doubt he vented the hurt and anger in his statement, as he has been known to do in the past in response to defeat. But there is every indication that this time at least, the reaction was not just instinctive but quite political. While it is reliably reported that he was pretty enraged upon hearing the result of the vote, he waited more than twenty-four hours before reacting publicly. And he spent a critical part of that interval consulting with his favorite cool head and political strategist, Attorney General Mitchell. Moreover, he had elected some time before the vote was taken to make a major political issue of it: his letter to Senator Saxbe gratuitously escalated the question into one involving almost a vote of confidence in the President himself.

The result of all this is that the Carswell affair has come to symbolize at least three political issues, each of a high order of seriousness; and the President by his behavior has made very clear where he wishes to put his weight in relation to each of them.

It is worth noting that the whole thing need not have become so heavily loaded. A Supreme Court appointment is, of course, an enormously important decision by any account; but it does not have to become a battleground for *all* the great issues of the day. And it may be that the most regrettable aspect of the whole incident was that it was fated, with the President's connivance or at least compliance, so to become.

In any case, the Carswell affair has written an important new chapter in the complicated history of relations between the President, the Senate, and the Court. One would have to look back (ironically enough) to Franklin D. Roosevelt for a President who had made such a conscious and public attempt to alter the makeup of the Supreme Court, and who had taken so much flak in the process. It is hardly surprising, and certainly not reprehensible, that a President with strong convictions about the Court should take advantage of a critical period in its history to exercise his power of nomination to affect its course. What is surprising, and has caused a noticeable chill in relations between the President and the Senate, is the suggestion that the President's prerogatives are being challenged if the Senate exercises its power of consent at least to register its convictions about what a Supreme Court justice should not be. Thus all the old civics-books treatises on the separation of powers, checks and balances, and all that, suddenly have come to life and, it is safe to predict, will be heard of some more during this Administration.

NEXT, by using the Carswell incident as an occasion for further stressing his commitment to the "strict construction" of the Constitution, Mr. Nixon has tightened his alliance with that various and variously-sophisticated conglomeration of citizens who attribute large portions of our current social ills to the alleged "permissiveness" of the courts, and especially to key decisions of the Warren Court that are thought to have "handcuffed" the police, gone "too far" in protecting the rights of citizens, helped the Communists by establishing "atheism" in our schools, and the like.

In all this grab-bag there are some real and important issues, but their discussion is not helped much, though perhaps the President's political appeal in some quarters is, by the suggestion that a "strict constructionist" on the Court would help restore the "balance" thought to be needed. What the suggestion really appears to mean is that some key parts of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights for example, ought to be construed a little *less* strictly inasmuch as they create serious problems for the social order if taken at face value.

Finally, the Presidential interpretation of the Carswell action is a signal of his political reliance on the so-called "Southern strategy." In this phrase, "Southern" has to be taken more as an ideological than a geographical reference. The "South" that Mr. Nixon sees as the base for a new Republican majority does not include, for example, the approximately one-fourth of the citizens of the geographical South who are black nor, apparently, large numbers of its white citizens either, including some of its leading political figures some of whom actually *are* Republicans — like Senator Cook of Kentucky, for example. On the other hand, it does include presumed large numbers of residents of the geographical North whose political sympathies are vaguely "Southern" (read "Wallaceite").

It is not news that the bases of power for our major parties are continually shifting and that new alliances must constantly be forged in order to keep them viable. What is new is the attempt to forge those alliances along quite such rigidly ideological lines. "Liberals" as well as "conservatives" have often complained in the past about the ideological impurity of each of the two major parties. We may be on the threshhold of an era of major efforts at purification on all sides. The prospect is not very cheering.

REPORT

Time To Decide Against Genocide

by Allan M. Parrent

WE'VE all heard the old joke about an elderly church-going gentleman who, upon returning home from a church service which he slept through, was asked what the sermon was about. "He preached on sin," was the supposedly safe reply. "What did he say about sin?" the questioner continued. "He was against it." One might feel equally safe, in speaking about the attitude of the United States toward the crime of genocide, in saying, "We are against it." No doubt this would be a valid observation. Nevertheless, it has been nearly 22 years since the United States played a leading role in drafting and winning unanimous United Nations approval of the "International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide." This nation was among the first to sign the document which, in a post-war reaction to Nazi atrocities, makes it an international crime to commit acts "with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such." Yet after President Truman submitted the Convention to the Senate for ratification in June, 1949, and after hearings were held in 1950 before Senate Foreign Relations Committee, no further action was taken. Though 75 nations have ratified the Convention, the U.S. in 1970 is not among them.

PRESIDENT Nixon has now retrieved the Convention from its 20-year limbo and has urged the Senate to ratify it. In his message to the Senate he declared that the Secretary of State and Attorney General agree that there are no constitutional obstacles to U.S. ratification. That has been the ostensible basis for the long-standing opposition in some legal quarters to ratification. In addition to its being in "the national interest," the President said that affirmative action "will demonstrate unequivocally our country's desire to participate in the building of international order based on law and justice."

Public support for the Convention is centering in the Ad Hoc Committee on the Human Rights and Genocide Treaties. Several religious organizations are among the more than 60 organizational members, and the National Council of Churches serves as an advisory member. The major, and traditional, opposition comes from conservative, mostly Southern and Midwestern, elements of the American Bar Association. Though opposition has weakened, the ABA's ruling House of Delegates recently reaffirmed its opposition to the Convention by a narrow 130-126 vote. Of at least equal importance, however, is the fact that the divisions of the ABA most informed and concerned about the Convention, such as the Standing Committee on World Order Through Law, all urge support for ratification.

The ABA vote came at the end of a vigorous three-hour debate in which the opposition's fear that U.S. soldiers in Viet Nam might face genocide charges before an alien court seemed to have partially replaced the earlier fear that a foreign court might try U.S. citizens for such crimes as lynching of Negroes. These fears, coupled with an absolutist concept of national sovereignty which can only weaken security in an increasingly interdependent world, were sufficient to persuade the ABA to maintain its opposition. The specious nature of the opposition is shown not only by the positions of the President, Secretary of State, Attorney General, and the relevant ABA committees, but also by the fact that the Convention does in fact provide for prosecution either in national courts or in as yet non-existent international tribunals which would not have jurisdiction over Americans without the prior consent of the U.S. Government.

FINALLY, the self-defeating nature of the opposition seems apparent. First, rejection of the treaty would be interpreted in many places, justifiably or not, as an admission of genocide in Viet Nam. It is rather demeaning, as the *New York Times* has pointed out, to suggest that the U.S. could not stand comparison with other nations on its human rights record before any tribunal. Second, if U.S. citizens, civilian or military, violate this nation's traditions and principles by engaging in genocidal-type actions, the American bar should be in the forefront of those seeking to correct such injustices rather than casting doubts on its own commitment to justice.

After hearings on the Convention held in late April before a favorable Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee, it will go to the full Committee. If reported out to the full Senate, the Convention should receive its approval. When he first submitted the Convention, President Truman said: "By the leading part the United States has taken in the U.N. in producing an effective international legal instrument outlawing the world-shocking crime of genocide, we have established before the world our firm and clear policy toward that crime." It is time now to make that somewhat premature statement a reality. Without being overly simplistic, it doesn't seem to be asking too much for the U.S., in this case at least, to come out against sin. ■

IT SAYS HERE

NCC PRESIDENT SAYS CHURCH WOMEN CAN SHAPE LEGISLATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. (RNS) — "What we need is church people who don't get ulcers over conflict," Dr. Cynthia Wedel, president of the National Council of Churches, told a national seminar on legislation here.

"We need people who know what they believe and why, and don't get upset when challenged," she said at the seminar sponsored by Church Women United.

Dr. Wedel, a former president of the ecumenical women's organization, said there is a feeling in churches that there must be harmony and peace among members at any price.

"But our churches are made up of imperfect people having differences of opinion," and conflict is "almost inevitable at sometime (because) it is probably normal in any live institution or organzation," she added.

"If we have a little sense of history about our church and country we won't get so frantic about what's going on today," she said.

The problem is learning how to handle conflict and violence constructively and not let it "shape us."

In an interview, Mrs. Wedel said she had the feeling "that if church people don't learn to operate in the political process" the legislative system will eventually be swalowed up by "selfish interest groups."

"Many church people are bewildered and frightened and feel helpless" when thinking about what they could do to influence legislation with moral and social implications," she said.

The chairman of the CWU political action seminar, Mrs. Eugene McCarthy, was "much encouraged" by the "astuteness" of the 100 women attending the week-long seminar.

She noted that the attitudes of officials in government agencies visited by groups of women during the seminar was "patronizing," and that they were a little non-plussed at the awareness of current social problems displayed by the women.

Mrs. McCarthy, one of four Catholics on the Board of Managers of Church Women United, affiliated with the National Council of Churches, cited this as an indication of the increasing interest by women in the problems of the "helpless and powerless in our society."

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RUSSIAN CHURCH GRANTED FULL INDEPENDENCE IN U.S.

NEW YORK (RNS) — An Orthodox Church in America, independent of Old World "mother churches," is a reality.

Archbishop Ireney, primate of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America (Metropolia), has announced receipt of a cable from the Orthodox Patriarchate of Moscow recognizing the administrative independence (autocephality) of his jursisdiction. The message arrived April 14.

Metropolia independence — in theory giving it standing equal to that of the world's 14 national Orthodox Churches — has been opposed by Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople (Istanbul), spiritual leader of Orthodoxy.

Patriarch Athenagoras feels the Moscow action is unilateral. Patriarch Alexei of Moscow replied that since the Russian Church first brought Orthodoxy to America, it has the right to extend independence.

The action immediately affects only the Metropolia and the Russian Orthodox Patriarchal Exarchate in America, a jurisdiction which remained under Moscow when the Metropolia declared temporary self-government in 1924. The Exarchate is dissolved, although it is understood that some parishes not wishing to enter the new Church at once will be administered as an extra-territorial unit by Moscow.

In an encyclical, Archbishop Ireney and the nine Metropolia bishops called on American Orthodoxy to "use their God-given freedom for the promotion of the Christian faith, remembering that millions of Orthodox Christians . . . suffer repression by totalitarian regimes."

LOS ANGELES — Coachella Valley table grape grower Lionel Steinberg (right) and Cesar Chavez (second right) leader of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, sign an agreement between striking workers and three of the valley growers. The scene was the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Los Angeles chancery, where both sides were brought together by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. It was announced that "union shop" table grapes will be plainly labeled as such in the country's fruit markets.

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ROMAN CATHOLICS TO JOIN OHIO COUNCIL MAY 18th

COLUMBUS, OHIO — On Pentecost, May 18, Ohio will become the first Northern state to receive a Roman Catholic diocese as a member of its State Council of Churches.

The event will be highlighted by a colorful ecumenical procession through the heart of the city, with marching bands and banners, from St. Joseph Cathedral, past the State Capitol to the Veterans Memorial Auditorum. Among the many dignitaries taking part in the festival will be Bishop Francis E. Kearns, president of the Ohio Council, and Mrs. Cynthia C. Wedel, president of the National Council of Churches.

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NIEBUHR CRITICAL OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER

NEW YORK (RNS) — The nation's "elected monarchs" — the Presidents — have become too powerful and, in the field of foreign policy, the quadrennial Presidential review has become meaningless, according to theologian Reinhold Niebuhr.

In an article in the April 13 issue of "Christianity And Crisis," the former professor at Union Theological Seminary says that the prides of power, virtue, democracy and anti-communism permeate American involvement in Vietnam.

The authority given to the Presidency, he writes, has paved the way for the war in Vietnam, which he calls an attempt to "satisfy our pride of power and of virtue."

He attacks the idea of America as a "redeemer" nation. "If we had been poorer," according to the theologian, "we could not have been so foolish as to make such a costly effort." He advises less attention to "national honor" and more to the ability to admit a mistake.

Dr. Niebuhr concludes: "The well-known words of the Bible 'whosoever exalteth himself shall be brought low' suggests that we are involved in an ironic error. Yet the death and destruction wrought by the war made it a burden too heavy to be borne."

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CWS COORDINATING EFFORTS TO AID REFUGEES IN LAOS

NEW YORK, N.Y. — In a cable to the World Council of Churches on April 22, Church World Service director James MacCracken expressed "increasing concern over the tragic reports from Laos and Cambodia" concerning the plight of refugees caught in the spreading conflict in Southeast Asia.

Messages have been sent to the Rev. Boyd Lowry, CWS director in the area, and to U Kyaw Than, general secretary of the East Asia Christian Council, asking for recommendations "geared toward alleviation of the desperate human need in the area and any support that CWS and the U.S. churches can provide."

TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

The Image of War on The Screen

THE movies have always displayed an ambivalent attitude toward war. Like most of the rest of us, in the midst of any war they are usually for *our* side. Remember *Bataan* and *Corregidor* and *The Flying Tigers*, all of which depicted Japanese as slant-eyed, cowardly, vicious animals? Or those endless anti-German films with rows of Nazis and/or huns falling to the chatter of (our) machine guns?

But there is also a great tradition of anti-war films, such as *All Quiet on the Western Front* and *Blockade*. These pacifist films either showed the insanity and destructiveness of war, or else they focused on how little war has to do with the real feelings people have about each other most of the time. Sometimes the best war films have revealed the open secret known by everyone who has fought in a war, namely that the real hostilities have little to do with the so-called "enemy" but with the battle between the higher up's and the lower down's. All of the best anti-war themes were captured in the classic *Paths of Glory*.

IN recent years we have discovered a new kind of anti-war film, the absurdist black comedy. Not that there haven't always been spoofs on military life from time immemorial. There have been from the silents through Abbott and Costello to today's TV pap. But rarely have the military comedies struck at the very roots of war itself, i.e., at nationalism, the economic sources of war, the pathology of the military mind. Now, however, this is beginning to occur.

The first of the new genre of anti-war films I can recall was Lester's *How I Won the War*. It used some of the elements of the old military laugh-fest in a new way. It poked ruthless, grim fun at the whole idea of war, and it did so with a combination of frothy fantasy and grisly realism. I thought when I saw *How I Won the War* that it did for warfare that Gunther Grass in *The Tin Drum* had done for nazism. Foregoing the temptation to hover over the horror, Grass took the boldest possible step and dealt with the holocaust and the Gestapo and all the rest through fantasy, grotesquerie and insanity. His hero, it may be recalled, was a dwarf named Oskar Mazaraeth who could break glass with thought waves and whose undying obsession was to lick strawberry fizz off his girlfriend's bare tummy.

THE fact is, however, that in both *How I Won the War* and in *The Tin Drum*, a scream of protest against evil was heard, a scream that is often drowned out in the sheer quantity and verbosity of ordinary protest literature.

Now we have two new absurdist-fantasy anti-war films in circulation. One is *M.A.S.H.*, which has been banned from all U.S. military posts. The other is Joan Littlewood's film rendering of her London musical hit *Oh, What A Lovely War*. Since I haven't seen M.A.S.H. yet I can comment here only on the latter flick, which I think, although it drags a bit here and there, still manages to carry off its assignment well. There is a little gore, but not much. Miss Littlewood's weapon is not blood and filth but irony and juxtaposition. She contrasts the rinky-dinky songs of war to the grime and pain, the poster image to the reality. The resulting paradox packs more wallop than fifty stretcher-side death scenes.

Come to the Fair! In *Oh, What A Lovely War*, Miss Littlewood uses a seaside resort amusement park (it looks something like Brighton, England) as the zippy, tuneful symbol of how war is seen, at least at its outset, by the average man. Pretty girls waving, banners flapping in the blue sky, catchy tunes, a piquant spirit in the air, a giddy great big merry-go-round. With uniforms. War as Bank Holiday weekend. By her subtle contrast of these images to some of the real thing, Miss Littlewood conveys the utter absurdity not only of World War I, but of the whole war system.

ALSO Miss Littlewood tries to peek beneath the surface and ask Why. Both in the stage version, which I once caught between planes in London, and in the movie, she heaps a good deal of the blame for the stupidity of the British tactics and the astronomical losses (over 600,000 in one battle) on General Douglas Haig, the stubborn, pompous and totally inept commander of His Majesty's Royal Expeditionary Forces. Haig was of the old school. He really seemed to believe (and here the film jibes completely with the historical record), that if the British soldiers advanced toward the German lines in full pack, in step, and without seeking cover, their splendid display of discipline would break the morale of the Boche. It did not—as General Braddock had discovered in America nearly two centuries before. Haig never seems to have gotten the word.

But perhaps Miss Littlewood puts somewhat too much emphasis on the pride and incompetence of one general. Would World War I have been less horrible if one of Haig's rivals had gotten the nod instead of him? (We see a good deal of the infighting within the General Staff that produced the decision to appoint him.) I doubt it. The endless rows of crosses that fill the last scene cannot be blamed on a few thick-headed generals, or even on the salon monarchs and white-gloved diplomats the film so persistently exposes. The scope and appalling destructiveness of modern war derive from deeper sources. What are they? Even the stirring speech of the pacifist suffragette, played by Vanessa Redgrave, does not answer that question. Can anti-war movies now move the next step? Having laid off, for the most part, glorifying wars (*Patton* notwithstanding), or fastening on their horror, or exposing their patent absurdity, can they now take the risk of showing us why we get into them? ■

BOOKS

Technology and People

By Cameron P. Hall. Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1969. 159 pp. Paperback, $2.56.

OUR American society is involved in a love-hate affair with technology. Not many years ago there were voices that foretold a new era of history when mankind, turning most of its work over to machines, would enjoy a life of prosperity and creative leisure. Now in these days of confrontation and discontent other voices blame technology, once the herald of a secular salvation, for its destruction of nature and its dehumanization of man.

Cameron P. Hall in *Technology and People* refuses to join either chorus. He sees the human pathway as "something like a tightrope between threat and promise." He believes that technology is basically good, that it belongs to God's good creation, that it gives man expanded freedom and opportunity. Yet he points out the ambiguity of its consequences, and he puts the resolution of the ambiguities up to man.

Technology and values are engaged in an intense interaction, each affecting the other, he says. Hence the demand is upon man to "use technology to build a person-development society." We must learn to *manage* technology — not with an elite using it to manipulate the society but with people participating "in the creative management of social change." And in this process he sees a significant role for the church. The American church in particular, the church of the WASP's, must modify its inherited values—especially its exaggerated work-ethic and its orientation to middle and upper income societies. Yet it must not simply capitulate to new values; it has an opportunity to rethink its own convictions and to participate in the shaping of society.

The book, written in a readable style, is well designed for study groups in churches and includes questions for discussion. It draws upon immense resources of wisdom and understanding. Dr. Hall was for many years Executive Secretary of the Department of Church and Economic Life in the National Council of Churches, and he culminated that career by directing a Project on "Human Values in a Society of Advancing Technology." In that program, involving numerous preparatory meetings, a national conference, and nineteen community conferences across the country, he had the opportunity to explore the minds of many of the leaders whose technological skills are shaping society today.

HENCE in this book he is able to draw upon expert judgments as he looks at the meaning of technology for a wide range of human activities, including work, education, production and consumption, politics, leisure, and ecology. He is sensitive to the social costs of private economic acts, the changing relationships between work and income, the threats of technology to privacy and individuality. With a fine sensitivity he examines our depradation of nature and calls for "A Bill of Rights for the Unborn." Especially impressive is his description of the "super-consequential society"—a society in which human decisions have unknown consequences far beyond the extent of past experience.

Dr. Hall, although seeing the immensity of the problems of our time, does not share the apocalyptic mood that effects many people today. One reason is that in his concentration on one major set of problems, he says rather little about the meaning of modern technology for war or about the problem (perhaps insoluble) of relating the societies of high technology and high consumption to the more populous societies that can never expect to match the high consumption of the affluent. (Imagine India with as many automobiles per person as the United States.) Another reason is that he is moderately confident of the development of new processes of political decision-making. He shows clearly that we need new institutions and that social change requires the organization of power-pressure groups. He does not share the conviction of many that our society is simply incapable of making the necessary changes without a cataclysmic revolution. I hope he is right. And I think that the more his combination of wisdom and good will prevails, the greater is the possibility that he will be right.

Roger L. Shinn

Professor of Applied Christianity, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

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THE WIDENING WAR

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TEMPOSITIONS

CRY, THE BELOVED COUNTRY

by Anthony Lewis

AMERICAN students are told that they must respect institutions. Their President deplores "mindless attacks on all the great institutions which have been created by free civilizations."

But the same President orders a massive armed attack in a foreign country without going through the procedures laid down by the Constitution for making war or even asking Congress for less formal support.

The students hear their President express regret that "we live in an age of anarchy both abroad and at home."

But the President sends American troops into Cambodia without the slightest deference to the processes of international order: not consulting with his allies, not informing other Southeast Asian countries who, with his encouragement, were organizing a conference on Cambodia, not asking the government whose territory he ordered bombed and invaded.

The students are told that it is wrong to be cynical about democracy—to think, in Kingman Brewster's words, that the Presidential election was a "hucksterized process" without a real choice.

But they see the man who campaigned on a pledge to get America out of the Vietnam war enlarging that war in a way that even his predecessor did not risk. And they see, despite elections and changes of government, the undiminished influence of the military men who promise "victory."

Gas-masked National Guardsmen advance on students through clouds of tear gas during anti-war rally at Kent State University, O. May 4. Four students were slain, fifteen were injured in the hail of bullets.

Resort to Violence

They hear the Vice President say that students who resort to violence constitute "the criminal left that belongs not in a dormitory but in a penitentiary."

But their Government, effectively closing the door to diplomacy, resorts to violence; and the President dismisses the non-violent alternatives as "plaintive diplomatic protests."

They are told that they should be mature; they must moderate their language, channel their emotions into constructive paths and stop seeking instant solutions.

But the President of the United States, in a maudlin personalization and simplification of complex political issues, makes war a test of his own and of the nation's manhood.

"This is not an invasion of Cambodia," President Nixon said. If the young judge those who run American society by the standard of truth in that statement, should anyone be surprised at cynicism or unbearable frustration on the campuses of the United States?

It has been hard for most of us middle-class, middle-aged Americans of liberal instinct to accept the apocalyptic vision of many students. We believed in reason.

But the President's course in Cambodia would make the most optimistic rationalist despair for his country. Nothing for years has cast so dark a shadow on America's future.

The sudden assault on Cambodia has shocked our country's oldest friends abroad—that is painfully evident in London, and reports from the rest of the world are similar. But the reason for despair, as always in the Vietnam war, lies more within America than without.

By this action President Nixon has calculatedly chosen to widen the division among the American people, to inflame instead of heal. What other reason can there be for the President of the United States to lower himself to contrasting American soldiers with "those bums who are burning college campuses"?

Shrill indignation may have momentary public appeal; it may light up the White House switchboard with supporting telephone calls. But a President cannot govern a country in such terms. Even within his Administration, one would guess, the consciences of thoughtful men will be troubled as they were in the last compulsive years of Lyndon Johnson.

Not even the greatest power on earth can fight with troubled conscience, in a war without end, for purposes undefined. We thought we had learned that. We thought Richard Nixon had learned it. To find out otherwise is shattering because the dangers of American instability are so great.

There is only one way the United States can demonstrate strength in Indochina. That is by getting out. For nations as for men, maturity, dignity, character and wisdom are to be shown not by rage but by restraint.

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Mr. Lewis is with the London Bureau of the New York Times.

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates
ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Kruuse, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell
ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler
PROMOTION: David Poindexter
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull
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In the wake of the shocking decision to widen the Southeast Asia war and the slayings of four students with the use of government guns, TEMPO in this issue attempts to reflect with fact and comment the impact of this latest national crisis on the Church and her people. Noteworthy are the stories and articles on pages 3, 4, and 5, with additional news on page 7.

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THE CHURCHES AND THE WIDENING WAR

by TEMPO Staff

THE "armed violence against students and faculty on American university campuses" and the U.S. "foreign policy of violence" in Vietnam and now Cambodia signaled a hurricane of protests from church leaders and laymen across the nation.

One of the first statements concerning the shooting of four Kent State University students came from Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, general secretary of the National Council of Churches. He called upon elected officials "to become more responsive to the convictions of those they govern and to demonstrate a more professional restraint in all law enforcement." His statement also expressed the churches' "deepest sympathy" to the families of the slain students as well as "the national sense of shame" over the tragedy.

"We deplore the tragic refusal of the Government to listen to peaceful dissent among college and university persons," ten college-related Christian educators wired President Nixon on May 6. Without condoning violent actions by some campus groups, they said: "We protest the greater violence of armed troops deployed to suppress dissent ." *(See full text on this page.)*

A week before the Washington rally against the escalation of the Indochina war, the National Council had set up a briefing session on the situation and a day of visits to senators and congressmen which brought over 500 church people from 33 states to the nation's Capital "in a mood of agony, not of accusation," as United Church president Dr. Robert V. Moss put it. *(See Washington Comment on page 5)*

On Sunday, May 3, prior to the briefings, the Rev. Dr. David R. Hunter, deputy general secretary of the National Council, was among 74 people arrested while conducting an anti-war worship service in Lafayette Park near the White House. U.S. Park Police told the group that they had failed to meet a 15-day notice required to stage a demonstration. Their reply that events had moved too quickly to allow for such notice was rejected, so they fell to their knees and were removed peaceably.

Others arrested were Dr. John C. Bennett, president of Union Theological Seminary, Rabbi Balfour Brickner of the Union of Hebrew Congregations, Fr. Malcolm Boyd, Episcopal activist, and the Rev. Richard Fernandez, director of Clergy and Laymen Concerned.

Dr. Bennett had been among the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish leaders who had testified earlier before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on their stand regarding the war.

"When it becomes evident that a mistaken policy is continued as a concession to pride of a nation that has never been defeated, it is time to see even the mistake in a context that calls for moral judgment," Dr. Bennett told the senators. "The war has destroyed the confidence of a large part of our youth in the best institutions of our nation."

MESSAGES of protest over the Cambodian invasion and the deaths of the Kent State students poured into the White House from the 531 churches in the Massachusetts Conference of the United Church of Christ, who "deplored the alienation resulting from the President's and Vice President Agnew's stance toward American students"; from a large group of churchmen in Seattle, Wash., related to the Washington State Council of Churches; from the Episcopal Bishops of New York, and hundreds of others.

The Rev. Everett J. Jensen, general secretary of the Washington State Council of Churches, said, "The numbing shock of the manslaughter of four students and the wounding of 15 others marks a milestone in the history of brutality of the American nation. America stands shamed and humiliated before the world."

Citing the "cries of deep anguish" in homes, on the streets and on the campuses in the nation, Methodist Bishop W. Maynard Sparks declared: "Expansion of military activities in Southeast Asia in recent days and the manner in which this order took place only adds to the growing suspicion in many minds about the creditability and capability of our national leadership."

The Episcopal Bishops of New York called this situation "the deepest crisis in our memory" and called for a halt in the Cambodian invasion.

Students and faculty from New York City seminaries conduct a memorial prayer service for the four students killed at Kent State University. The scene was Grand Central Terminal.

Fifty-four teachers of religion in the Greater Boston area urged Congressional repudiation of President Nixon's Cambodian policy and voted to "implore the Senate and House to deny appropriations to escalate the war in Indochina."

The telegrams to their State senators and congressmen were signed by members of the faculties and a majority of the administrative staffs of Boston University School of Theology, Andover Newton Theological School and Harvard Divinity School.

Mandated by its 25th national triennial convention, the Young Women's Christian Association sent a message to the President calling for immediate disengagement in Vietnam, stating it was "appalled at the invasion of Cambodia by U.S. forces."

"Your leadership in these matters is urgent if we are to avoid further loss of confidence in our democratic institutions," said the YWCA National Board.

Other Roman Catholic and Jewish leaders joined in the protests. Said Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston: "We must end this war that has been so costly in human life and end it without further delay."

On the campus of Notre Dame University, President Theodore M. Hesburgh urged the students to endorse with him a six-point protest declaring that "our national priorities are human, not military." While asking the students to stand with him ready "to undertake whatever sacrifice and whatever creative initiative that peace requires of us right now," Fr. Hesburgh added: "All of us want to be loyal and patriotic, but we also want to be morally clean in the process." Notre Dame faculty voted 217 to 134 to support Fr. Hesburgh's statement and asked him to take it to Congress personally.

Church-related colleges and seminaries joined in the student protests, shut-downs and strikes in every part of the country, some voting to remain closed for the rest of the semester. Many also held memorial services for the slain students.

At Vanderbilt University Divinity School in

(Continued on page 7)

Following the tragic slaying of four students at Kent State University, Ohio, ten national leaders in Christian higher education sent this telegram to President Nixon:

"Mr. President:

"As churchmen related to higher education, we are shaken by the tragic deaths of students at Kent State University. Without condoning violent actions by some campus groups, we protest the greater violence of armed troops deployed to suppress dissent. The violent policy of our Government in Vietnam, and now in Cambodia, begets dissent which sometimes becomes violent. It is clear to us that violence on campus stems in large part from the prior violence of the prolonged war in Southeast Asia, and from the injustices of American society.

"We deplore the tragic refusal of the Government to listen to peaceful dissent among college and university persons, a refusal now acted out by the use of Government rifles against students at Kent State University. Where next will our sons and daughters be killed because they protest on undeclared war abroad and social injustice at home?

We, the undersigned churchmen speaking for ourselves and standing with colleagues in the university community of the United States, call upon you to exercise your leadership to reverse our national direction, rid our foreign policy of its violence, and establish priorities for social and educational justice at home. Most particularly we call upon you to stop armed violence against students and faculty on American University campuses."

(Titles for identification only):

The Rev. Louis T. Almen, Executive Secretary, Board of College Education and Church Vocations, Lutheran Church in America

The Rev. Verlyn L. Barker, Secretary for Campus Ministry, United Church of Christ

The Rev. Robert Evans Davis, Executive Director, Division of Christian Higher Education, American Baptist Convention

The Rev. John B. Evans, Secretary, Division of Higher Education, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.

The Rev. John E. Jordan, Executive Secretary for University World, Methodist Board of Missions

The Rev. Gerald E. Knoff, Associate General Secretary for Christian Education, National Council of Churches

The Rev. William N. Lovell, Associate Director, Department of Higher Education, National Council of Churches

The Rev. Hubert C. Noble, Executive Director, Department of Higher Education, National Council of Churches

The Rev. Richard E. Sherrell, Assistant Director, Department of Higher Education, National Council of Churches

The Rev. Harold H. Viehman, General Secretary, Division of Higher Education, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

The Widening War And Soul Searching at Home . . .

A Local Church Reacts — A Personal Experience

by Harold R. Fray, Jr.

THE shock waves reverberated on all sides following President Nixon's announcement on April 30 enlarging the war in Southeast Asia by sending American troops into Cambodia. The effect upon myself became apparent in the service of worship the succeeding Sunday.

As I entered the sanctuary behind the choir to lead the corporate worship, I knew that I could not preach about the announced topic. In fact, I was aware I could say nothing at all.

Over an eight-year ministry I had piled words upon words about the relationship of the Christian faith to United States action in Vietnam. To these words had been added my participation in peace activities, serving as chairman of the Boston Area Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam. The Newton Peace Center had been housed within the Eliot Church since 1964. What more could be said in the light of this new military action?

Following the opening prayers, I read from Romans 12. Then followed the reading of a statement by Dr. George W. Shepherd Jr., chairman of the International Relations Committee of the United Church's Council for Christian Social Action.

The President has crossed his Rubicon, it said. Just as the Russians invaded Czechoslovakia allegedly to protect their security, we have *illegally* invaded Cambodia to protect our security in Vietnam. President Truman restrained General MacArthur from attacking enemy sanctuaries. President Nixon has unleashed the generals to invade a neutral nation without the approval of that government or the advice and consent of the United States Congress.

The General Synod of the over two-million member United Church of Christ has declared itself strongly against the continuation of the war in Vietnam. Nixon's "plan for peace" has now thrown us into an unlimited Indochina war.

The only real hope for peace now is to withdraw all American troops from Indochina within the course of 1970. If such a withdrawal is undertaken, we may yet escape the consequences of President Nixon's terrible act.

People of good conscience and faith cannot remain silent as we make this unparalleled move into a wider war.

At the time allocated to the sermon I began, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." Then I announced to the congregation that I could not say any more to them and that if there was an equivalent in our culture of the Biblical sackcloth and ashes, that would be my chosen attire in the face of this national disaster.

I took off my robe, draped it over the pulpit and came down to sit on the chancel steps. In a moment I heard one or two voices speaking from the congregation, and then it was difficult for me to hear anything at all. I did not realize that I had become personally disabled by the turn of world events unti I was suddenly shaken with deep emotion. When the outpouring of inner feelings subsided, I realized that I was surrounded on the chancel steps by many members of the congregation. I felt their touch. I heard their words. The community of love and concern, which is the church, was suddenly very alive for me.

After some minutes I said, "I can function again." One woman responded in tears, "Oh, I thought when you laid your robe on the pulpit, you were renouncing your ministry." I assured her that my faith was real, but that I needed all of them who surrounded me to help me take up the task again.

The suggestion to close with a simple hymn was rejected. One member of the congregation said that what had taken place was in the context of a service of worship, and should be completed as planned. Prayers were offered, the offering was taken, with people making their contributions from their places on the chancel steps, and never did Haydn's anthem, "Great and Glorious," sound more glorious. Before the benediction, one family announced they would like to go home and come back with the food they had planned for dinner. Would others join them?

Two young people join the protest and vigil at Eliot Church.

At two that Sunday over 50 members were gathered in the Fellowship Hall of the church. The food was placed on the table and we broke bread together. It was a banquet that fed both body and soul. In the interim following the morning service, two members had made the plans for an Agapé meal. From the tables we moved into a circle and, after singing together and offering prayers, a loaf was passed and then a common chalice.

It was 5:30 before the conversation ceased, but only momentarily. Much thought had been given to the question. "What can we do?" A smaller group decided that they would gather in the parsonage that evening, at the invitation of my wife and me, and hammer out specific proposals. Three hours later, 17 parishioners came together, broke into three task forces, and worked out three courses of action. The first was to make the service of worship on May 31 express the concept of the "global village" and the urgent need for world development. The second group worked on legislative issues. The third group planned a protest on the church lawn against the enlargement of the war in Indochina.

IN conservative, affluent Newton, such an action would be unprecedented. The Spirit moves in wondrous ways. The Executive Committee of the church, charged with the responsibility for the use of church property, was scheduled to meet the following night. On Monday night, 30 members of the church, who had gathered in Fellowship Hall the day before, waited to make their request to the Executive Committee. Would they be allowed, as church members, to make a Christian witness in public on the front lawn? Lively discussion followed. The issues of loss of church members, the cutting off of funds, and possible damage to the property all had an airing. Then the vote was taken. The answer was Yes with two dissenting votes.

Tuesday was a day of more spontaneous activity and at 7:00 on Wednesday morning, May 6, 35 members of the church gathered on the front steps for a service of worship and to begin a 12-hour vigil that would be repeated each day for an indefinite period. A casket, draped with an American flag, was carried from the sanctuary and placed on a table on the lawn. There it was to be surrounded by men, women, and children from the church, bearing witness to their faith and conviction that this madness in Southeast Asia must cease.

I am writing this only a few hours later. The first day brought minor violence, but no serious injuries. Four men snatched the American flag from the coffin, which had been placed there to symbolize that America has now become a nation of death and destruction to millions of people in the world. In the scuffle, a church staff member was pushed aside as she tried to protect the flag; a seven-year-old girl of a church family was pushed to the ground, and the Senior Deacon of the church was dragged into the street and suffered a minor facial laceration. This took place while an officer in a Traffic Control Police cruiser watched and did nothing.

FOLLOWING that incident a statement of purpose was released by those conducting the protest and vigil:

"We protest the invasion of Cambodia by the U.S. and the enlargement of the war in Southeast Asia.

"We mourn the dead in Vietnam and on the campus of Kent State University and have placed an American flag on a symbolic coffin to express our deep anguish.

"We are ashamed that for many the stars and stripes have now become a symbol around the world of repression, death and destruction. We believe the flag of our nation has been desecrated by our Government's policies and actions.

"At the same time we proudly carry the flag of our country as a sign of our hope that our great nation may once again become a symbol to all of honor, freedom, justice and peace.

"We have gathered from many churches and synagogues in the community but do not speak for any religious institution. We specifically witness to the personal convictions and moral values of our religious faith."

The vigil which began on May 6 has continued each day from 7:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. Already the protest is no longer the action of members of one church but of people from churches and synagogues throughout the City of Newton. What will be the results? How long will it continue? I do not know.

But this I do know. The past several days have been an early Pentecostal experience for me. As a Christian minister, I had become temporarily disabled by the action of the President of the United States. And a group of loving, caring people had brought me back to life. I know now more of what the Gospel is all about. ■

—Mr. Fray, Minister of the Eliot Church of Newton, is author of the book, Conflict and Change in the Church, *United Church Press, 1969. His previous writing for TEMPO includes a notable statement on the disaster at Songmy (Songmy—And The Myth of American Innocence"; March 15, 1970) which has been distributed by a number of church groups in pamphlet form.*

WASHINGTON-COMMENT

"WE LOOKED FOR PEACE, BUT NO GOOD CAME"

by Allan M. Parrent

"WHAT has happened in the last week was kind of the last straw." This attitude, expressed by one of the demonstrators in Washington on May 9 in partial explanation of his presence at the march, was typical of the attitude of thousands following the new and unexpected escalation of the war in Southeast Asia. In the light of the tragic errors of the past and the promises about de-escalation and gradual withdrawal, the depth of feeling on the subject is more intense than it has ever been.

When Congressman Philip Burton (D.-Calif.) told 500 churchmen, gathered in Washington on May 5 to protest to their elected representatives that this was "one of the most somber and dangerous moments in American history," there did not seem to be much feeling that he was overstating the case. Likewise, speaking to the same group in the wake of both Cambodia and the Kent State shooting, the president of the United Church of Christ, Dr. Robert Moss, quoted Jeremiah with chilling relevance: "We looked for peace, but no good came—for a time of healing, but behold, terror."

Among the increasing number of people who are becoming aware of the futility of seeking military solutions to this tragic and wasteful war, one senses a general feeling of incredulity. After the thousands of lost lives, the massive destruction of an already poor land, the billions of wasted dollars, the sharp divisions at home, the loss of national stature, and all the other factors from recent history which should have had some impact on the decision-making process, how could the same mistakes which produced our present crisis be repeated?

Is the "light at the end of the tunnel" to come from the fires of a war engulfing all of Indochina? Are we to get out of Vietnam by moving into Cambodia? Are we attempting to win the "hearts and minds" of the Cambodian people through the same tactics of search and destroy which have alienated so many in Vietnam and elsewhere? Was it necessary or even useful to destroy the village of Snuol and its rubber plantations? What is to be made of the obvious implications for the "just war" concept of noncombatants when, in one of the first encounters in Cambodia, 634 persons were killed on the other side and only seven weapons were captured? The President is right in saying in his address that our "character" is being tested," but it is by such tactics as this that the test is being made, not by constant demonstrations of our power and the ease with which we will resort to it. That the President does not quite comprehend this fact is shown by his end-justifies-the-means comment, "If it comes out right, that is what really matters."

THE profound distress created by the new escalation of the war caused the NCC to call a "Churchmen's Congressional Visitation on Cambodia and Southeast Asia" in Washington May 5-7. In spite of the rapidity with which it had to be called, 500 churchmen gathered for a briefing session on May 5 with Rep. Burton, Senator George McGovern, Senator Mark Hatfield's executive assistant and denominational leaders. Many other churchmen came later to participate in the visitation. After breaking up into state and regional delegations the churchmen proceeded to spend two days expressing their views on the situation in Southeast Asia to their elected representatives.

In addition to registering their protest against the war and its latest phase, the churchmen made known their support for Congressional efforts to limit or to end the war. The House was at that moment considering the $20.2 billion Military Procurement bill to which amendments had been proposed to prevent the use of funds for the introduction of American ground combat troops into Laos, Thailand or Cambodia. First, amendments

aimed at cutting or limiting funds for a variety of new weapons were offered and, as is usual in the House, were easily defeated.

But after an amendment was offered to prohibit funds authorized in the bill for combat troops in Southeast Asia, the House engaged in a heated debate both on the new escalation of the war and on the Constitutional implications of the President's failure to consult with the Congress. Even traditional supporters of the war were concerned about this latter question. As a result, the whole bill was held over nearly a week, giving the public time to let its voice be heard.

While the amendment to limit funds for military operations in Southeast Asia was eventually defeated, it received 132 votes, a remarkable figure given the composition of the House. In addition, a substitute amendment which would have had the effect of giving a virtual carte blanche to the President was also defeated. Finally, there were 69 Representatives who took the political risk of voting against the whole military procurement bill. Only a handful had ever made this gesture in the past.

The visiting churchmen were also briefed on planned efforts in the Senate to deny funds for the war. The primary vehicle for this effort in the Senate is the McGovern-Hatfield-Hughes-Goodell amendment to this same bill. It should come to the floor in early June and is being viewed as the first real chance for the Congress to vote its convictions on the war, and possibly the last chance for a good while if the present mood is allowed to fade without Congressional action. The amendment seeks to cut off funds for American military operations in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, allowing only for the safe withdrawal of troops, exchange of prisoners, and other such purposes.

Withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam would be by June 30, 1971, from Laos by December 31, 1970, and from Cambodia 30 days after enactment. The amendment has 15 cosponsors and more are being sought. Cognizant of the need for Congress to fulfill its abdicated responsibilities, the drafters see the amendment as "the most concrete and meaningful action that Congress can take to reassert its Constitutional authority and to bring an end to the war in Indochina." With the move into Cambodia and renewed bombing of North Vietnam, there are more and more who believe that only Congress, which has control of expenditures, can finally put an end to U.S. involvement in this tragic war.

ONE of the meanings of tragedy is the bringing about, by one's own actions, of the very things those actions were designed to prevent. This is precisely what is happening in Southeast Asia. First, we say we seek self-determination for the Vietnamese people. But this they can never have so long as nearly half a million foreign troops are present and so long as U.S. might is totally committed to an oppressive regime in Saigon which is disliked by most of its own people.

Second, we say we seek to prove that we honor our commitments. Yet the nature of those commitments has always been vague and never legally sanctioned, while other more explicit national commitments are much less strenuously pursued, at least partly because our capacity to meet them has been reduced by the Vietnam involvement.

Third, we say we seek to preserve our national security. But our own security has decreased as a result of the moral, institutional, and Constitutional crises now pervading our society, and the neglect of domestic needs, all of which are intimately related to our actions in Southeast Asia.

Fourth, we say we seek to prevent a Communist takeover in Vietnam. Yet our destructive tactics and actions have resulted in a growing anti-Americanism among both the people and troops of Vietnam, leaving the non-Communist, anti-Thieu, nationalist elements little option in their decades-long fight for a Vietnam free of all foreign domination.

Fifth, we say we desire to help the Vietnamese. Yet we have managed to destroy much of their countryside, some of it permanently, and seriously to disrupt their economy, family life, and social relationships.

Our nation has more than kept any commitment it may have made to Vietnam. However, in doing so it has fallen short in keeping other commitments, such as the basic ones of forming a more perfect union, establishing justice, and insuring domestic tranquillity. The result has been tragedy, in the above sense, both at home and abroad. Nothing short of a reversal of U.S. policy can change this and that will take courage, which columnist Joseph Kraft describes as "the moral courage of convictions, not the kind given to men who think they have to prove they are tough." ■

Mr. Parrent regularly reviews U.S. policy developments for TEMPO readers from his Washington, D.C. vantage point as Director of Program, Department of International Affairs, National Council of Churches.

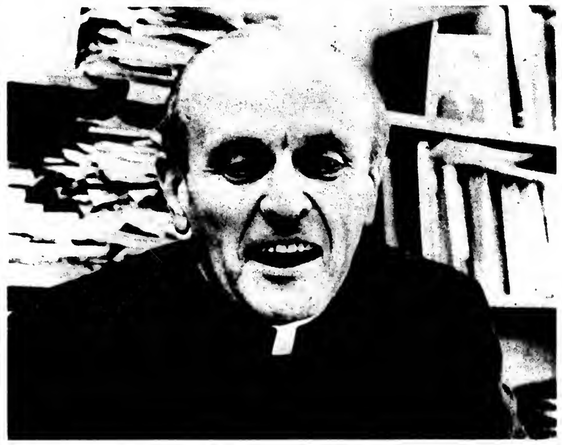
"THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT"

This Year's Elections And. . .

CHURCHMEN IN POLITICS

by Elsa Kruuse

The Rev. Andrew Young (left), with Georgia legislator Julian Bond.



Father Robert F. Drinan, S.J.

AS the spring political campaigns heat up which will come to a boil in the November elections, an unprecedented number of clergymen have entered the lists.

Perhaps best known to Protestants is the Rev. Andrew Young, ordained in the United Church of Christ, who is waging a campaign in Georgia to unseat white Republican U.S. Representative Fletcher Thompson.

"There comes a time in a democratic society when you have to do more than just preach," says Andy Young, who was Dr. Martin Luther King's aide and heads the racial justice work of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "You have to see that the Kingdom of God becomes incarnate in the life of society. And that means politics."

Not only the other Protestant candidates but three Roman Catholic aspirants to the U.S. Congress apparently agree with him.

One of the latter is the scholarly dean of the Boston College Law School, Father Robert Drinan, who is running for the U.S. House of Representatives on the Democratic ticket against two Republican opponents in Massachusetts. Considering his religious calling a "non-issue," he has taken issue instead with the Jesuits' Father General, rejecting "the idea that Jesuits must systematically avoid all political involvement."

When told that the American Civil Liberties Union was preparing a statement in his behalf, Father Drinan stated that he saw no need for one. "Massachusetts, which sent the first Roman Catholic to the White House in John F. Kennedy, and the first Negro, Edward W. Brooke, to the Senate, would have no problem sending the first Jesuit to Congress," he declared.

MEANWHILE, in Rhode Island, another Jesuit, Father John McLaughlin, an associate editor of the magazine, *America*, obviously concurs. He is seeking the Republican nomination to the U.S. Senate to take the seat of the incumbent John O. Pastore, a Democrat who has held it for the past 20 years.

A Catholic professor of philosophy at Youngstown University, Father Joseph R. Lucas, is seeking the Democratic nomination for Congress from Ohio on a platform of honesty in government.

And in New York City, the first Catholic priest to run for political office in the state's history is Father Louis Gigante of the Bronx, seeking the Democratic nomination for the House from his district. Commenting on his campaign, *Newsweek* notes that "he brings to the speaker's stump the earthy 'priest of the people' style that politicians spend lifetimes trying to acquire."

Father Louis R. Gigante

In Connecticut, the Rev. Joseph Duffey, a minister of the United Church of Christ who is taking care to play down his calling, is a strong favorite to unseat controversial Sen. Thomas J. Dodd, a Roman Catholic, in a state where more than half the Democrats are Catholics.

Another clergy-contender is campaigning in Missouri. An Episcopal priest, the Rev. John C. Danforth is described as "a Lindsay-style Republican." Heir to a breakfast food fortune, his goal is to take the seat now held by Sen. Stuart Symington.

"The ministry is part of my life," says Fr. Danforth, who makes no mention of his clerical status in his campaign literature, "but it is not germane to anything in my public life."

IN New York City, the Rev. Richard J. Neuhaus, nationally known writer on myriad subjects of concern to the Christian community, announced his candidacy on the Democratic ticket to unseat another Democrat, John Rooney, known in Congress for 27 years as "the pet of the Pentagon." However, early in April, the Democratic Reform Clubs in his district held a run-off between Neuhaus and better-known Pete Eikenberry for the nomination. Neuhaus, who is pastor of St. John Lutheran Church (Missouri Synod) in Brooklyn, N.Y. lost by three votes.

In his bid to be mayor of St. Paul, Minn., the Rev. Robert D. North, a 28-year-old Episcopal priest, was defeated by another candidate in the Democratic Farmer Labor Party, 44,267 to 39,495 votes. He blamed his defeat on rumors about him and false claims that "known Communists" were on his staff and that he planned to take all guns away from the police. Such reports, he said, were indicative of "a society that is dominated by fear."

SHOULD all the other candidates win election in November, it would have a significant effect on the political complexion of the U.S. Congress. Most are liberals in the worker-priest tradition and all are against the Vietnam war and are stanch champions of civil rights.

In addition to these clergy-campaigners for national office, one noted minister, the Rev. Dr. Donald Harrington, head of the Liberal Party and minister of Community Church in New York City, has announced he will run for governor of New York State. A lot of things can happen between now and primary day in this case, but the respect and support he enjoys are a clear indication of the temper of the voters who want change NOW.

Three incumbent clergy members of the U.S. House of Representatives are seeking re-election this year: Harlem's flamboyant Adam Clayton Powell, a National Baptist minister; John H. Buchanan, a Republican Southern Baptist from Alabama; and Henry C. Schedeberg, Republican of Wisconsin and a former Congregational minister.

On the local level, the Mayor of Somerville, Mass., S. Lester Ralph, is an Episcopal priest who won an overwhelming majority last fall, while the mayor of tiny St. Leo, Florida, is Sister Lucy Faciane, a Roman Catholic nun who also serves as dean of students at St. Leo's College.

Dr. Harrington has a word of warning, however, for clergymen entering politics. "A politician must compromise," he says, "but a prophet must not." A preacher who becomes a successful politician, he feels, should stop being a preacher.

IT SAYS HERE

NCC PRESIDENT JOINED IN STATEMENT ON CAMBODIA

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Mrs. Theodore O. Wedel, president of the National Council of Churches, and three denominational leaders presented a statement on the escalation of the Southeast Asia war at a press conference here, May 6.

Deploring any effort to repress dissent, they urged those in power "both to act with restraint and to listen to what opponents of the war are saying."

"This country," they said, "has once again acted militarily in a situation which has increasingly revealed the futility of military measures.

"We have heard a pledge of gradual withdrawal and see a large-scale invasion of a neutral nation; we have heard a pledge to save American lives and see action which exposes more American lives to danger; we have heard a condemnation of violations of neutral borders and see unrequested U.S. and South Vietnamese troops violating national borders; we have heard a pledge to bring us together and see action which is at this moment further tearing our already weakened social fabric," the statement declared.

The others signing were Bishop John Wesley Lord, Washington Area, United Methodist Church; Dr. William P. Thompson, stated clerk, UPUSA; and Dr. Robert Moss, president of the United Church of Christ.

* * * * *

MASSACHUSETTS CHURCHES JOIN IN PROTEST RALLY TO END WAR

BOSTON, MASS. — At a public rally in Copley Square on May 14, members of the city's churches and synagogues conducted services of mourning for the dead and prayers for "renewal of the American spirit of justice, peace and freedom."

Under the leadership of Richard Cardinal Cushing, Episcopal Bishops John M. Burgess of Boston and Robert Hatch of Springfield, United Methodist Bishop James K. Mathews of Boston and Rabbi Murray I. Rothman, president of the Massachusetts Board of Rabbis, the rally was in response to their call for "repentance for national wrongs."

"The invasion of Cambodia has shaken the foundations of America," they declared in their appeal, which also saw the Southeast Asia war as causing the alienation of the student generation, "brutally manifest by the deaths at Kent State University."

Meanwhile, in Worcester, Mass., two Catholic bishops issued a call for a "renewed commitment to peace." They spoke out amid turmoil in the city which saw all its 17 colleges and universities on "strike."

* * * * *

EVANSTON CLERGY WARN NATION "RIPE" FOR DICTATORSHIP

EVANSTON, ILL. — An interreligious and interracial group of 39 clergymen issued a statement here in the wake of the Cambodia invasion and the shooting of students at Kent State University pointing to a mounting danger of dictatorship in this country.

The statement likened the current repression of dissent to the "confused political atmosphere of the Germany of the 1930s." It said the country is "ripe for an attractive dictator to engineer a totalitarian government 'for our own protection.'"

"We commit ourselves," said the priests, rabbis and ministers who signed the statement, "to stand in the midst of dissent as advocates of justice and peace."

The group further said that the U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia and the invasion of Cambodia are "responsible for, and have indeed incited, acts of dissent, at times attended by violence." The war, they said, was "directly responsible for the killing of innocent young people at Kent State by guardsmen."

The statement added that the Executive branch of the Government "has identified dissent with treason" and that the present crisis "is the most serious of the 20th century" for our country.

* * * * *

SOUTH DAKOTA CLERGY GROUP ASKS CONGRESS TO ACT ON WAR

SIOUX FALLS, S.D. — Seven South Dakota clergy serving United Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches met in special session here on May 7 to issue an appeal to all church members in the state "to be the agents of reconciliation . . . in a broken society."

WASHINGTON D.C. — Police move in to arrest clergymen and others during an outdoor prayer service for peace across the street from the White House. Shown in center are Dr. Benjamin Spock (white hair) and, to his right, the Rev. David R. Hunter (in robe), deputy general secretary of the National Council of Churches. Among the 73 others arrested were Dr. John C. Bennett, retiring president of Union Theological Seminary, New York, and the Rev. Richard Fernandez, director of Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam.

"We deplore the increasing militarization of our nation," they declared, citing the Vietnam war and the "unilateral invasion of the sovereign nation of Cambodia."

The group urged the President to appoint a successor to Ambassador Lodge at the Paris peace negotiations and "to seek political rather than military solutions to the Asian dilemma."

Congress, they said, should "assume its clearly defined Constitutional responsibilities in 'making' and 'ending' wars, thus removing from the shoulders of the Chief Executive sole responsibility for the military actions of the nation."

* * * * *

ALASKA LAND CLAIMS BILL NOW IN FINAL STAGES

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Alaska Native Land Claims Legislation, which is being written in the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, is in its final stages.

As written, it is understood to provide for "up to 7.5 million acres" of land plus $500 million in Federal funds to be paid over a 12-year period. Efforts are being made to remove the limiting phrase "up to" which might mean considerably less, and to increase the acreage to between 10 and 11 million.

This and other provisions in the bill will be debated when hearings on it are held in the House Sub-Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

GM STOCKHOLDERS ACT TO ARREST AUTO POLLUTION

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Churches and church agencies holding stock in General Motors in efforts to require that company to commit adequate funds to eliminate auto contaminants, sent their representatives to the May 22 annual meeting in Detroit of the General Motors Corporation or turned over their proxies to Project Corporate Responsibility. This agency, backed by anti-pollution crusader Ralph Nader, was incorporated so as to be legally able to receive the proxies.

While the National Council of Churches holds only a few GM shares, it asked member denominations to review their holdings and to support two resolutions which had been placed on the GM docket by order of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission.

The first called for enlargement of the GM Board of Directors to include three members representing the public interest. The second asked that a GM Board committee be set up with full access to information concerning the company's efforts to produce a safer, non-polluting car.

Individuals and agencies of the United Presbyterian Church, which owns some 114.000 shares of GM stock, the Women's Division of the United Methodist Board of Missions, which voted its proxies on 7,857 shares, and other church agencies responded.

* * * * *

CHURCHES PROVIDED FUNDS FOR NEWARK VOTER REGISTRATION

NEWARK, N.J. — The final $10,000 of a $40,000 grant by the United Presbyterian Church to support the Committee for Unified Newark's voter registration drive was made on March 31 by the Presbytery of Newark.

Over the last 18 months, six denominations have provided $140,000 to the Committee "in view of the critical nature of the May municipal elections."

On election day, May 12, Kenneth A. Gibson, a black civil engineer, won 42 percent of the mayoral vote in a field of six, while the controversial incumbent, Hugh J. Addonizio got only 20 percent. A run-off is set for June 16 as none received a majority.

News Round-Up

(Continued from page 3)

Nashville, the faculty credited the students with exhibiting "greater sensitivity to the claims of justice and responsibility in word and deed than have the elected officials of the executive government."

Similar actions by faculties were taken at Chicago Theological Seminary, Union Seminary in New York, the New York Theological Seminary, and many on the West Coast and other parts of the country. They were joined by other Catholic and Jewish institutions, including the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, a Jewish women's organization, which demanded that the President ask state governors to restrict the use of live ammunition by the National Guard except in extreme emergencies.

And from across the Atlantic, officers of the World Council of Churches issued a statement deploring the invasion of Cambodia and citing earlier statements in which they had warned of the results of such an action. From Oslo, Norway, where they were attending a WCC committee meeting, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, general secretary, M.M. Thomas of India, and Miss Pauline Webb of Great Britain urged that Britain and the Soviet Union, as co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Pact on Southeast Asia, call a conference on the situation in Indochina "before this war explodes into a disaster engaging all mankind."

An Experimental Celebration of Easter That Made News

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD

by Harvey Cox

Theologian Harvey Cox steps out of his TEMPO role of movie critic and culture commentator to give here his own account of an experimental celebration of Easter, as it fell on the Eastern Orthodox calendar date. Among the 1,500 who attended was photographer Don McSorley whose picture appears here. "I'm a sort of hard-nose and a cynic," he told TEMPO. "But I stayed on and on after I took my pictures. It was a moving thing."

RECENTLY a group of friends joined me to plan a celebration of what we called "Byzantine Easter" in a Boston discotheque. We wanted to surround the colorful Eastern style mass with participatory liturgical dance (versus the spectator kind), with light-and-music collages, with physical encounter experiences, and also to bring those powerful Christian symbols into the cause of human liberation.

Harvey Cox conducts experimental liturgy.

We selected the "Byzantine" date for Easter partly because we did not want to seem to be confronting conventional Western churches negatively. Also we knew that the Eastern Christian tradition has preserved a richer and more gloriously festive Easter liturgy. But most importantly we wanted to emphasize the link between Easter and Passover, between Exodus and Resurrection, and the dating of Eastern Easter does that.

It comes at the end of Passover Week, so liberation from political bondage, in Egypt or anywhere else, is linked with liberation from sin (what chains us to the past) and death (what scares us about the future). We wanted to celebrate all these things at once. We scheduled the occasion for 4:00 a.m. and suggested that those who came should bring a loaf of bread to share. The publicity was very modest.

By 3:30 a.m. the discotheque was already teeming with people, heavy on youth but spanning the alleged generation gap. They heaped the altar high with pumpernickel, long French loaves, scones, matzos, heavy black bread and raisin tarts. People painted Zs, peace signs, fishes, crosses and assorted grafitti on each other's faces and bodies. Some people fashioned tiaras out of silver foil and crowned each other or painted pictures on long strips of paper taped to the walls.

At 4:30, with an environment created by the people for the occasion, the Passion Week portion of the evening-morning began. A serious mood reigned as a multi-screen light and music collage transformed the whole place into a contemporary Way of the Cross with scenes of war, death, cruelty, loneliness and racism. People watched and listened intently, joining in the music when they knew it. Then Bill Groves' extraordinary dancers moved among the multitudes, enticing them into sacred gesture and ritual motion. People who had never danced in their lives before, especially in a religious setting, stretched out arms and fused body with spirit. The lithe solemnity of the movement made me think we should get rid of pews from churches forever.

AFTER the dancing, people came together in small groups to prepare for the ceremony of the mass. Hands reached out and clots of people, from three to fifteen formed. People swayed, hugged, moaned, clung together, lifted each other, reached out toward the flickering *via crucis* on the walls. In one group a 'teeney began humming *Jesus Loves Me* and soon her whole arm-and-leg-enmeshed group began to hum with her. Then from the sound system poured forth the magnificent chords of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*. Again people clasped and unclasped embraces; arms reached up and out. "He was wounded for our iniquities. . . ." The whole crowd of fifteen hundred people seemed to be participating imaginatively in the crucifixion, and in man's perpetual crucifixion of his neighbor.

Then came silence. Then, a brief reading from the Gospel of Luke: "Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here. He is risen. . . ." Then, the *Hallelujah Chorus!* It was a sublime moment.

Most people have always secretly wanted to have a chance to sing the *Hallelujah Chorus*, booming out the bass or soprano with fortissimo feeling. But in our spectator-performed style of religion they have mostly had to bite their lips and listen. Here everyone joined in: "And he shall reign forever and ever. . . ." Not only did they sing, they jumped, danced, applauded.

As the last "Amen" of the chorus faded, the festive procession entered, to the march music from "Z", and wound through the crowd to the bread bedecked table. Candles flickered, vestments glistened, and clouds of incense wafted through the air. The celebrants included an Episcopal priest, two United Church of Christ ministers, one of whom is a woman, a Catholic priest of the Melkite rite, and a Roman Catholic priest. And myself, acting out, as one friend put it, all my repressed fantasies of ikons and chants and liturgical splendor.

AS the ecumenical communion began, an expectant hush fell over the crowd. They joined in the chanting of the *kyrie eleison;* they responded with "Right on!" to the reading of the prophesy of God's judgment on Babylon; they punctuated the litany with "Free Bobby Seale"; and they hummed a long "Om" during the epiclesis. We lit the enormous Easter candle, blessed the bread, and then invited people to take it "for free" and share it with their neighbors. After the benediction, we greeted each other with the Kiss of Peace. Again the discotheque swayed and sang. A resurrection light collage leaped onto the walls. Since the place is equipped with twenty-six projectors, the effect is like moving in an instant from a dim cave into a cathedral of luminous windows. Just as the collage was reaching its apex with the Beatles singing *Here Comes the Sun* someone threw open the back door. By some miracle of celestial timing, the sun was just beginning to peek over the Boston extension of the Massachusetts turnpike.

But like everything else in this uncertain life, even a Byzantine Easter must cope with the zealous custodians of convention. Someone called me into the discotheque's main office where I was awaited by two very formidable Boston policemen, who did not seem to be experiencing the empyrean ecstasy of resurrection.

"You told us this was going to be a religious service," one of them said, "but it looks to me like a debauch."

I wondered silently what a limited experience of debauches he must have had to be able to say that.

"Furthermore," he went on "the people are dancing in there and the music does *not* sound religious to me."

He brandished an empty wine jug, used earlier for communion, in my face, and asked if this sort of thing ordinarily went on at communion. I wanted so much to quote the lines from Acts of the Apostles to the effect that these people were "not filled with new wine but with the spirit." I doubted however that the reference would be appreciated, so I saved it. His last complaint was that he smelled marijuana. I assured him that what his nostrils detected was a particularly fragrant variety of oriental incense. He seemed unconvinced.

THE police insisted that the celebration be halted. We were coming toward the end anyway, but still I wanted desperately to refuse. At that moment another section of the *St. Matthew Passion* was playing and hundreds of people were moving to it in gentle undulating waves. At the edge of the turnpike, a group was bowing and chanting to the sun. If I had said "no" and gotten arrested, I thought, it might touch off the Scopes Trial of the 1970's; can the police stop a worship service because they don't think it seems religious? But the discotheque staff members were looking at me with silent, pleading eyes. Don't ruffle the fuzz. So I nodded and ambled over to the microphone.

I announced to the saints that the celebration was over. At least for now. We turned the lights on and the music off. In fifteen minutes everyone was gone, streaming out into the sunlight humming the *Hallelujah Chorus*. A few stragglers helped with the sweeping up. The upholders of law and order slammed the doors on their patrol car and drove away unsmiling.

As I climbed into my Volks to go home, I felt a little sorry. But then, as I glanced down to where my hands rested on the steering wheel I noticed something I had almost forgotten. On the backs of my hands, earlier in the evening, someone had painted a "Z" ("He lives") and a peace sign. I turned on the ignition and smiled. I know that, for that moment at least, I believed in the Resurrection.

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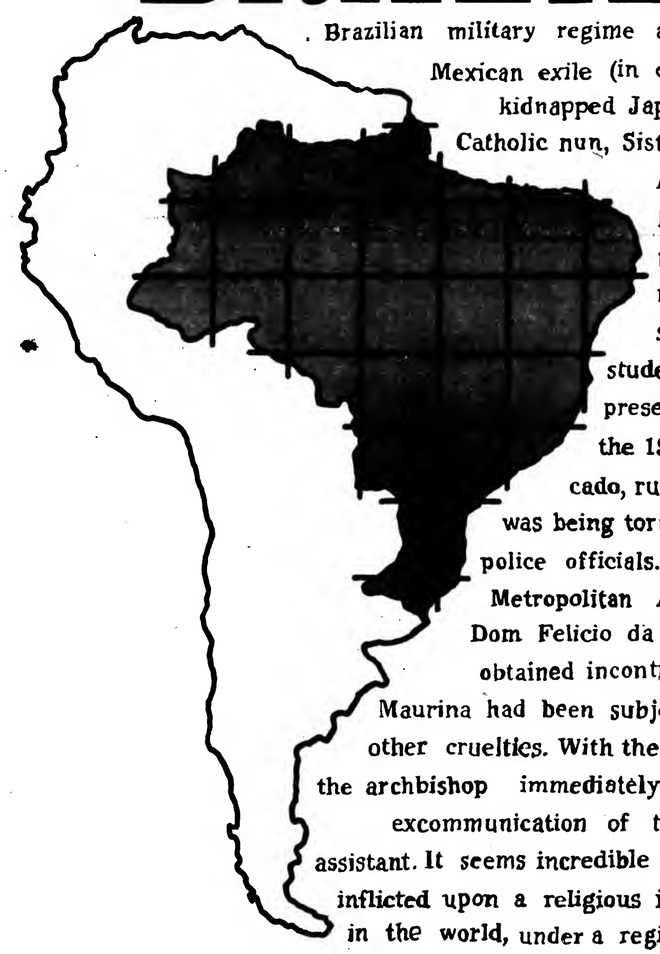
TEMPO

In Pace With The Changing Church

June 15, 1970

TORTURE IN BRAZIL



One of the five political prisoners released by the Brazilian military regime and flown in early March into Mexican exile (in exchange for the safety of a kidnapped Japanese diplomat) was a Roman Catholic nun, Sister Maurina Borges da Silveira. Arrested in October 1969, Sister Maurina, the Mother Superior of the Saint Anne's Home in Ribeirao-Preto, Sao Paulo State, was suspected of protecting alleged student "terrorists" opposed to the present military government. During the 19 days she was held incommunicado, rumors began to circulate that she was being tortured by the city's two highest police officials. Then, in mid-November, the Metropolitan Archbishop of Ribeirao-Preto, Dom Felicio da Cunha Vasconcelos, reportedly obtained incontrovertible evidence that Sister Maurina had been subjected to electric shocks among other cruelties. With the support of 70 diocesan priests, the archbishop immediately and publicly ordered the excommunication of the city's police chief and his assistant. It seems incredible that torture should have been inflicted upon a religious in the largest Catholic country in the world, under a regime which forcibly seized power

continued on page 4

Yale Divinity Library
New Haven, Conn.

TEMPOSITIONS

THE SOUTHEAST ASIA WAR: A CHRISTIAN VIEW

(As the war expanded and dissent increased last month, a group of distinguished Christians commented on the deepening crisis in a message for all Americans to read and think about. This message, together with the names of those who signed it, comprises TEMPO's editorial for this issue.—Ed.)

★ ★ ★

IN Colonial days, during the Continental Congress, at the time of the Civil War, national days of fasting and prayer were observed in times of crisis. Such crises, it was believed, are evidence that God is bringing us under His judgment and calling us to repentance and to those changes of policy that are fruits worthy of repentance. In this present crisis, brought about by the war abroad and tumult at home, we need to discern God's judgment and hear His call to repentance and amendment of our ways.

No man, no nation can finally plan and control the history we are living through. The questions in our minds acknowledge that. Have we become inextricably involved in this war? Have uncontrollable forces been unleashed? In faith we answer: God's purpose in Christ serves the interests and pretensions of no single nation, but the common good of all peoples. He is the Lord in the midst of this tragedy, and the ultimate reality is His will working its mysterious ways in judgment and in mercy. That is the fundamental reason the events of these days give us pause, open our eyes, and stir us to a serious change of heart.

The war in Southeast Asia is fundamentally a human problem. Have we understood that an Asian death is the same as an American death? When will enough human beings see through to the human beings on the other side to demand that this suffering stop? When our leaders appeal to honor to justify the continuation and extension of the war, we question whether they are not really asking for more human sacrifices to national pride. Those who appeal to national greatness should be reminded that greatness may now best be shown by restraint and the willingness to admit error in national policy.

Repentance A Priority

A national repentance is required. That means *reexamining* and *changing* basic ideas, positions and policies about this war, beginning in the minds of church members. This urgently means a new seriousness about negotiation. It means repenting of some habitual assumptions: that American power must be used for ideological purposes, that America alone must "keep the peace," that military power is the chief means of keeping the peace, that peace is best served by backing the *status quo*.

For the Christian, repentance is also a turn to new life. "Christ is risen" and is now the living Lord of history. That is the ground of our profoundest hope. In that light, Christians are also to hope all things, and some things quite provisionally, without a ready prospect or necessity for success. Rarely has there been so urgent a need in public life for men and women who can hope concretely. The most deadly poison in this war is its power to paralyze and silence responsibility. The questions is: when tempted to despair, can we hope and act again, concretely, provisionally, repeatedly?

Penitence and hope will lead to specific thought and action. The United States has said it seeks political rather than military solutions in Southeast Asia. Yet, by permitting the Paris negotiations to disintegrate, by transferring arms to the Saigon government, we are once again relying upon military power to solve the political problems of Vietnam.

The need, not only for political solutions, but for a new dependence upon political processes, becomes daily more apparent. Congress must assume its clearly defined constitutional responsibilities for the "making" and "ending" of wars. Citizens, as they participate in the electoral process should reflect their abhorrence for an unjust war. Honest penitence will be specific in redirecting national policy, and will emerge as a politics of hope.

Truth in Controversy

Dissent and controversy have helped reveal the truth of our situation. When amid preconceptions and prejudices the pursuit of truth requires controversy, Christians should welcome and conduct it well, for God is Lord in the midst of it.

Constructive controversy requires truth-telling. Language is of God, the means His Word has chosen to make Himself present among men: as such, it is our most precious instrument of community. Cheap rhetoric and half-truths fascinate too many people today, and at a terrible price, for they contaminate the language and deform the community. Name-calling, especially, polarizes men and confuses issues. We ask Christians and all other men to use language modestly and truthfully; to respect the neighbor's name; to speak the truth in love; to listen, to understand, and to respond.

Constructive controversy requires peace-making. True peace-making is not merely the stilling of conflict, but the achieving of right relations and all that leads to the patient pursuit of justice in social and politieal structures. Working through to right solutions, the controversies of blue collar worker and student, of black and white will both produce and evoke dissent. The increasing dissent which surrounds these efforts requires in public life men and women of patient endurance who are willing to risk being misunderstood and are respectful of those with whom they deeply disagree. The times call for social and political imagination — about new forms of constructive dissent, as well as new forms of social order. We observe the sensitivity of many young men and women to the immorality of our actions in Southeast Asia. We need to support them as they seek to change the direction of our involvement through nonviolent dissent and political action.

Vision and Action

"Be watchful," says the scripture. Violence and chaos are on the prowl, seeking whom they may devour. Sometimes they attack law and order; sometimes they employ what passes for law and order; in both cases the evil consequences quickly outrun the calculations of men. Yet we bear witness that God is Lord even in the midst of violence; He is not a God of confusion but of peace; and men may therefore stand with Him, even before the threat of chaos, bound to serious peace-making. Therefore, in all circumstances, let your vision, your action, and your hoping be worthy of the gospel of Christ."

Signed:

Bishop Stephen F. Bayne, Vice-President, The Episcopal Church
Dr. John C. Bennett, President, Union Theological Seminary
Dr. S. Loren Bowman, General Secretary, Church of the Brethren
Mr. Francis G. Brown, General Secretary, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends
Dr. John W. P. Collier, Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Board of Missions, African Methodist Episcopal Church
Dr. John Deschner, Profesnor of Theology, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University
Dr. Marion de Velder, General Secretary, Reformed Church in America
The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, Presiding Bishop, The Episcopal Church
Rev. S. S. Hodges, Executive Secretary, Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.
Dr. Frederick D. Jefferson, Associate Professor of Theology, Colgate Rochester Divinity School/Bexley Hall
Bishop John Wesley Lord, President, The United Methodist Church
Dr. Robert J. Marshall, President, Lutheran Church in America
The Rev. Ernest O. Martin, President, General Convention of The Swedenborgian Church
Dr. Robert V. Moss, President, United Church of Christ
Bishop D. Ward Nichols, Twelft District, African Methodist Episcopal Church
The Rev. J. C. Sams, President, National Baptist Convention of America
Bishop H. B. Shaw, Chairman of the Board of Bishops, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
Bishop B. Julian Smith, Senior Bishop, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Dean Krister Stendahl, The Divinity School University
Dr. William P. Thompson, Stated Clerk, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Dr. Edwin H. Taller, General Secretary, American Baptist Convention
Mrs. Theodore O. Wedel, President, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
Dr. Colin W. Williams, Dean of The Divinity School, Yale University
The Rt. Rev. Thaddeus Zielinski, Prime Bishop, Polish National Catholic Church of America ■

TEMPO

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell
ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler
PROMOTION: David Poindexter
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Mazu Tilghman, John W. Turnbull
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In the wake of the shocking decision to widen the Southeast Asia war and the slayings of four students with the use of government guns, TEMPO in this issue attempts to reflect with fact and comment the impact of this latest national crisis on the Church and her people. Noteworthy are the stories and articles on pages 3, 4, and 5, with additional news on page 7.

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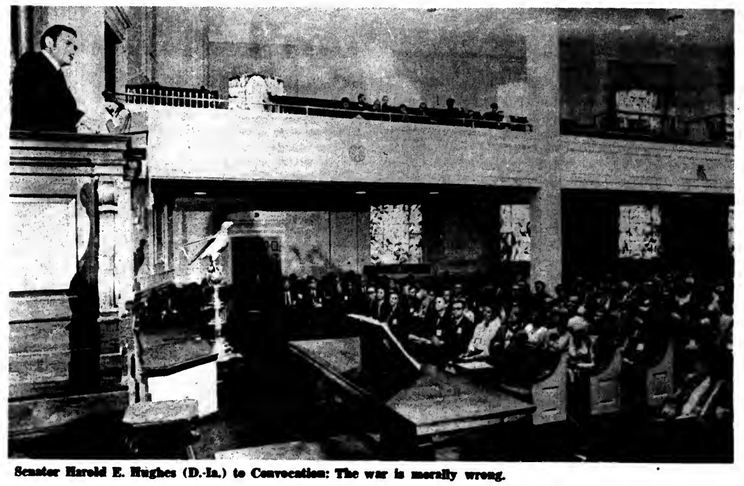
CREDITS: Cover by Heff. Photos on pages 3 & 4, Religious News Service; page 6, The Washington Post (by permission)

A Churchmen's Convocation to End the War

Text by John Novotney **Photos by John C. Goodwin**

via Religious News Service



Senator Harold E. Hughes (D.-Ia.) to Convocation: The war is morally wrong.

WASHINGTON, D.C. — One thousand clergy and laymen who took part in a May 26-27 gathering aimed at boosting anti-war support in Congress left here with ideas on how to rally peace forces at home.

Some said they were leaving the Capital with more insight into how the war in Southeast Asia fits into the whole picture of current government policy. The Convocation to Help End the War involved extensive briefings and personal visits with members of Congress.

Others contacted for comment at the close said they experienced frustration in talks with their senators and representatives.

"Turned off, intolerant, close-minded, defensive and unable to perceive the 'new life movement,'" was how one participant described his visit with a Pennsylvania congressman.

"Glad for support but indifferent to us, really," said another about a senator, adding that the legislator was "intolerant of people not respecting the complex workings of the Senate."

The convocation—called by 60 concerned Christian and Jewish leaders—was intended "to convince our national leaders that our concerns for humanity and morality demand that our government observe international law and the United Nations Charter."

A closing rally was held May 27 at the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, a few blocks from the Capitol. A leaflet, "When You Get Home" asked each person to contact five others within 48 hours, urging letters or wires to Congress on the war. Backing was also asked for the McGovern-Hatfield amendment which would withdraw all U.S. military personnel from Vietnam by June 30, 1971, and for the Church-Cooper amendment which would cut off funds to retain U.S. troops in Cambodia after June of this year.

The co-author of the withdrawal measure, Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.) was a speaker at the Lutheran Church. A United Methodist layman, the Senator said:

"One thing I have in common with you people in this sanctuary is the knowledge that the expressions 'I'm shocked' or 'I'm appalled' about what is going on in Vietnam are no longer relevant. Today the relevant words are 'yes' or 'no' on the roll-call vote on the so-called McGovern-Hatfield amendment. I pledged that the roll-call vote will be called no matter how long the opponents prolong the debate."

Rabbi Henry Siegman of New York, executive vice-president of the Synagogue Council of America, presided at the closing. "To betray our profoundest beliefs and our highest ideals, to do so precisely at a time when they are under the greatest stress and challenge — that is the surest way of betraying America," he said.

Another speaker, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Yale University chaplain, also defended the right of clergymen "to meddle in politics," referring to Moses who told Pharaoh, "Let my people go" as the first successful action.

With Cynthia C. Wedel, president of the National Council of Churches presiding on the opening day, the Convocation heard Sen. Harold E. Hughes (D.-Ia.) call for U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia "because our involvement in a civil war between two military dictatorships in a distant continent is wrong —morally wrong, arrogant and unconscionable."

A Methodist lay preacher who is co-sponsoring the McGovern-Hatfield amendment, the three-time Governor of Iowa replied to critics of students and other war dissenters by saying: "No one seeking peace in our land marches with a bomb—they walk in peace. Those who destroy do not—they are not with us, they are against us."

Like Sen. McGovern he, too, received a standing ovation. ■

TWO CLERGYMEN GO TO WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Two clergymen who seemed representative of a diverse interreligious delegation agreed that 48 hours of intensive policy briefing and anti-war lobbying here probably had more effect on the churchmen taking part than on members of Congress.

Father John P. Huhn, 32, of Battle Creek, Mich., and the Rev. Wayne P. Todd, 39, a Presbyterian pastor from Florence, Ala., not only came from different areas and backgrounds but also symbolized both the already active and the newcomer to clergy initiative.

Father Huhn and Mr. Todd voiced their reasons for coming here and their reactions and assessments of religious motivation in politics.

The priest, of St. Joseph's Catholic Church in Battle Creek, has been part of the anti-war movement since 1968 when he mailed his draft card to the State Department.

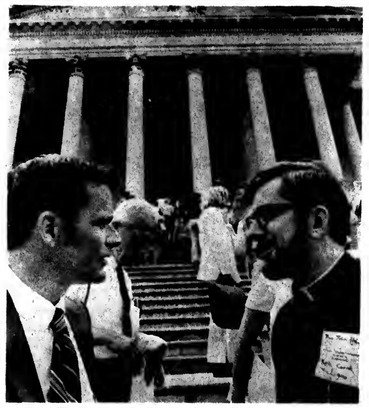
Mr. Todd, pastor of Florence First Presbyterian Church, (U.S.), had not been active in the organized peace movement as such.

Father Huhn said he came because it was essential "for me to see things from the point of view of our legislators if I'm to be a spiritual leader in my community. Even if I don't agree with him, I have to appreciate what my congressman thinks so I can make a more objective evaluation of the total situation."

Mr. Todd summed up: "I feel this has been worth doing, but I operate under no illusion that I changed the minds of my senator or representatives. But the fact that they listened is something."

The Alabama minister was not optimistic that the visits of the churchmen on Capitol Hill would have much if any discernible influence on the voting outcome on two measures before Congress to end the war in Indo-China unless it got more people to write and call their senators and congressmen.

Father Huhn said he felt the convocation had been a "reformation in the sense of making Christianity 'people-oriented' rather than 'thing-oriented.' Having been here two days gives me hope even in the face of frustrations during visits to the congressmen's offices." ■



Above, the Rev. Wayne Todd and Fr. John Huhn with two press reporters visit two youths in Lafayette Park who are fasting for peace. (See story on page 6.) Above right, Fr. Huhn stresses a point with Sen. James B. Allen (D.-Ala.) while the Rev. Wayne Todd and parishioner listen. At right, the two clergymen participate in peace vigil on Capitol steps.

The Churches, The Press, The Educators Are Called to Protest

TORTURE IN BRAZIL

by Ralph Della Cava

In the forefront of the struggle against Brazilian tortures and atrocities: Archbishop Helder Pessoa Camara, of Recife and Olinda.

(Continued from page 1)

six years ago for the express purpose of returning a "corrupt" and "Red-menaced" nation to the "Christian and democratic traditions of the West." However, widespread and systematic use of torture by all levels of the government is the single and most significant new development in the worsening internal political crisis of Brazil. Indeed, torture has become today the handmaiden of oppression in the desperate effort of the Brazilian military to extinguish the remaining vestiges of opposition to their almost total control of the polity and society.

For several months now unimpeachable documentary evidence regarding numerous cases of torture has been available in Western Europe. In November, 1969, the Brussels-based International Association of Democratic Jurists issued a report, entitled *Brazil '69: Torture and Repression*. Although the publication was largely devoted to an analysis of how the new, loosely defined National Security Law (decreed in Sept., 1969) transforms almost any act of opposition to the present government into a crime against Brazil's "nationality security," it also reproduced several important documents and letters containing the names of about a hundred students, professionals and clergymen and a brief description of the tortures inflicted upon each.

Further reports of torture have been issued from Algiers by the Brazilian Information Front a clandestine group of Brazilian Marxists and Christians. If the anonymous character of these documents poses a problem of credibility for some readers, unassailable authenticity is the hall mark of the most widely publicized dossier on torture that was submitted to Pope Paul at the end of 1969 and endorsed for its reliability by 60 of Europe's prominent intellectuals and religious leaders.

The dossier contains eleven separate documents. Two concern the cold-blooded murder in May, 1969, of Fr. Antonio Henrique Pereira Neto, a Northeastern priest working among university students, by army-condoned, right-wing terrorists. Another is the public protest issued last July by 38 priests from Belo Horizonte against "the physical and moral outrages" continuously committed against imprisoned priests and laymen since December, 1968. Other documents recount the tortures inflicted upon students, peasant leaders and a Belgian missionary priest summarily deported last August.

Three documents bear the signature of Recife's celebrated Archbishop Dom Helder Camara. In Rome last January 26, the outspoken prelate was received attentively at the Vatican's portals by Pope Paul who exclaimed in public to the Brazilian: "The Church will tolerate no longer the commission of atrocities and tortures in a country that calls itself Christian."

Despite the Pope's indignation (transmitted to Brazilian authorities who banned its publication), "the situation in Brazil today is considerably more serious than that observed in Greece last year." That opinion was made public at a Paris press conference on March 6th last by a spokesman from the International Federation of the Rights of Man and three other international legal and civil rights entities.

Torturers and Tortured

From these public sources now available, it is possible at this moment to take preliminary stock of some of the more important factors bearing on the employment of torture.

First of all, it is important to ask just when and how torture became widely employed as an instrument of repression. Most observers are inclined to date this phenomenon from about December, 1968. That month, "hard-line" officers within the Brazilian army pulled off a successful "coup within a coup." The late president, Army marshal Arthur Costa e Silva, was forced to close down the Federal Congress, while the executive branch was again empowered to deprive at will any political opponent of his political rights for ten years.

A second consideration concerns the victims of torture. There is no exact number, but it would probably not be an exaggeration to state that more than 500 persons were tortured during 1969. (This estimate is most likely low since following the release of kidnapped U.S. Ambassador C. Burke Elbrick last September, over 5,000 persons —2,000 in Rio alone—had been rounded up and held prisoner for varying lengths of time.) Among the tortured are men and women, whose average age—which the French investigating mission calculated this March from among the more than 10,000 persons still imprisoned—is 22 years!

Obviously, university students and, in recent months, significant numbers of high school students are the chief victims. Most are of affluent, middle-class backgrounds, and as a group they comprise the one social category whose democratic efforts to secure civil liberties and promote a free public debate on national issues have been repeatedly met with utter violence. During the first half of 1968, thousands of students were jailed after spontaneous street marches to "end the dictatorship" in several cities proved to have the overwhelming support of the populace. Police repression was so severe in June, 1968, that the month is today remembered as "Bloody June." Finally, in April, 1969, almost a hundred professors at the universities of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, the last remaining public defenders of the students, were forced into "voluntary retirement." In a word, the regime has boxed students into the one option left to them: namely, to regroup as a clandestine movement.

Merciless Reprisals

With the student movement and universities in shambles, it is no wonder that reprisals against students have been merciless. The brutal death last November of the 23-year-old Sao Paulo medical student, Chael Charles Schreier, was attributed to severe internal hemorrhaging clearly the consequence of violent beatings inflicted during the few hours he was held in custody of army police in Rio de Janeiro. The death of Schreier, a Jew, has convinced Brazilians of the army's direct role as torturer, while it also suggested in some circles the possible revival of anti-Semitism within the Brazilian armed forces.

Clergymen, mostly Roman Catholics, have been the second largest target of oppression and torture. Those who have exercised an apostolate in university student circles and are thus usually more progressive—and suspect—were ready targets from the outset. Next in line were those priests and nuns who—whether they concurred or not with aims sought by some student guerrillas —felt compelled by Christian charity and justice to offer sanctuary and protection from arrest and imprisonment. Finally there were those churchmen, especially those of the Dominican and Jesuit orders, who as Brazilian intellectuals were considered to be hostile to the authoritarianism of the military rulers.

In moving against the clergy, the military has made no distinction between foreigners and nationals. During 1969, suspected Belgian, French, and American missionaries were arrested, some tortured, almost all deported. Nationals may even be less fortunate than their foreign confreres whose anguished cries have at last been heard on the other side of the Atlantic.

Neither has the military distinguished between low and high clergy. In late 1968 and early 1969, a typical assault on Dom Helder's archdiocesan residence consisted of machine-gun bursts and hostile grafitti. Since the latter part of 1969, the assaults have become more direct and menacing, precisely because they are "legal." A case in point involves Dom Waldyr Calheiros, Bishop of Volta Redonda, Brazil's steel mill city. He and eleven of his priests issued a letter in July, 1969, accusing a local army unit of torturing a trade union leader of the diocese. The army held a hearing, denied the charge and condemned Dom Waldyr as an agitator! On December 4, 1969, a military court indicted the bishop and fifteen of his priests on the charge of subversion. Their trial is now pending.

A third category comprises the intellectuals —the publishers, writers and professors, the lawyers and journalists who had managed to escape the punitive waves of 1964 and 1966-67 when the military "legally" deprived many citizens of their political rights for ten years or forced many others into exile. Now, however, some leading publishers such as Enio Silveira, director of Brazil's major publishing house, have been brought to the brink of bankruptcy by government confiscation of "subversive" literature after it reaches the bookstores. Leading writers and university professors by the hundreds live under constant threat of investigation, military trials, firings and physical outrage. Terror silences even those who have dared to remain at home.

Workers and peasants would rightly be expected to comprise the last category of victims. Except for some instances, this has not been the case. The reasons are quite obvious. Peasant organizations, confined primarily to the Northeast, had been led by middle- and upper-class politicians. Their exile or imprisonment resulted in the immediate collapse of scattered and none too numerous rural affiliates.

Instrument of National Policy

From all available evidence, torture in Brazil is today an instrument of national policy whose purpose is not to seek information about "subversives," but to bring to heel all and any opposition to the present rule of the armed forces. First of all, the techniques of torture are no longer limited to beatings, pistol whippings, clubbings and the spontaneous violences of individual police anger and sadism. They are increasingly more sophisticated and complicated and, as such, require both considerable personnel and organization for their implementation. Here is a brief description, based on a variety of documents from all parts of Brazil, of the three most common tortures:

1. *pau de arara* (parrot's perch): the victim is handcuffed and his arms placed over his legs which are bent up close to the chest. A long pole is inserted in the cavity formed between his knee and arms. The pole is raised horizontally above the ground and thus the victim, usually naked, hangs head down. In this position, he can be beaten, clubbed, subjected to electric shocks or "hydraulics" (water poured down his nostrils) and other cruelties.

2. *mesa de operacao* (the operating table): the victim is strapped to an iron table equipped with a gadget that stretches the body; a surgical probe is used to scrape the ribs.

3. *choques electricos* (electric shocks): the victim is usually forced to strip before wires are attached to the most sensitive parts of the body and even inserted into the orifices. Electric current is discharged from an apparatus that is most usually described as a manually-cranked, box-like generator, not unlike a field telephone.

Second, identical tortures are employed in different parts of the country. Third, the three branches of the armed services (army, navy and air force) appear to have played an increasingly larger role co-ordinating and supervising the torturing of political prisoners.

In view of the wide-scale tortures and the increasingly Fascist militarization of Brazil, what explains the official silence of the United States Government? Had any of the incidents alluded to here occurred in Castro's Cuba or some Eastern European nation, Washington would have long ago condemned the outrage. Its silence is a resounding reaffirmation of its policy of complicity in regard to Brazil.

Lincoln Gordon, now president of Johns Hopkins University, was the architect of that policy. As U.S. ambassador at the time of the military coup of 1964, Professor Gordon persuaded the Johnson Administration to recognize the new regime "within 24 hours, even though the regime's policies were largely unknown." Then, as the military junta proceeded to purge the universities, the student movement, the trade unions, the press, congress and government ministries as well as deny three ex-presidents and hundreds of other citizens their political rights for ten years, Dr. Gordon did not once raise his voice in protest. It was his view that the military coup might well be considered ". . . the single most decisive victory for freedom in the mid-20th century." Thereupon, massive quantities of U.S. aid, loans and investments were bestowed upon the victors.

The Gordon precedent appeared so well established that Governor Nelson Rockefeller returned from his tour of Brazil in June, 1969 (one month after the assassination of Father Henrique Neto) without condemning a single act of violence perpetrated over the previous five years by the military regime. In fact, he was so favorably impressed with the generals, he recommended that commercial arms sales be increased to all Latin American countries and that unqualified support be given to programs aimed at curbing "internal subversion."

The U.S. and Public Opinion

The Rockefeller recommendation raises the question whether the U.S. Government has not been directly involved in Brazil's internal affairs and whether it is not now engaged in the Brazilian armed forces' "counter-insurgency" activities. Until a few weeks ago, these questions had not come to the attention of the American public. But a *Washington Post* editorial against "Oppression in Brazil" on February 28 has resulted in significant disclosures. At first, the Brazilian ambassador in the capital deplored the *Post's* suggestion that "the United States should abandon its continued and close relations with Brazil," while Dean Acheson argued in a separate letter that a nation's internal policies, even if dictatorial, did not make her "any less a true and loyal ally."

Acheson's March 3 letter, in which he also urged the U.S. to continue to support such "allies, neighbors and friends (as) Greece, Haiti, Brazil, Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia . . .," was followed ten days later by one of the most revealing indictments of U.S. policy in Brazil. Its author is Richard S. Winslow, Jr., a Foreign Service reserve officer with the Agency for International Development whose expenditures in Brazil for "economic development" rose from $15.1 million in 1964 (the year of the coup) to an estimated $187 million in 1970. Winslow, however, suggests that AID funds may not be going for "economic development," but "to increase the efficiency of (Brazil's) oppressive police force. . . . During fiscal year 1970, the State Department's Agency for International Development is spending $451,000 on its 'public safety' program in Brazil; $292,000 is now paying for 13 U.S. police specialists residing in Brazil and helping to train thousands of Brazilian police in 'criminal investigations,' 'counter-insurgency,' and the use of the most modern police equipment. AID boasts that in fiscal 1968, 16,000 Brazilian police were trained under this program. Another $129,000 is being spent this year to bring 58 police officials to the United States for an average of four months' training in the latest police techniques."

Of the many implications contained in Winslow's letter, the most obvious is that Washington's silence is a matter of fundamental policy.

Accordingly, it might be well here to delineate areas of immediate concern to three sectors of American public opinion whose interests are linked to Brazil's destiny; namely, the press, the churches and the academic community.

The American press should break its editorial silence about torture in Brazil. The American press should also give more attention to the arrest and imprisonment of journalists and to the imposition, since February, of censorship. Finally, the implications in Winslow's letter to the *Post* should be relentlessly pursued: were any of the 16,000 Brazilian police agents trained by AID in "counter-insurgency" in 1968 responsible for the massive repression of 1969? Have any of the 13 U.S. "police specialists" now residing in Brazil taken part in torturing Brazilian political prisoners? Lastly, is there any real danger that overall U.S. policies in Brazil might involve the nation in a Latin American "Indochina"?

A greater moral duty belongs to the Christian churches, Brazil being at once the largest Catholic nation in the world and the largest Protestant nation in Latin America. Moreover, countless numbers of laymen and clergy, primarily but not exclusively Catholic, have been victimized, and in several cases, murdered. Surprisingly, the Brazilian Catholic Church, once a mainstay of the *status quo*, has emerged for a variety of reasons as the only national institution that remains capable of defending the principles of freedom, justice and social change in the face of government repression. Yet, neither the U.S. Catholic Conference nor the National Council of Churches has really called its flock's attention to the crisis facing the Brazilian churches (and, in an ecumenical spirit, to the potential rise of anti-Semitism toward Brazil's 150,000 Jews).

Finally, the academic community, including students but above all teachers and scholars of Latin America, must throw off its narrowly professional timidity in approaching the Brazilian tragedy.

Just a decade ago, the Brazilian people were buoyant with hope and optimism about their future. Now, in the tightening grip of tyranny, the nation is being mercilessly divided into two camps. Shall Brazil be plunged into a full-scale civil war? It is highly unlikely in the immediate future; indeed, may she be spared such a fate. But, if it should come to that, where will American public opinion stand? Where will Washington? Can we look forward to a new Vietnam on an incalculably larger scale? The answers may soon be forthcoming. ■

—Dr. della Cava teaches history at Queens College, New York City, and is a member of the Brazil Seminar at Columbia University. His article is condensed from Commonweal, *April 24 issue and is reprinted by permission.*

ADDITIONAL READING ON LATIN AMERICA

A packet of contemporary studies on the critical issues facing church and society in Latin America is available through the Latin America Department of the National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027—at $3.50 per packet. Topics covered in 17 different documents, pamphlets and other pieces include:

Illusion And Reality In Inter-American Relations
Protestant Churches and Latin American Revolution
Terror In Brazil
Colombia: A Mortgaged Nation
Methodist Manifesto to the Bolivian Nation
Cuba Today
The Ecumenical Movement in Latin America

Why One Man Fasts for Peace

A TALK WITH BRIAN McDONNELL

by John W. Turnbull

SUNDAY, the twenty-fourth of May, 1970, a muggy afternoon in Washington, promising thunderstorms—a promise soon fulfilled and abundantly.

Lafayette Square is as pleasant as any place in the city could be on such a day: the walks and the planting and the fountains all freshly refurbished this spring, the flowers in riotous full bloom and the trees and grass still fresh and green, and in the shade a little relief from the heat.

On one side they've been renovating some of the fine old houses where people like Henry Adams and Stephen Decatur used to live; on another the city's best hotel and its most historic church sit modestly; on the third some newer and bigger buildings, but handsome and harmonious.

But the primary point of reference for the square is its fourth side, where you see the finest house of all, the one where our Presidents have lived for a century and a half.

On this particular Sunday afternoon Brian McDonnell is stretched out on a blanket on the grass in Lafayette Square with his friend Tom Mahany and his wife Alice and Tom's girl and a dozen or two of their friends. You'd hardly notice them if you weren't on the lookout, and if you did you'd probably think they were having a picnic or just taking a little air until you got closer and then you'd see that they were very quiet and very serious and someone would hand you a mimeographed sheet explaining who they are and why they are there. (They used to have a little sign, but the police made them take that down.) You would be about the sixty-thousandth person to receive one of those leaflets.

Brian McDonnell (left) chats with companion Tom Mahany in early days of their continuing fast for peace, while sympathizer looks on. Sign was later removed by order of police.

It is the twenty-second day that Brian has spent there in the park, and the fifteenth for Tom. Brian, twenty-seven years old, is assistant director of the Health and Welfare Council of Delaware County, Pennsylvania. Tom, twenty-three, is a student from Rochester, New York, a former member of the class of 1969 at West Point and a veteran of the war in Vietnam.

It is also the twenty-second day for Brian, and the fifteenth for Tom, of total abstinence from all forms of nourishment except water and a bit of medication, a fast they have pledged to continue until all American troops are withdrawn from Cambodia.

I HAD met Brian through a mutual friend and had arranged for him to come out to my house for an interview: it seemed as if it might go better out of the heat and away from the interruptions of visitors and friends. (Alice had to go back to work in Philadelphia: "Someone has to pay the rent," Brian said.)

He was thin, a little pale, and walked slowly and a bit bent and with considerable effort, but his eyes were aglow with life. He carried a little canteen of distilled water from which he took sips with some frequency, and a pack of cigarettes which he smoked almost as regularly.

In the car we talked about the service they'd had that morning. Most of the congregation of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church had come down to Lafayette Square in the middle of their principal Eucharist of the day so that they could share it with Brian and Tom. (The priest had asked Brian if he thought receiving the Bread and the Wine would break his fast, and he had said no, he didn't think so.) They and their friends had spent as much of the morning as possible quietly getting themselves together in preparation for the service, and it had been an event of unforgettable power. Brian smiled a little and said there was only one thing wrong, the wine used was one of his favorites and he thought it was kind of a dirty trick to remind him.

When we got home he settled down in a big chair and I asked him if he'd like just to rest for a bit and maybe listen to some music, and he said he'd like that. I offered him selections ranging from Haydn to the Rolling Stones, and we decided on the new Beatles album which he hadn't heard, but we didn't really do it justice, because conversation kept breaking out and I had to keep turning the volume down so we could hear each other. (Only when we got to the title cut, "Let It Be," I said shush and listen to this because I think it's a particularly fine song.)

THIS protest is in no sense directed at Mr. Nixon as a man," Brian said, "but at the use of violence as an instrument of American policy, which the Cambodian invasion intensifies. As a matter of fact, I blame *us* — the people — and especially our liberal leadership, more than I blamed Nixon, for the concentration of power and the isolation of the Presidency that has brought us to such a pass.

"Everyone needs friends. I could not do what I am doing without the presence and support of my friends. But who will be a friend and supporter of Nixon? All the "good liberals" deserted him —remember what a time he had getting the men he wanted to take jobs in his Administration? I especially blame Humphrey: Nixon wanted him, but he wouldn't do it. So Nixon is left with the military advisers and their civilian allies.

"I would like to get through to Nixon just as man to man—let his humanness touch mine and mine his. The main thing that really bothers me about him is his paranoid fear of China. It's like the fear of the Soviets of a few years ago, and it will make aggressive enemies out of the Chinese just as it did out of the Russians.

"One of Nixon's close friends and advisers, Leonard Garment, came over to see us yesterday. We had a good talk, and he said he'd try to arrange an appointment with the President, and I'm fairly hopeful. I said I'd meet the President any time, any place—on a dark corner or in some little saloon at two in the morning if he'd like. After all, my life is on the line, and I'm not after some publicity. I would just like to talk with him about the alternatives to violence and about how he could really help change the country.

"I didn't much like that anti-war rally on the Ellipse the other day. It really was violent—not in a physical sense, of course, but in a spiritual sense. It was violent in its verbal abuse of the President, and it was violent in its abuse of the people who came—subjecting them to those endless harangues, like an interminable political rally, and without even getting the barbecue! That sort of performance creates despondency in people, and that's very dangerous.

"Communication is terribly important. I think our fast is an important success in that respect. We have talked to an awful lot of people—individuals, small groups, large groups. We've gotten support from many, argument from some, hostility from a very few. Mostly we're opening up discussion, and that's all to the good.

"We've had some extraordinary visits. A high-ranking officer in the Air Force came over one night in civilian clothes. (I don't know why he didn't come in uniform and in daytime, but I don't judge him for that.) He wanted advice about how to help his two sons evade the draft. He plans to emigrate to Canada himself.

"Then there was a police officer who was involved in our arrest the other day. (That was because of the sign, which the federal people decided they wouldn't allow. The local authorities are very tolerant of us except when Justice puts the heat on.) He could not have been kinder or more gentle, and by the time we got to the police station he was almost in tears and said that it was he who was the criminal and not me.

"When men like those are driven to such shame and such guilt for themselves and their country, something is terribly and fundamentally wrong.

"Fasting is the closest one can come to total non-cooperation with a vicious system. I've never registered for the draft, I don't pay the telephone tax surcharge, all that sort of thing — but the fast frees you from almost every need for the system, frees you just to be a man, frees you to think, to grow, to bear witness. You know, we need almost nothing in order to live down there —except of course the support and love of our friends. Sitting there in Lafayette Square I may be the freest man in the world!

"So far I'm in pretty good shape physically. I've lost a lot of weight, but my blood pressure, heart, and so on are still O.K. I have a good doctor who sees me nearly every day. One thing I can tell you in favor of fasting — it has cured my colitis! But of course I'm getting weaker, and there's only so much that can be done to arrest the process. The doctor says that starting Thursday he doesn't want me to walk any more, and to use a wheel chair. That strikes me as a damned nuisance: I don't walk much anyway, and I think a little exercise is good for me. But I guess I'll do as I'm told.

"I really don't want to die, you know; I'm a great lover of life. Tom and I and Alice and Barbara (that's Tom's girl friend) and our friends talk some about what we should do when we begin to weaken maybe irreparably, or lose consciousness, or whatever: we have not come to any decisions about that."

BRIAN'S mother had died the day before, and on the following day he was going to Scranton for her funeral. "I feel very good about her," he said. "She hadn't had much to live for since my father died ten years ago, and she was very ill. Now she is at peace. She and my father were

(Continued on page 8)

IT SAYS HERE

UPUSA ASSEMBLY: LAIRD ON GOD: ROMNEY ON NIXON

CHICAGO, Ill. — After completing its first item of business — election of the Rev. William R. Laws Jr. of Columbus, Ind., as the new Moderator or presiding officer, the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. undertook work on a heavy agenda. It included acceptance of the Consultation on Church Union plan, actions ranging from statements on violence to equality for women, and a liberal document on sexuality which was received but not adopted.

Speakers covered the spectrum from representatives of the "Submarine" church to the U.S. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney. The latter was sent by President Nixon to explain the war in Southeast Asia to the 823 commissioners (delegates) of the denomination's policy-making unit.

Secretary Laird's remarks were made at a breakfast of some 500 members of Presbyterians United for Biblical Concerns, an unofficial conservative group of churchmen.

"When man sees himself in the place of God and relegates God to the tomb," said the Defense Secretary, "then man is indeed in serious danger."

Secretary Romney explained the Administration's Southeast Asia policy in the absence of Secretary of State Rogers, who was in Europe. Stating that the Cambodian action has already speeded withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, Mr. Romney asked that any statement on Cambodia by the Assembly be withheld for several weeks. Defending the Vietnamization policy, he rejected military victory, hasty withdrawal, and negotiated settlement as "absolutely impossible." He also stated his view that "in the Cambodian action, the President had the faith of the American people."

In contrast, a group of long-haired, hippie-clad members of the "Submarine Church" won 30 minutes of floor time and a three-hour lunch with the new Moderator.

A spokesman for the group explained: "We are kind of fundamentalists (who) believe in the wholeness of the Bible and we think the Presbyterian Church has forgotten this book."

They were also articulate and demonstrative about marijuana, which some of them appeared to be smoking. Earlier, in a report on drugs, an original recommendation that all punitive restrictions on its use be dropped was changed to ask that charges concerning its use be changed from a felony to a misdemeanor.

Report on Sexuality

Approved for study was a major document downgrading some traditional views of certain sexual practices as "sin." However, it was quickly amended by adding a paragraph listing those sexual acts considered sinful. The original resolution had been adopted by 485 to 259 votes while the extra paragraph won 356 to 347 votes.

In other action, a Chicago police officer was influential in preventing the Assembly from adopting a resolution calling for police-civilian review boards. A voting delegate, he declared: "I approve of looking into police activities but we should look to all violence, including both provocation and reaction."

Earlier, the Assembly had condemned "official injustice," naming the Black Panther killings, and the loss of innocent life in Augusta, Ga., Jackson, Miss., and Kent State University.

Another major action was a resolution on the Southeast Asia war, passed by voice vote, calling for the withdrawal of all U.S. military personnel by the end of 1971, and supporting the McGovern-Hatfield amendment before the Senate. The document also asked President Nixon to appoint "a distinguished American of ambassadorial rank" to head the U.S. peace delegation in Paris.

Views on the War

One of the most discussed issues at the Assembly, the Cambodian invasion and the war in general, was the topic of numerous speakers including Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, general secretary of the World Council of Churches, and Dr. Robert Bilheimer, head of the Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches.

"Our Christian brethren all over the world, with very few exceptions, are saying to us Americans that we are morally wrong in trying to win a victory by Vietnamization or any other way," Dr. Blake declared.

Dr. Bilheimer, who addressed a meeting of the United Presbyterian Peace Fellowship, called the war "obscene and intolerable." He suggested that the United Nations oversee the departure of the American troops. "Otherwise," he said, "we and others won't get out."

Women's determination for a greater role in decision-making was much in evidence throughout the Assembly. Mrs. Harold E. Boesch, president of United Presbyterian Women, cited the language of the Church's constitution as one indication of the need for change. "The traditional greeting has always been, 'Fathers and Brethren,'" she pointed out. Other recommendations were presented by a Standing Committee on Women, which noted that only 10 precent of the Assembly delegates were women while they make up 57 percent of the total UPUSA membership.

Dealing with fiscal matters, the Assembly barred a plan to fund a project for depressed areas and deprived people by calling for 5 percent cuts in agency budgets which would have raised $3 million. Those supporting the proposal saw the problem not as a lack of money but of conviction.

With the appointment of a 30-member National Committee on the Self-Development of People, a fund-raising drive will begin in 1973 when individuals will be asked to give 2 per cent of personal income, lands, buildings and equipment, while local churches will be asked for 4 percent of their incomes.

In other action, it was reported that in 1971, a plan of union between it and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., will be received, reuniting the two bodies for the first time since the Civil War.

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LWF ASSEMBLY TO MOVE FROM BRAZIL?

MINNEAPOLIS (RNS)—The Lutheran World Federation would expose itself to ridicule if it transferred its assembly from Brazil to "some secure place of refuge" after adopting "Sent Into the World" as the Assembly theme, the Federation's president said here.

But the declaration of some Lutheran officials that they would not go to Brazil and the declaration of others that they would not attend if the Assembly is moved, "indicates the bind we are in," said Dr. Fredrik A. Schiotz.

Dr. Schiotz, who is also president of the American Lutheran Church, said he had never been in a situation where such good arguments could be marshalled on either side of an issue.

The decision to hold the Assembly in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in July has been hotly debated because of opposition to the Brazilian government. If the Assembly is held in Brazil, some Lutherans have insisted, it should not include government leaders among special guests. (The LWF has since decided not to invite Brazil's president to attend.)

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GENERAL BOARD TO MEET IN NATION'S CAPITAL

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The policy-making General Board of the National Council of Churches will meet at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C. on June 20 and 21, to face a choice of options for restructuring the 20-year-old Council. The changes, if adopted, could markedly affect the ecumenical movement in this country.

The options have been drawn up by a committee of 15 board members chaired by the Rev. Arie Brouwer of the Reformed Church in America, and made up by a representative mixture of church "power people," minority groups, women and youth.

During the past five months, the group has been reviewing many proposals for making the NCC a more effective agency.

Some of the issues which have been reviewed by the committee are: financial responsibility for General Board programs; the possibility of widening the membership of the NCC to include agencies of the Roman Catholic Church, Evangelicals, and secular groups with similar goals; and whether or not certain NCC programs should be phased out and what new ones might be created.

In other business, the board will hear progress reports on NCC activities on behalf of Indians, Alaskan Natives, and the national hunger program.

A policy statement calling for Christians to adopt methods of birth control in order to practice responsibility in terms of the population explosion will be presented for action.

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'CAMPAIGN GM' DEFEATED AT STOCKHOLDERS' MEETING

DETROIT — "Campaign GM," an effort with some church backing, lost its round at the annual stockholders' meeting of the world's largest corporation here, but succeeded in dominating much of the talk at the session.

The campaign, launched by a Committee of Corporate Responsibility, backed two specific proposals before the stockholders. One would have set up a Shareholders Committee for Corporate Responsibility to check on GM strides to make a safer and non-polluting automobile. A second measure would have placed three directors representing "public interest" on the GM board. The management and a great majority of stockholder representatives opposed the proposals.

Among those voting relatively small amounts of stock for the "Campaign GM" were the United Methodist Board of Missions, the National Council of Churches and units of the United Presbyterian Church.

Dr. H. Leroy Brininger, an associate general secretary of the National Council of Churches, explained why his organization decided to support the campaign with its 500 shares.

"Great corporations make decisions that affect everyone in our society," he said, "yet few people have an effective voice in shaping those decisions. It is not clear that even the stockholders have such a voice. One of the crucial questions for the future is the responsibility—and the responsiveness—of great corporations to the health, safety and interest of our whole society."

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LCA SYNOD URGES IMMEDIATE U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM CAMBODIA

GREEN LAKE, Wis. — A resolution urging immediate withdrawal of American troops from Cambodia and rapid withdrawal of U.S. combat troops from South Vietnam was adopted by the Wisconsin-Upper Michigan Synod of the Lutheran Church in America at its annual meeting.

The resolution urged reorientation of the economy "from a dependence on militarism to . . . serving the needs of the people." Two other resolutions commended President Nixon for taking steps to renounce U.S. use of chemical and biological warfare and urged synod congregations to act as forums for discussion of major issues of the day.

The Rev. Theodore E. Matson of Milwaukee was re-elected as synod president.

TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

Reviewing: Woodstock on Film

THERE it is, spread out before you in eye-bashing color: the miles of stalled cars, the thousands of bedraggled but smiling faces, the spots playing on glistening guitars, the moist naked bodies sloshing in the cow pond, the oozing acres of mud, but most of all the sheer size of the whole thing. The *Woodstock* film does succeed admirably in transferring to film at least something of the spirit and verve of the *d'ng an sich*. Like its predecessors, *Jazz on A Summer Day* and *Monterey Pop*, it does so in part through a skillful and varied use of the cinema medium—split screens, slow motion, stop-shots, bird's-eye views, traspositions, etc.

But what makes the movie of Woodstock a delight to watch is that it had a great subject matter to begin with: the largest crowd of human beings ever assembled in one place in the recorded history of man. And why were they there? To listen to music and have fun. And that's what they did. They listened to lots of music, and they had lots and *lots* of fun. And, as we have heard time and again now, there were no robberies, murders, muggings or rapes. A couple of babies were born; a few more, no doubt, were conceived. But the temporary city of somewhere between 500,000 and a million people in upstate New York got through at least a few days of common life without any crime or violence whatever.

The Woodstock film puts the music itself at the center of the festival, which is, after all, where it was intended to be. We hear and watch Richie Havens, Joan Baez, Sly and the Family Stone, Country Joe and the Fish, and several other groups. The music is varied. Joan Baez sings sweetly and soulfully. Other singers rasp, scream, jump, and shiver. My own favorite group, Sha-Na-Na, specializes in making a little fun of the whole rock scene through self-caricature. But with some exceptions, the music usually sounds ecstatic, repetitious, elemental, punctuated with electronic squeals and feedback hums many of which are purposely created. It is all *very* loud.

BUT there is something else about it that merits mention. At points, the lyrics border on nihilism tinged with a touch of *Liebestod*. I recoiled in my seat when the entire crowd stood to join one of the singers in lyrics that repeat over and again an ominous refrain: "Ain't no time to wonder why whoopee! We're all gonna' die." It reminded me of my colleague Prof. George Wald's famous speech on the "Generation Without a Future" in which he told us, correctly I think, that many, many young people today harbor in their bones a gnawing suspicion that they never will "grow up" at all because the war or the bomb will end everything before they get there. No wonder they are the "Now Generation." Now is all there is if there is not going to be a future. Until we regain a confidence that there is *some* future for us, and that it is one we can have some role in shaping, the only logical course is one of sensate immediacy.

The Woodstock movie is easy to watch and even good to listen to. The sound replication is excellent. The youngsters' antics are fascinating. The townspeople, many of whom are interviewed, are by-and-large sympathetic and friendly. One of them, the man who cleans out the Port-o-San portable chemical toilets, tells the interviewer that he is happy to do it "for the kids" and that he has a son there at Woodstock himself. And another son in Vietnam.

A nice lady upbraids a long-haired youth for referring to himself as a "freak," and gently reminds him that he is not that much different from anyone else. A police chief commends the gathering for its peaceableness. There are complaints of course: about the inconvenience, about the pot, about the trampling of neighboring fields. But in most cases the kids were better received by the up-staters than they anticipated. Where do our images of the hopelessly straight, judgmental "uptight" squares come from?

ANYBODY would have to raise some questions about Woodstock, of course. And I am no exception. Mixed with the joy and the nihilism there is a touch of messianic pretentiousness. The kids cheer for themselves time and again when they are told by the people at the microphones how beautiful they are and what an epochal event this is. There is an implication that if the rest of the world would just go away, the "Woodstock Nation" could groove along forever in peace, joy and plenty.

Food and pot and blankets certainly were shared, and the spirit of cooperation was there. But one pauses to wonder what might happen if the "Woodstock Nation" had to stick it out for a month or a year. If food got short, real short? If it got very cold, not just a little rain that provided mud to slide in and puddles to splash? After all the "Woodstock Nation" was mighty dependent on the people who shipped in extra rations, on the 42 doctors who came to the scene to treat cuts and burns and bad trips and baby deliveries on the U.S. Army helicopters that shuttled out hospital cases, and on that friendly man who cleaned out the chemical toilets.

In this sense, Woodstock reflects a little of the naivete about the "simple life" that characterizes the rest of American youth culture. When you've always had what you need it seldom occurs to you to ask what you would do if you did not have it.

On the other hand, maybe the Woodstock Festival did show us something of the kind of life we might expect if we ever do solve the problem of sheer life support systems for the whole global population. That time seems a long way off now, but it might come some day. And then man will indeed be free to play. But even on that score how much did we learn from Woodstock?

To my mind it was still too performer-audience oriented. When the rains came and they had to unplug the mikes and lights, a lot of *ad hoc* music and dancing took place, using sticks and cans and pop bottles. I'm sure there was a good deal of this happening during the rest of the festival, too, although not very much of it got on the screen. Still, it is a little sobering to watch so many kids content to sit for so long, simply watching and listening and occasionally clapping or jumping in place. For all its interaction, Woodstock was still not participatory enough. The man with his finger on the light switch and the microphone power still exerts a frightening amount of control.

As a festival, Woodstock was wonderful. As an eschatological movement, a symbol of our corporate future, or even the core of a significant political-cultural movement, it fails. Don't worship it; just enjoy it. ■

A Talk with Brian

(Continued from page 6)

really bloody-minded Irish revolutionaries: my mother had been a bomb-thrower at thirteen. So I know something about violence, and I know it in myself too, and that is why I have embraced non-violence: not because violence is unreal but just because it is so real and so powerful.

"My mother didn't have much use for the Church because it wasn't actively enough behind the Irish revolution. Mother used to say the Church was always twenty minutes late on everything. Before she had her operation the other day, a priest came in to anoint her and she told him to go away and not come back until she was unconscious, and that is what he did.

"My father on the other hand practiced his Catholicism very devoutly. Mass and Rosary every day, that sort of thing. But he had a remarkable range of insight and interest. When I was in kindergarten — kindergarten, mind you! — he gave me *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* and the autobiography of Gandhi to read. He said always to behave like the Mahatma when in a crowded place and like Lawrence when there was a lot of room.

"My original vocational intention was to become a religious, and I even spent a little over a year with the Jesuits and took my first vows. Then I was excommunicated for refusing to recant a paper I had written which was found unacceptable theologically. After Vatican II, it would hardly have caused a ripple — but this was 1960. The excommunication was subsequently rescinded and replaced by a censure, along with a number of other cases, but I'm not what you'd call a practicing Catholic any more.

"I still have a lot of the Jesuit in me, though. Like the fast, for example. I figure when you fast, you fast, and you don't fool around with fruit juice and so on. I have decided that if it's necessary to keep up my strength—I don't think it will be—I'll take some fruit juice to help me through this trip and my mother's funeral. But that's only to enable me to honor my father and mother as the Commandment says; otherwise I wouldn't do it. Maybe I'm too much of an absolutist.

"What theologians call sin is in my view really the effect of a man's seeking to be like God—God in the relative and limited form that he has been taught about. Thus he learns of the omnipotence of God, for example, and becomes obsessed with power himself. Then his own struggle for power turns him into an arrogant and defensive man—a phenomenon not uncommon among the powerful in the Church, in politics, or wherever.

"If we could just persuade the government—say through the Department of Education—to invest money in teaching the theory and practice of non-violence. 'Non-violence,' by the way, is really a non-word. The concept is a much more thing like 'sooth-grasper—one who grasps, grabs, holds on to truth. We've been doing some work in colleges around Philadelphia — Haverford, Bryn Mawr, Penn—teaching courses in both the theory and practice of non-violence.

"But we need more research and study, too. There's a great deal of work being done on man's violent instincts — the 'territorial imperative' and all that. But man is and always has been a seeker of *peace*, too, and who's really studying and thinking about the implications of *that*?

"Love is the fundamental thing, of course; in fact, we decided to call our course in non-violence 'Love and Its Implications for Life-style.' And love has to start with loving one's self. If I really love Brian, really have a big romance with Brian, then I have to love you too and everyone else, and that's the only way I *can* love you and everyone else."

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These were some of the things Brian said from the heart.

He was having a little trouble with dysentery, and decided he'd better get back to his medicine. "You wouldn't think you'd have *dysentery*, for God's sake, when fasting, would you?" he said.

As we were driving back, he remarked that he'd always admired the houses in Georgetown, and I said that I'd decided that all in all Washington was my favorite place to live and I thought I'd stick it out here for good. And he said, yes, he liked it too, it certainly was better than Philadelphia, which was a pretty boring town and terribly Puritanical. He only knew of one really good restaurant there, for example, and he told me about the last time he'd eaten there and especially about the tiny scallops they had had for a first course, and the good wines. He said he'd heard that Washington had some good restaurants, and I said, yes, the situation had improved rapidly in that respect in the past few years. In fact, he said, someone had told him there was an excellent French restaurant just off Lafayette Square, and I said that yes, it was probably the best restaurant in town.

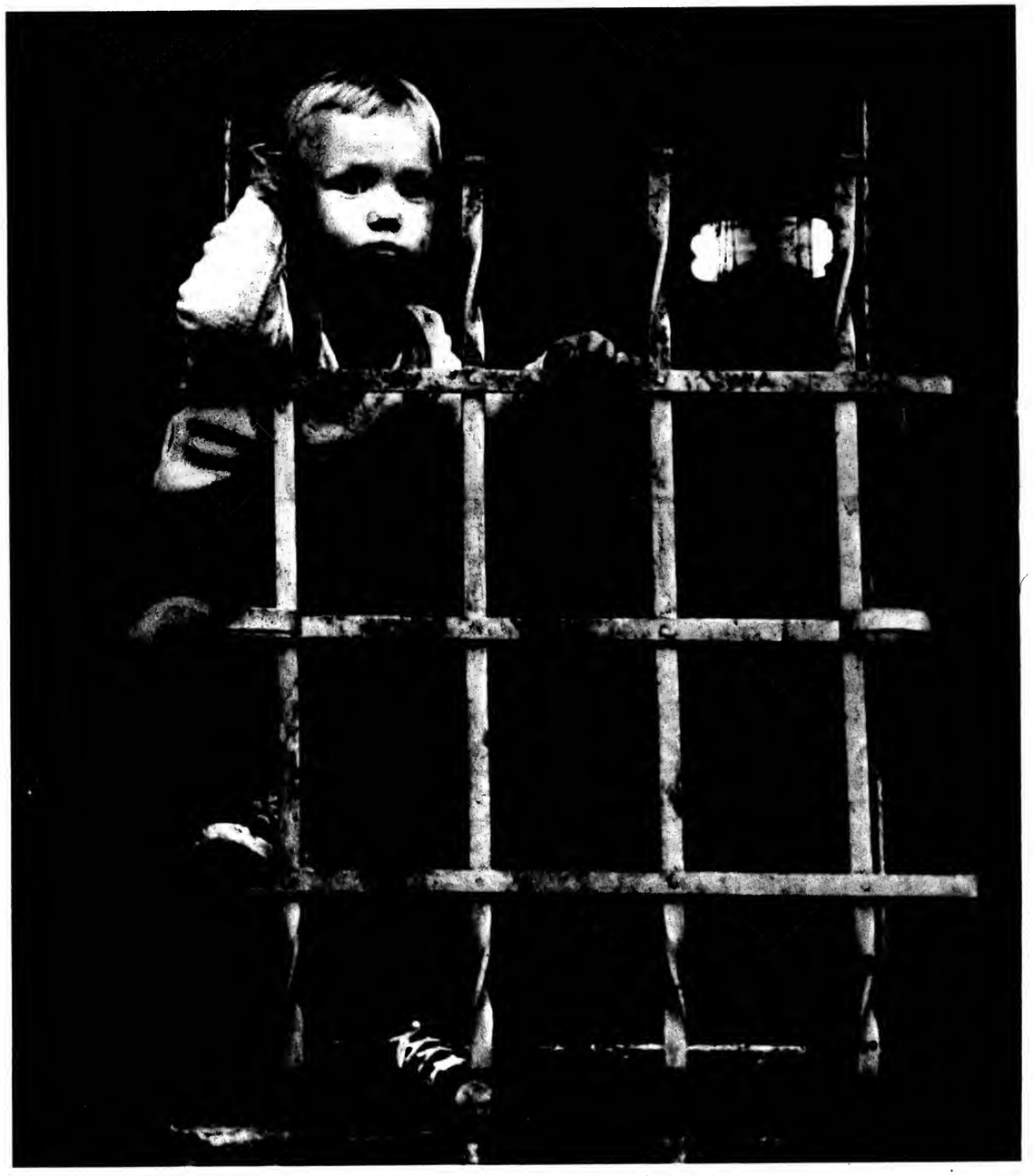
And I made myself a promise that when this was all over we would go to Sans Souci some day, God willing, and have ourselves a real feast. ■

—Mr. Turnbull, association director of the National Council of Churches office in Washington, frequently covers the Capital scene for TEMPO.

TEMPO

In Pace With The Changing Church

July 1 — July 15, 1970



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TEMPOSITIONS

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE HONORABLE SPIRO T. AGNEW

Dear Mr. Vice-President:

A story in the newspapers some weeks ago quotes you as telling a group of Republican fund-raisers that radical youths on our campuses are the offspring of "affluent, permissive, upper middle-class parents. . . . They are the children dropped off by their parents at Sunday School to hear the modern Gospel from a progressive preacher more interested in fighting pollution than fighting evil. You know," you went on, "one of those pleasant clergymen who lifts his weekly sermons out of old newsletters from a (sic) National Council of Churches."

In response we thank you, Mr. Agnew, for the confidence you have expressed in the capability of Sunday Schools to mold young lives. It isn't every holder of dignified office who would take the trouble to point this out at a time when churchmen, including Sunday School teachers, have been deeply troubled by the fact that the opposite appears to be true. Your words will give them new heart.

It is also heartening that you say so many clergymen are joining in the fight against pollution. We are sure this news was received happily by President Nixon who, in his historic role as the nation's top secular moral leader, has called on all Americans without exception to take this fight seriously to push forward to a cleaner, purer land for us all to live in.

Truth to tell, many Americans have criticized the church for being virtually the last major institution to marshal its forces to wage this difficult war against the things that are poisoning and despoiling our land and our lives. For it is indeed a moral struggle, and our spiritual leaders should be in the vanguard, not in the rear or simply standing there staring skyward in some kind of otherwise worldly rapture. Now with one stroke, you have scattered the doubters' fears, making it plain their information was incorrect. Having no access to the documented sources on which you must have based your encouraging statement, may we beg that you direct an assistant to share this material with us? Our own scant research resources have left us, so far, in ignorance of the churches' role.

There is, of course, the small confusion caused by your apparent reference to clergymen preaching against pollution instead of evil. Surely, this was a misprint, because as you, President Nixon and virtually all thinking Americans know, pollution is indeed one of the great evils of our time. For example, the open sewer known as the Potomac oozes seaward not far from where you labor industriously for our country. It is not a thing we can call good. It is, indeed, symbolic of a prime evil in our time.

Here, parenthetically, you must be commended for your new and refreshing theological insights, especially as they have pertinence to preaching. Accordingly, it would not surprise us if someone in a position to do so might recommend you as the next Lyman Beecher lecturer on preaching at Yale — a school with which you have more than once publicly linked your name.

One last word of gratitude. As you said, there are "pleasant clergymen" who are finding homiletic inspiration in what you describe as "old newsletters from a National Council of Churches." We can only assume from this that clergymen who read TEMPO — the only National Council publication that remotely resembles a newsletter — are hanging on to back issues because they find them useful in their work. This commendation, indirect as it may be, hit us first as a nice surprise. For in one of our back issues (Dec. 1, 1969) TEMPO did take you to task for demanding that the news media show partisan support for your chief.

But surprise became joy when, on thinking further, we had to conclude that yours is a kind of endorsement, if perhaps backhanded. It comes at a time when we urgently need every subscription we can get.

May we count on you to enter yours, to become a regular reader? And to pass the word along to friends?

In this regard, let us switch from the editorial "we" to the personal "I" to say: While I breathe, I hope. Or, as South Carolina's state motto puts it: "Dum spiro, spero."

Yours,
The Editor

TEMPO

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ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler
PROMOTION: David Poindexter
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull
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THE N.C.C. AND THE FUTURE

The General Board Weighs Four Options

by TEMPO Staff

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The mandate to change the National Council of Churches into a more effective and inclusive ecumenical agency — received by its General Board last December at the triennial General Assembly — took its first steps toward being carried out here last month.

Four options of re-organization were presented for discussion at the second of the board's three annual meetings. Representatives from 33 member denominations met at the Mayflower Hotel June 20-21 to consider these options.

In a packed two-day session, the board also found time to deal with such issues as Southeast Asia, domestic unrest and the Middle East.

Searching questions concerning the unity of the Church and its mission highlighted discussion of the four options. The question of power was always present—the national and international power of Christians united in a necessarily decentralized way and the power of effective mission emphasized in the centralized way.

No consensus was indicated by this board on any one of the four options, but steps were taken to insure wide discussion and action.

The board decided to call for a National Ecumenical Consultation to be held next November or December. The consultation would include non-member NCC churches such as the Roman Catholic Church, Evangelical Protestant and other interested bodies in discussions on whether they might be interested in fitting into one of the plans or any combination of them.

The first option includes para-ecclesiastical bodies as well as churches in membership in a forum-like assembly. Any two or more could join in forming an agency that would develop mission programs which, once they were sufficiently funded, would become autonomous.

The second option, like the first, is a decentralized concept, however, only churches would be eligible for membership and the joint mission agencies would not "spin-off" programs into autonomous operations, but continue to operate them.

The third option limits the work of the agency to social action, to be funded entirely by churches but voted upon and operated in conjunction with minority or "outside" groups.

The final option resembles the present NCC in all ways except power sources. This plan calls for the General Board to be responsible for funding as well as voting program, and for continued responsibility over NCC program divisions.

Board members broke up into 10 groups to discuss the plans thoroughly one afternoon. At a later plenary session, they authorized the Task Force which prepared the options to develop a network of communication, to prepare a guide and questionnaire to be used with the option report, and to report back to the board next September on response.

Some indication of the member communions' response will be established at that meeting; the Ecumenical Consultation will follow at the end of the year; the January, 1971, board meeting will be expected to adopt a proposal for submission to member churches, and the September, 1971 board will be asked to adopt a formal proposal to be presented at the next triennial General Assembly scheduled for December, 1972, in Dallas, Texas.

In other action, the board reaffirmed the Council's long-standing opposition to the Southeast Asia war by supporting the Cooper-Church and McGovern-Hatfield amendments designed to end U.S. military participation in the war in Cambodia and Vietnam. And it called for an end to the war rather than Vietnamization.

It also supported passage of a House of Representatives' resolution reaffirming this nation's support of the United Nation's peace-keeping and peace-making role.

The California grape pickers' situation received another study and as a result the board, which had endorsed a boycott of table grapes in September, 1968, recommended that church agencies and "men of good will" resume the grape purchases provided they came from boxes clearly marked with the United Farm Workers' union label.

In another action, the churchmen recorded opposition to building trades unions which continue to bar minorities from membership, commending the "Chicago Plan" as an example for other communities to follow.

A resolution urging that a determined effort be made to halt the arms race in the Middle East was also passed. De-escalation, the Board resolution said, made far more sense than sending more warplanes to Israel at this time. A "full dress" review of the Middle East crisis was scheduled for the next board meeting.

In inter-church matters, the board approved the creation of a Board of Directors to guide a joint Program on World Development in cooperation with the U.S. Catholic Conference.

It recommended that $50,000 "seed money" be raised from member communions for this program which would be aimed at education-action in the U.S.

Support for the NCC's Domestic Hunger program was also recommended to member communions by the General Board. The program aims at coordinating coalitions that will work on free school lunches for poverty-level U.S. children.

The Board also heard a progress report on its "Listening to Lay People" project that will be released in full at its next meeting, and it approved the dissolving of the NCC's Division of Christian Unity as such.

Departments and agencies which previously existed in the division will continue to function under new relationships with the NCC, pending action on a new structure.

The next meeting of the General Board will be held September 12 and 13 in Phoenix, Arizona. Its Executive Committee will meet there September 11.

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Ecumenism at The Crossroads

by R. H. Edwin Espy

ANY discussion of National Council options must be in the context of the human situation. We are derelict in planning for the future of the National Council except as we do so in conscious address to both the social and the spiritual currents of our time.

In a day when all people could be fed, two-thirds of the human race is undernourished. The nations and races are thrown together as never before and must learn to live together in this shrinking world, yet animosities and tensions are rising.

There is mounting opposition, especially among the youth, to war and the military establishment, as well as to other establishments.

In the technologically advanced societies, the plundering of natural resources and the pollution of the environment give the lie to our material prosperity and raise the specter of an economic profligacy that is self-destroying. In many countries, including our own, the diversion of money and men from the building of a just society to a seemingly endless spiral of increasing military commitment thwarts the dreams of millions.

As for religion, who is to say how it fares? Youth do not see in the church, for the most part, an ally to their best impulses but an agent of collusion in a society that they feel has lost its soul. What is the impact of religion in shaping the national ethos and determining our priorities? Is it any wonder that questions are being raised about religion when the church is seen as indifferent or ineffectual in the face of the deep human and societal perversions? In the face of man's violation of nature and of man himself, how plausible is a God who we say has made man in his own image? Can there be any doubt that faith in God is made more difficult by the faithlessness of man?

If there is anywhere that the church must act ecumenically it would seem to be in rediscovering and renewing its mission of faith and action in relation to human need. Is it not exactly in this most difficult of areas—the discovery, communication and embodiment of the Gospel for our disoriented time—that the churches most need one another?

The Churches and the National Council

So we face two great issues of ecumenical vitality which our decisions on options confronting the Council cannot in themselves resolve: first, the determination of the churches to wrestle at whatever risk with the application of the Gospel to the profound human needs of our time, including the issue of national priorities; and second, the readiness of the churches to engage this issue ecumenically.

For the National Council to make a genuine difference in the life of the churches and the nation in the years ahead, it must set its objectives high and be equipped to pursue those objectives. Let us cite some conditions for its effectiveness in mission and unity.

1. The National Council must be deeply rooted in the faith, and make this evident in all that it does. Only thus can it address itself as it should to the critical human issues of today. This will call for a stronger theological foundation in the Council.

2. An area where the churches have a particular responsibility is serving various minorities. Whether it be the racial and linguistics groupings, the rebellious young, the economically deprived, or the neglected and embittered aging, the variant elements of our seething society must be heard in the churches.

3. At the same time, the churches must make an impact on the power structures of our society. In ways direct and indirect, we have an obligation to bring the standards of the Gospel to the halls of government, the market place of commerce, the cauldrons of industry, the trustee boards of universities. . . .

4. The National Council must represent a larger base, a more inclusive Christian fellowship.

5. The National Council of Churches must relate itself more deeply to the churches of the rest of the world.

Role of the Laity

6. None of these visions can be realized until there is a profounder understanding of and wider participation of church people in the conciliar movement, both in the United States and elsewhere. To speak here only of our own country, one of the greatest weaknesses in official ecumenism is participation of the laity.

7. We profoundly need to improve our communication. It cannot be questioned that the erosion of confidence which has been systematically cultivated for many years by anti-ecumenical forces has had its impact.

8. We must make some hard decisions in the realm of our distinctive role as a National Council. The ecumenical scene is far more complex than it was twenty years ago. The options for ecumenical collaboration are more numerous and, in many cases, more appealing, than they were when the World and National Councils were established.

9. We must strengthen the forces of Christian nurture in the deepest and most far-reaching sense. This extends to the instruments of education not under church auspices. It includes the media. It embraces the realm of the arts and all the forces in our culture that help to mold the outlook on life.

10. It is imperative that the National Council find better ways of penetrating the life of local congregations, not directly as an organization but indirectly through its impact in the communions. This is the place of primary potential for ecumenism and it is not sufficiently stressed.

All of these are questions for the churches, not for the conciliar organizations in the sense of a separate entity. How to help the church to understand and participate in conciliar ecumenism, and how truly to merit this confidence and identification—this is a vital task before the National Council of Churches. ■

From Dr. Espy's General Secretary's report to the N.C.C. General Board, Washington, D.C., June 20.

A Look at Proposed Reforms

NEEDED: A NEW DEAL IN WELFARE

by Jack McDonald

PRESIDENT Nixon has called the present welfare system a "colossal failure." Others far apart in the political spectrum have called it the same and worse. The system has countless critics, almost no defenders.

Then why hasn't it been changed? Why, if there is such unanimity, haven't welfare programs been reformed, scrapped or rebuilt? Why have they been permitted to grow, perpetuating their shortcomings and shortchanging recipients, taxpayers and society?

Those who have sought to change the system, in and out of Congress, have felt severely hampered by misunderstandings and myths about welfare and the poor that appear to be widespread in the public mind.

Public opinion polls tell us, for example, that millions of sincere Americans believe that the poor in the main are able-bodied, but lazy loafers and that those on welfare could work but prefer to free-load off the rest of society.

This myth grew and became ingrained in the public mind in part because until fairly recently no one really knew much about America's poor, who they are, and why they are poor. They were the little understood, often ignored, usually unseen "Other America," about which author Michael Harrington has written.

It wasn't until the middle '60's, incredible as it may seem, that the first good census of the population on public assistance was developed. The results surprised a good many people.

The census showed that the welfare rolls then totaling some 7.3 million people included only 150,000 males old enough to work, and that about 100,000 of that number were incapacitated beyond the ability to work or to be trained. That left just 50,000 able-bodied, employable males on the welfare lists, or less than one-tenth of one percent of the total welfare population.

Of the rest, 2.1 million were over 65, mostly women (with a median age of 72); 700,000 were either blind or so severely handicapped that they couldn't work; 3.5 million were children; 900,000 were mothers.

The numbers in each of these categories have increased since that survey but the proportions and percentages remain the same.

Only about 40 percent of the poor receive assistance under our present system, however. What about the total poverty population? Is it made up of lazy loafers? Here is a 1966 breakdown of 30 million people who were poor by that year's standard of poverty:

—Almost half were under 18 years of age.
—Almost 20 percent were 65 and over.
—About 20 percent were family heads.
—Almost three-quarters of the family heads worked; about half of them full-time.
—Of the family heads who did not work, about a third were ill or disabled and half were female family heads with children to care for.
—Only 100,000 able-bodied, unrelated poor men did not work.

Despite the facts, the "lazy loafer" myth dies hard. The President's Commission on Income Maintenance, which undertook a 22-month investigation of public assistance that took members to all sections of the country—to the rural Midwest and South, to the hollows of Appalachia, to the big city slums—found it prevalent everywhere. But when it completed its study, the most comprehensive of its kind ever conducted, the Commission reached this conclusion:

> "Many Americans wonder why the poor do not escape from poverty. The answer to this question is clear to us: they usually cannot, because most are already doing as much as can reasonably be expected of them to change their conditions. . . . The simple fact is that most of the poor remain poor because access to income through work is currently beyond their reach. . . . Society must aid them or they will remain poor."

LIKE the "lazy loafer" myth, a number of other misconceptions have clouded our thinking about welfare and poverty and have proved barriers to change.

Contrary to myth — 70 Percent of the welfare poor are white

These are some of the most common:

Myth: Most of America's poor people are black.

The fact: Poverty knows no color, race or creed. Seventy percent of the poor are white.

Myth: American poverty is exclusively an urban problem.

The fact: More than one-third of the poor live in rural areas.

Myth: What money the poor have, including tax-supported benefits, is spent on expensive cars and other luxuries.

The fact: The poor have little money for such expenditures. The President's Commission determined that a family of four with a monthly income of $284 ($3,408 a year) spends all but $9 of it for such basic necessities as food, housing, public transportation and clothing and personal care. This leaves nothing for emergencies, for medical care or insurance, not to mention such items as a car, a bed for each family member, school supplies.

The food budget for such a family adds up to $1 a day per person, an amount that is too low for a nutritionally adequate diet as measured by the Department of Agriculture.

One witness before the commission was asked how, on such a budget, he made ends meet.

His reply: "They don't meet."

Myth: Welfare is a self-perpetuating dole. Any improvement of the present programs would simply mean further drains on the taxpayer, on the economy and on society.

The facts: Welfare roles can be reduced only by helping the poor to help themselves. This requires jobs, adequate job preparation for the able-bodied and work incentives for those receiving assistance. Public assistance will always be necessary for those who cannot help themselves.

Poverty on the scale and magnitude that exists in the United States is not inevitable. Many adults among the able-bodied poor of working age can be helped through training and the setting up of day care facilities for children (as the Administration proposal would provide) to find employment or to find better employment. Still more fundamentally, the tragic cycle of poverty, in which the children of today's poor are seemingly doomed to poverty themselves, can be broken.

Now after years of tinkering with a patchwork welfare system, after years of growing protest both by those who receive assistance and by those who pay the bill, the stage appears set in 1970 for at least a start in some fundamental reform.

Before Congress this year will be proposals that could be as far-reaching in their effect on the social and economic fabric of the country as any of the New Deal era or since.

The most recent and most discussed proposals call for a drastic overhaul of present programs aimed at ending present abuses and building opportunity and equity into a fresh start. They are President Nixon's "Family Assistance Plan," and the proposals of the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs, a commission appointed by President Johnson, but which reported its findings last November, during the present Administration.

Although literally dozens of proposals have been advanced to solve the welfare problem, these two almost certainly will be at the center of the debate this year in Congress. The two have more similarities than differences.

Both, for example, would provide uniform national minimum levels of assistance, thus ending the great disparities among states. Now, an American in one state can receive as little as one-sixth of that which his fellow citizens with the same needs receive in another.

Both would include the working poor, the millions of employed Americans whose wages are insufficient to boost them above the poverty line.

Both would provide more incentive to work for those who are able. The Administration plan would set up a job-training program and fund day-care centers for the children of working mothers. Both plans provide for a systematic scaling down of benefits as earnings increase.

Both recognize that their proposed benefit levels ($1,600 a year for a family of four plus food stamps worth $750 in the Nixon plan; $2,400 a year in the Commission plan) are too low. Both point out that the present low of $490 is patently inadequate to provide a family with even basic necessities.

Both would end the destructive possibility of an unemployed father having to abandon his family to gain them an adequate income through welfare.

Public opinion polls in response to the Administration's plan (the Commission's proposals have not been put to a poll) were almost overwhelmingly favorable on the broad provisions.

Can we afford it?

The President's answer: "The 'start-up costs' of lifting many people out of dependency will ultimately cost the taxpayer far less than the chronic costs—in dollars and in national values—of creating a permanent underclass in America." ■

Mr. McDonald is assistant director of communications for the Urban Coalition. His articles on poverty have appeared in numerous publications.

A Blunt Appraisal of The Dangerous Drift in Race Relations

IS THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION ANTI-NEGRO?

by Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood

TWO YEARS ago, former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, speaking for the Kerner commission, called for "the reaffirmation of our faith in one society," and the commission itself sounded a warning that the nation is moving in the direction of two societies—one black, one white—separate and unequal.

Today, the signs are even more ominous. On every hand, the commentators and the politicians, the faint-hearted liberals and the tragically misguided black separatists, are announcing the end of integration, especially in the schools.

For the first time since Woodrow Wilson, we have a national Administration that can be rightly characterized as anti-Negro.

This is the first time since 1920 that the national Administration has made it a matter of calculated policy to work against the needs and aspirations of the largest minority of its citizens.

Here are a few instances supporting our contention of the Administration's anti-Negro policy:

1. Signing of defense contracts with textile companies long in violation of contract requirements versus our recommendations that these contracts be canceled.

2. The pull-back on school desegregation. The Administration went into court to secure delays in already ordered desegregation. Thank God, the Supreme Court struck down these attempts.

3. The nominations of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell to the United States Supreme Court (which nominations were defeated by the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P., along with other organizations.

4. The Administration at Washington attempted to weaken our hard-won Voting Rights Act in the House, but in a demonstration of our power we met the racist and beat him in his own house.

5. The Administration opposed the cease-and-desist order power of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

6. The Administration supported the Stennis amendment on the school appropriation bill.

7. The Administration produced the Moynihan memorandum calling for "benign neglect."

8. The Administration supports tax exemption for white, separate private schools, designed to avert desegregation of the public schools.

9. On April 9, after the rejection of his nominee, Judge Carswell, for the Supreme Court, the President described the ideal judge as "someone who believes in the strict construction of the Constitution, as I do—a judge who will not use the power of the Court to seek social change by freely interpreting the law or constitutional clauses." This is the Administration's expressed opposition to the equal protection clauses of the 14th amendment.

The effect of this has been exactly what was predicted. It has given encouragement to the Southern racists whose full page advertisements have exposed their radical retreat to the calendar level of the 1870's, such as produced by Senator (John C.) Stennis of Mississippi and Gov. (John J.) McKeithen of Louisiana, to say nothing of the melodramatic pose of Florida's Gov. (Claude R.) Kirk in defying the Federal court's orders to desegregate the public schools of the Everglades State.

Before us today, in the solution of the problem of a single society, are the issues arising from what seems to many the futility of our effort toward integration. There is a tremendous white backlash as we have forged a difficult path through the barriers in housing, employment and politics.

Bishop Spottswood

A small but vociferous number of Negroes has effected the black retreat, as indicated in the black college students' demands for separate dormitories, separate cafeterias, separate curricular and separate facilities. Incidentally, we should sympathize—even as we disagree—with young black youth whose bitter and bloody experiences on white college campuses have driven them to the black retreat.

Accentuating Polarity

The white backlash on the one hand and the black retreat on the other hand have combined to accentuate the racial polarity of which the Kerner commission warned.

At this juncture in our national life, recalling Abraham Lincoln's declaration that "this nation cannot endure half free and half slave," we emphatically paraphrase Mr. Lincoln and declare "this country cannot endure half white and half black." If American democracy is to survive, we shall be one society, as the Declaration of Independence visioned and the Constitution declares.

Ours is a national problem affecting all Americans, and no matter where we live, the problem of one society is before us. For instance, it is easy for Northern Negroes to forget the South because local needs are urgent and desperate, but they do so at their own peril.

Fifty-two percent of black Americans still live in the South, mostly in cities, where the problems of overcrowding, housing, crime, discrimination, poor education are the same as the North's. In addition, they have the Southern segregation traditions, white supremacy ideology and wanton murderousness.

Killings by Police

Even as lynching was the Roman holiday sport of the 19th century America, killing black Americans promiscuously has been the 20th century pastime of our police, whose primary duty is law enforcement and keeping the peace.

I'm thinking of the six Negroes killed in Augusta, Ga., all shot in the back; of the Panthers slain in their beds in Chicago; of the students slain at Jackson State College; of the almost daily news stories of the indiscriminate, ruthless slaying of black Americans by police and civilians, under the guise of "law and order," but actually fulfilling the guidelines of a bitter, white majority, whose vain effort to keep us "in our place" leads them to resort to the policeman's pistol and kangaroo court trials.

The white liberals and the churches have not been conspicuous in the fight for freedom lately. No one questions the demand for an immediate end of the Vietnam war. We ask again, why is it that white people always manage to find some issue other than race to which they give their priority attention, the latest of which is pollution and the ecology?

If racial justice and civil rights had commanded just 10 percent of the attention that white liberals have given to the Vietnam war, we would not be in the position we are today—and it is unlikely that we would have Nixon in the White House either.

We must counteract some black authors who have tried to show that bad English grammar and slurred consonants and special terminology found among poorly educated Negroes (and poorly educated white people) are really a different language which should be learned and used in ghetto school teaching. Recently a black architect has been working on the theory that Negroes should have distinctive type housing—one which adequately accommodates their tribal instincts inherited from our African past—reductio ad absurdum.

Then, after the long series of suggestions of self-imposed apartheid, we must beware of those who once stood on the solid ground of full freedom for all Americans and have now retreated to the wabbling field of compromise and sinking sands of surrender.

For example, Roy Innis, national director of CORE, recently made a Deep South visit where he was warmly received by Govs. John Bell Williams of Mississippi, John J. McKeithen of Louisiana, Albert Brewer of Alabama and Lester (Ax-Handle) Maddox of Georgia.

For Dual System

He was there to solicit their interest and support of the Innis plan to re-establish a dual school system. His scheme is not to have separate black and white systems by race—oh, no—but to split the city in half along residential lines, with the white half under its school system and the black half under its system.

You can just imagine how the Governors were delighted with the Innis proposal.

There are others who advocate a separate nation, to be set up somewhere, or for autonomous neighborhoods or districts in the cities—to run our own police, fire department, hospitals, schools and everything else. But they always make it clear that they expect to get the money from the rest of the community. There is no such thing as autonomy on someone else's money.

No major problem afflicting black Americans can be solved except by solving them for all Americans.

We have worked too long and too hard, made too many sacrifices, spent too much money, shed too much blood, lost too many lives fighting to vindicate our manhood as full participants in the American system to allow our victories to be nullified by phony liberals, die-hard racists, discouraged and demoralized Negroes and power-seeking politicians. ■

From the keynote address delivered June 29 before the annual convention for The Advancement of Colored People, held in Cincinnati, O. Bishop Spottswood, 58th Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, is board chairman of the N.A.A.C.P. He is also a vice-president of the National Council of Churches.

Black Church Studies

(Continued from page 6)

nary stands at least in candidacy for a true community of the spirit across the artificial barriers of race and section."

Some black students, however, are still casting a cautious, watchful eye. "Things will keep changing only as long as we keep pushing," said one. But the students are no longer alone, and with black trustees and professors making their influence felt in policy-making, there is perhaps less likelihood of another dramatic confrontation.

The administration is also aware that words are no longer enough. "Blacks have been made lots of promises in this country, but have seen very little performance," says President Bartlett. "An institution must establish good faith by deeds, must show that it means what it says. The best way Colgate Rochester/Bexley can establish good faith is by continuing to live out its commitment to be a school where black and white can come together in shared power for mutual enrichment." ■

An Update on The Colgate Rochester Story

What Black Church Studies Are All About

by Dan Lovely

(As with universities and colleges, seminaries are feeling the strong impact of social and institutional change. One such seminary is Colgate Rochester-Bexley Hall, in Rochester, N.Y., where a fuller participation by blacks has been evidenced ever since a student "lock-out" more than a year ago. The story is recounted here by Dan Lovely, Colgate Rochester's publicity director, who sends us supplemental word as we go to press that Crozer Theological Seminary and the Martin Luther King, Jr., Institute of Social Change, both of Chester, Pa., will move to Rochester in the fall to affiliate with Colgate-Rochester. This adds two more institutions to the Rochester Center for Theological Studies which embraces Colgate Rochester/Bexley Hall (formerly the Episcopal Seminary of Kenyon College), and the Roman Catholic St. Bernard's Seminary. All now share closses, faculty and other resources in one of the fastest growing theological centers in the country.)

FOR too long in the churches of America, Jesus Christ has been as white as Uncle Sam. Colgate Rochester Divinity School/Bexley Hall has been trying to help change that.

In the year since a lock-out by black students closed the Rochester seminary for nearly three weeks, its commitment to a meaningful black presence has been confirmed and strengthened. To ensure a share in the decision-making, 12 blacks now sit on the 26-man Board of Trustees, and there are five black professors—all competent Christian scholars offering courses in their special fields.

In addition, the Martin Luther King, Jr., Program of Black Church Studies is now in full operation. It seeks to train blacks for effective ministry to their communities and to give both blacks and whites an understanding of the black church's contribution to American culture.

As a memorial to Dr. King after his assassination, 14 Colgate Rochester/Bexley black students conceived of a professorship and scholarship fund, and set out to raise $800,000 for an endowment. So far, pledges of more than $260,000 have come in.

After the lock-out, however, the school decided the program was too vital to wait for the entire $800,000 to be raised. The trustees voted to undertake the scholarship on faith, so now the school must find more than $65,000 a year for Black Church Studies program until the total fund is in.

"The thing we learned," said President Gene E. Bartlett, "is that timing is very important. And that time is now. By giving this priority we are moving faster than we would have otherwise."

Although the Black Church Studies program draws on the resources of all the black professors, primary responsibility is carried by Dr. Henry H. Mitchell, Martin Luther King Memorial Professor. For 25 years he has served the black church as pastor, administrator, and consultant to seminaries and school districts, as well as being involved in War on Poverty programs and the black liberation movement.

The Seminaries' Record

Colgate Rochester had been a leader among northern seminaries for years in educating blacks — men like Channing Phillips and James Cheek. But half or more of our men didn't get into the black pastorate at all after graduation. So while we had an excellent record as a school for training black pastors, it was good in spite of the school, not because of it.

Colgate Rochester, like theological institutions as a whole, had geared seminarians for leadership in middle-class churches and churches of the lower socio-economic classes, both black and white, had been neglected. White denominations have survived but a great majority of black churches are part of a different culture and black seminarians had not been trained to lead them.

While pastors with skill and education have been needed to deal with the ghetto's complex problems, Dr. Mitchell pointed out that the seminaries have so brainwashed blacks out of their black culture that they are unable to take their learning back into the ghetto.

"Most black churches have had to choose between a minister fluent in black culture but in many cases not trained, and one who is well trained but with whom they cannot relate—who in many ways sounds exactly like the 'oppressor.' "

Black congregations have tended to choose the untrained pastor, he continued, "not because they're opposed to education, but because they insist that whoever talks to them talk in their own language."

Some Statistics

Studies by the Fund for Theological Education indicate that fewer than 10 per cent of black church pastors have had college or seminary education. In the United States there are approximately 50,000 black churches, three-fourths of which are Methodist and Baptist, but it's estimated that 93 per cent of the pastors of these churches lack professional training. And while a

Colgate Rochester seminarians talk over the implications of black church studies.

minimum of 1,500 professionally-trained black ministers is needed annually, at present in all the accredited seminaries there is a total of only 300 black students.

Because they continue to attract large numbers, black churches can have great influence as blacks seek their own liberation. Social scientist Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, writing in *Dark Ghetto*, called the churches "the most pervasive social institutions in the ghetto":

"For the Negro, his church is his instrument of escape, his weapon of protest, his protective fortress behind which he seeks to withstand the assaults of a hostile world and within which he plans his strategies of defiance, harassment and, at times, his frontal attacks against racial barriers."

But, Dr. Clark adds, the church's weaknesses, "inherent in the general pathology of the ghetto," can't be ignored. "Its potential strengths can all too easily be dissipated by preoccupation with trivia, with competitiveness, suspiciousness, and a desperate struggle for the empty status, bombast and show of the ghetto world."

Obviously, to channel its energies effectively and to realize its potential, the church needs ministers skilled both in dealing with the problems of the ghetto, and in relating to the black masses.

"Unless we have more of these men," says Dr. Mitchell, "we're going to see the black ghetto leadership once occupied by the pastor taken over by people much less skilled, much less dedicated, and much less responsible.

"By training skilled ministers we're not just helping a church survive—we're perpetuating the most viable means of organizing the black ghetto for its own responsible self-development."

At present the Black Church Studies program includes eight courses covering such areas as black church history, preaching, parish administration, and protest ideology within the black community. Other courses will be offered next year, with expanded emphasis on the black minister's involvement in his community.

The way the program is designed to meet the black seminarians' special needs can be shown by a few illustrations.

Instead of practice-preaching in classrooms and chapel services, for example, students speak before black congregations in the Rochester area. "Black preaching is really a dialogue, a give and take," Dr. Mitchell explained. "Without the congregation responding there isn't any black preaching. When you talk before students in a classroom you have no conception of the impact you're making. So we send the student out to the churches. We let the people help grade him—he has to reach them."

In their preaching, black students are also encouraged to use the ghetto idiom. "It's a language that speaks to the people," Dr. Mitchell said, "therefore it's valid."

In another course, The Black Bible and Black Imagination, students learn to add imaginative detail to Bible stories. "This has been a vital part of the charismatic tradition of the black pulpit," Dr. Mitchell said. "In harmony with the recorded story and the best scholarship, these details convert a brief skeletal record of a few verses into an eye-witness account, a gripping Gospel story that commands attention."

In the black parish administration course, it's recognized that the black pastor is more a father figure than his white counterpart. "The black church is a literal, functioning family, so the pastor has a greater variety of responsibilities," Dr. Mitchell said. "He's feeding souls in a very real way, so people become very open and trustful, and it's important that his advice be sound, professionally informed."

Because of the often inadequate education of his parishioners, the black pastor usually can't rely on sophisticated laymen for guidance. His congregation, for example, is not likely to include an accountant or banker to keep records. "White banks turn down loan requests by black churches anyway, and use something like 'inadequate records' as an excuse," Dr. Mitchell said. "So the pastor has to know something about bookkeeping and at the same time beware of the money-lending leeches who charge exhorbitant interest rates which leave black churches skinned and bleeding."

Neither is the black congregation likely to contain an architect for advice on buildings, a lawyer for advice on contracts, and so on. The black administration course tries to give students some familiarity in these fields as well.

Theory And Application

However, the tralning is not all theory. Through Colgate Rochester/Bexley's field education program, students have a chance to test their classroom experiences both on apathetic parishioners and hungry kids. Theology is taught in the midst of involvement. Required of all students, field education offers assignment choices ranging from churches and hospital chaplaincies to welfare rights work and community organizing on ghetto streets.

The Rochester metropolitan area in which students work has all the problems confronting urban America, although they haven't reached the seemingly unmanageable complexity of a New York or a Chicago. Progress can be made. And since the American population will be increasingly urban, Colgate Rochester/Bexley considers it vital that ministers of the future be given realistic field training in a metropolitan setting.

A year after the lock-out, the school has succeeded in establishing both a significant black presence in decision-making and a program to begin to satisfy the unique requirements of the black ministry.

Some also detect a new mood. Dr. Gardner Taylor, a trustee and guest lecturer in Black Church Studies, said recently that the confrontation killed the "old, tired, worn, counterfeit relationships." To Colgate Rochester/Bexley, he said, had come a new life, "in which this semi-

(Continued on page 5)

IT SAYS HERE

CATHOLIC CONFERENCE AND NCC DENOUNCE BRAZIL TERROR

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Strong criticism of reported repression and torture in Brazil has been made by agencies of the U.S. Catholic Conference and the National Council of Churches. *(See* TEMPO *June 15.)*

The Latin America Department of the NCC has denounced the "reign of terror" in Brazil and called on the churches to examine any investments they may have in Brazil or in U.S. companies operating there. It also called for Congressional hearings on "U.S. policy in Brazil."

Both agencies urged an investigation by the Vatican of charges that political prisoners are tortured and denied all human rights, and demanded investigations by the Organization of American States and the United Nations as well.

REPRESSION OF YOUTH REPORTED FROM SAIGON

NYACK, N.Y.—A World Council of Churches representative in Saigon has reported widespread imprisonment and torture, particularly of students, by the South Vietnamese regime.

In his report to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Don Luce, former director of International Volunteer Services, recounted interviews with 10 youths following their release from prison.

One was in semi-shock and his fingernails were black from having pins forced underneath them. A woman teacher, said Mr. Luce, had been beaten after having been stripped naked. The chairman of the Van Hanh University Student Association had also been beaten until unconscious.

"He doesn't know why he was arrested or later released," Mr. Luce reported. "People speculate, however, that the government releases tortured students to discourage further demonstrations."

These have recently taken the form of anti-American protests on the grounds that when the Americans leave, the war will stop, said Mr. Luce.

In its report, the Fellowship of Reconciliation declared: "Nothing so clearly reveals the nature of this war as the fact that the Thieu government is so strenuously opposed by these non-NLF, non-Communist people in their own country."

WASHINGTON WAR PROTESTERS END FAST AT CHURCHMEN'S REQUEST

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Brian McDonnell and Tom Mahany, who had been fasting in Lafayette Park here since May 3 and May 10, respectively, in a protest against the war in Indochina, ended their fast on June 9. (*See* "A Talk with Brian McDonnell, TEMPO, *June 15,*)

In an open letter to President Nixon, they said they had hoped that their action would "prevent the destruction of Cambodia by foreign troops," but that subsequent events had persuaded them that they had failed and that the cost of the fast had come to outweigh its benefits.

Four days previously, 27 religious leaders had joined in a statement lauding the two men for their "courage and compassion" but asking them to end the fast. Among the signers were:

Mrs. Theodore O. Wedel, president of the National Council of Churches; the Rev. Robert V. Moss, president of the United Church of Christ; Bishop John Wesley Lord, president of the United Methodist Council of Bishops; Archbishop Iakovos, Greek Orthodox primate of North and South America, and Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston.

BOSTON, MASS. — Six presidents of the National Council of Churches, past and present, held a one-day off-the-record meeting here June 11 to discuss the state of the churches and the nation. While the conferees made no public statement at the end of their talks, Dr. R.H. Edwin Espy, NCC General Secretary, commented that the group agreed that the churches have not escaped the polarization that has been sweeping the nation. They are from the left: J. Irwin Miller, industrialist and Disciples' layman (1960-63); Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches (1954-57); The Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, former Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church (retired) (1950-52); Mrs. Cynthia Clark Wedel (Mrs. Theodore O.) incumbent (1969-72); Bishop William C. Martin (United Methodist) (1952-54); and Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg (American Baptist) (1957-60). At far right is United Methodist Bishop James K. Mathews of Boston, host for the meeting. Second and third from right respectively are Dr. Espy and Dr. David Hunter, Deputy General Secretary of the National Council.

EPISCOPAL FUNDS GO TO ESKIMOS AND INDIANS

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Five new grants from its Indian/Eskimo Community Development Fund have been made by the National Committee on Indian Work of the Episcopal Church.

The total brings the grants made thus far to $105,032, and exhausts the balance remaining in the fund.

Among the largest was a second grant of $10,000 to the Alaska Federation of Natives in Anchorage. This required waiving a $10,000 limit on grants in view of this "critical year in the history of the Alaska Native peoples, whose case for the legislative settlement of their land claims is now before Congress."

Another of the recipients was the National Council on Alcohol and Drugs in Minneapolis, which received $2,289 to continue its work on health problems of the Indian people in the state.

METHODISTS TO HELP SON OF SLAIN JACKSON STUDENT

EVANSTON, ILL. — The bullet that killed Phillip L. Gibbs on the campus of Jackson State College in Mississippi on May 14 left his 11-month-old baby son without a father. Gibbs was one of two black students who were shot in a confrontation with State Police who fired into a dormitory.

At the recent meeting of the Upper Mississippi Methodist Conference here, the session voted unanimously to provide for the education of the boy. A board of trustees was appointed to receive and administer the funds.

The Conference also requested a meeting with Gov. John Bell Williams to discuss the campus violence and to ask for his commitment to instruct the police and National Guard "to refrain from shooting unarmed persons."

METHODIST GENERAL CONFERENCE HAILS COURT'S C.O. DECISION

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The new Supreme Court decision permitting conscientious objector status on non-religious grounds was hailed here as in line with action urged by the United Methodist Church's General Conference.

Spokesmen for the Conference noted that both in 1964 and 1968, the General Conference stated: "Christians cannot complacently accept rights or privileges accorded to them because of their religious views but denied to others equally sincere who do not meet the religious test."

Those who conscientiously object to all wars, it said, should be assigned to appropriate civilian service "regardless of whether they profess religious grounds as the basis of their stand."

BLACK EDUCATORS TELL PRESIDENT OF 'ANGER, OUTRAGE, FRUSTRATION'

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Presidents of 15 predominantly black colleges, six of them church-related, confronted President Nixon here with what they called the "anger, outrage and frustration of the black people of this nation."

They asked for extensive changes, including policies of the Administration, aimed at meeting the problems involving the black population.

"We are convinced, too, that this nation has the strength, the resources and the moral fiber to solve these problems," they said in a statement prepared in advance for the Chief Executive.

Dr. Herman Branson, president of Wilberforce University, Ohio, acted as leader of the group. Wilberforce is affiliated with the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Dr. Branson and White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said after the session that the President made no specific promises but told the black educators to look for actions and not words in response to their pleas.

Hulbert James— And The Churches' War On Hunger

by Dorothy Rensenbrink

IN A DAY when so many are trying to do their own thing for society — running their own spectaculars, so to say, and grabbing headlines in the process — there seems to be a dearth of quiet organizers who actually get lasting things done.

Such a quiet, effective doer is Hulbert James, who is doing as much as anyone, and more than most, to fight poverty and hunger in affluent America's midst.

Twenty-eight years old, articulate, engaging, knowledgeable and teeming with energy, Hulbert James spends most of his time out where America lives—and where hunger hurts the most—bringing people together to fight the hunger war.

On assignment with the National Council of Churches, James is currently deep in the task of coordinating local groups into coalitions strong enough to defeat the problem of hunger U.S.A. So far he's hitting at targets in 20 cities across the country and scoring some bullseyes. That's enough of a job for any one person, and after roaming around "the movement" by way of anti-war work (National Committee to End the War) and poverty (as sociate director of the National Welfare Rights Organization), he's narrowed down to focus on hunger as if the Protestant work ethic were hounding him.

In a sense it is—some six Protestant denominations are sponsoring the project, and representatives from them serve on his Committee on Domestic Hunger, coming together through the NCC's Department of Social Justice.

But while Hulbert James is right now with the "Establishment," it doesn't impress him, and he says he's only with it as long as he's convinced that it means what it says about hunger and comes up with enough funds to get the job done. "I'm only effective because I haven't lost my credentials outside," he says. "To people who judge in terms of accomplishment rather than position, just being in the Establishment can be a liability."

How does one go about fighting hunger? There has been a lot of talk in high circles about the problem, spurred by Senator McGovern's Committee and by the White House Conference on Hunger. These happenings were largely the result of a great deal of citizen agitation on the issue. Notably active on the hunger issue have been women who, as feeders of families, are close to the problem.

Other Groups in Action

Church Women United, along with the National Council of Negro Women, the National Council of Catholic Women and the National Council of Jewish Women, set to work a few years ago attacking hunger by way of researching the federal school lunch program. They continue to be active, pressuring school boards locally and the Congress nationally, to live up to legislation already on the books.

The National Welfare Rights Organization also, through its many chapters, works on the hunger issue —primarily through demands for adequate income for the poor.

Other groups and individuals are active. Some 74 national organizations co-sponsored the recent National Hunger Convocation in Washington and remain interested. U.S. Department of Agriculture administrators and nutritionists, physicians and psychologists with free clinic experience, family welfare agencies, the NAACP, teachers of the disadvantaged—the list of people who care because they know is very long and varied. Bringing them together in a united strategy for action is like putting together a complicated puzzle.

Basic to the strategy is school lunches. Congress approved legislation on April 27 which will guarantee a free or reduced-rate school lunch to every poverty-level school child—swelling the ranks of those who now are eligible from 4.5 million to what Senator McGovern believes to be about 8 million.

Locally, the hunger coalitions now are able to press their school boards to carry out this legislation by either establishing free or reduced price lunch programs or improving those they already have. Target areas for this effort are Little Rock, Jackson, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Louisville, Providence, New Bedford, Hartford, Des Moines, Omaha, South Dakota (Indian areas) and statewide areas of Texas, Michigan and Virginia.

Hulbert James has already been to these areas and started organizing local committees. The committees are planning an investigation of their lunch programs in preparation for school board approval of next year's lunch program. It is planned that working cadres will develop during the summer to press more boards for free lunches when school opens in September. A National School Lunch Week is planned in October to focus national attention on the need to provide every needy child in the country with at least one good meal a day. Thanksgiving Week will provide an opportunity for assessing President Nixon's goal of free lunches for all poor children.

The question remains, how and why did Hulbert James hook up with the church world?

Six Objectives

Back in September, 1969, the General Board of the National Council of Churches passed a long resolution on hunger, starting out with the statement that "the moment is at hand to put an end to hunger in America itself for all time."

The board urged member communions to stimulate involvement of church people in this national effort and made the following six suggestions as to how they might help:

1) To make church people aware of the existence of hunger in the United States, seek information and suggestions from the National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States and other organizations.

2) Get the facts about food distribution programs in the community.

3) Find out from recipients what serious flaws exist in the programs from their viewpoint and join with their organizations and other organizations in working for improvements.

4) Encourage church families to experiment with living on a welfare budget for a week or more, giving difference in cost to support organized programs against hunger.

5) Make space in parish buildings available for a food distribution or feeding program.

6) Join with other members of the councils of churches in sponsoring a special collection to support church-related programs to combat hunger.

7) Get information from national headquarters of denominations or from the National Council of Churches about legislation on food distribution to the poor and encourage members to write their representatives in Congress of their concern for effective programs to combat hunger.

In these days of widespread frustration at the ability of large ecumenical bodies to go beyond the production of statements and achieve something in terms of concrete action, Hulbert James is a kind of operating witness to the fact that if boards will find the right person and continue to support him with more than a momentary interest, action can be accomplished.

The job is doubly difficult in a decentralizing time. "The first thing I have to convince people of is the fact that their agenda is my agenda and that I can be of service," he says. In some areas, people stay away, simply because Hulbert James comes from a national center. But in others, notably Arkansas, during the second week in May, he had invited and expected 20 people to a workshop and found 80 there. Most of these people had been working on their own in various ways on the hunger problem. The workshop provided the opportunity to meet each other, to work out a coordinated strategy, to make plans to keep in touch.

"My whole aim is simply to get them together doing their own thing in concert with others," he says.

Like all who are actively at work for social justice, he talks in terms of rights. While the great issues of the right to vote, the right to protection from invasion of privacy, the right of peaceful dissent and peaceful assembly are threatened and heatedly debated, he talks about an even more basic and simple right—the right to life.

"When a baby is born, it should have the right to live, and not to starve to death or grow up stunted by malnutrition," he says. "That right is not now available to all children in the U.S." He has found that that right, when thought about by people of any and all political convictions, stirs up less opposition than other movement issues.

And he's hard at work, marshaling this non-opposition into support. ■

"My whole aim is simply to get them together, doing their own thing in concert with others . . ."

TEMPO

In Pace With The Changing Church

August 1 — August 15, 1970

CUNA MOLA ART

(See Page 8)

Yale Divinity Library
New Haven, Conn.

TEMPOSITIONS

The Vice President And The Dissenters-II.

IN the previous issue (July 1-15), TEMPO took Vice-President Agnew to task, in an ironic guise of "gratitude, for publicly chiding "progressive" ministers, and NCC "news letters" for the role they have allegedly played in radicalizing campus youth, and in diverting attention from salvation of souls to salvaging what's left of our rapidly deteriorating environment.

This, of course, was far from being the only countering response to a Vice President who, restless in an office notorious for its historic obscurity, has gained national attention by using his considerable phrase-making talents to label policy critics with such verbal tags as "impudent snobs," "rotten apples," "summertime soldiers and sunshine patriots," "trusters of Communists," "learned idiots," "tomentose exhibitionists," "small dogs," "squishy softies" etc.

That there has been something divisive about all this is generally acknowledged—perhaps even by the Vice President himself. For soon after TEMPO took exception to his target practice on "progressives" in the church, Mr. Agnew shared some sensible words on dissidence and divisiveness with readers of the *New York Times*.

"Before leveling charges of 'divisiveness' at one another," he wrote in a guest column on July 11, "we would do well to differentiate between the kind of division that embitters and negates, and the division that encourages intelligent debate."

Well said. There can be no quarrel with that.

As the *Times*, in an editorial a week later, aptly put it: "If Columnist Agnew can persuade Vice President Agnew, the country should be hearing less from now on about the "effete corps of impudent snobs" and more about the hard issues that divide the Administration from its youthful critics. There should be less talk about those "rotten apples" that the Vice President thinks should be separated from the rest of society, and more about improving life in the barrel."

Now perhaps, we can dispense at last with name-calling and get on with the vital business of constructive dialogue and "intelligent debate" about the quality of life in the American "barrel."

• • •

TEMPO readers were almost evenly divided pro and con in reaction to last issue's Open Letter to Mr. Agnew. A fair sampling follows here, with more on page 7.

Sir: Your satirical "An Open Letter to The Honorable Spiro Agnew" repels! I hold no brief for Mr. Agnew's blunt methods as politically persuasive. However, like many other church members, I resent your efforts to ridicule and belittle our vice-president by false insinuations, if not outright lies, with the apparent intention of creating doubt and distrust for the present administration.

First, you imply in a half quotation that he said that *all* "radical youths on our campuses are the offspring of 'affluent, permissive, upper-middle-class parents' ". I distinctly recall that he expressly limited that classification to some of the leaders. From my personal long-time observation of juvenile delinquents, I would agree that some of them, including some of the worst, come from the supposedly Christian homes of affluent but unwise upper-class parents, with apparently very ineffective Christian training. . . .

Second, you at least imply full approval of politically motivated religious leaders, some of whom have become so fanatically motivated by idealistic proposals, as completely to ignore realities, common sense, human nature and history, past and current. Many of them, "peace-at-any-price" advocates, apparently have never given thought as to what would be the condition of this country and the world if such a policy had dominated in America in 1776, in 1812, in 1865, in 1898, 1917, in 1941—or in the future, so long as it is possible for men like Hitler, Stalin, Mao and Ho to dominate powerful nations.

Third, it seems unfortunate that in so many denominations, the ministry is self-perpetuating in practice, so that irresponsible and fanatical leaders can continue in positions of leadership under over-emphasis of "freedom of religion" and "freedom of the pulpit" doctrines. It is quite probably this lack of responsibility of most of these leaders to the membership that has necessitated reductions in the expected budget for the National Council of Churches for the coming year!

I do value the enthusiastic idealism of youth —we need it to offset the cautious conservatism of age, and to assure progress. However, it needs especially in these trying times the leadership of men of judgment as well as dedicated idealism. Christ was no isolationist or anarchist—he was a thoroughly practical, intelligent idealist, advocating a wonderful philosophy of love of God and brotherhood of man, the effectiveness of which is still growing, but much too slowly, in the world.

I challenge you to give this equal prominence in TEMPO to your satirical and dishonest diatribe against the vice-president.

Lowell L. Walker
Walker, Luckey & Whitehead
Attorneys at Law
Columbus, Nebraska

cc: Honorable Spiro T. Agnew
Honorable Richard Nixon

• • •

Sir: There is no difficulty understanding the average layman's disenchantment with the church world of today after reading TEMPO July 1-July 15.

This issue is so Anti-American that I cannot understand how the leadership of the N.C.C. can expect support . . .

F.K. Cadwell
Bath, O.

• • •

Sir: In your somewhat cynical "open letter" to the Honorable Spiro T. Agnew, you made a statement which is somewhat surprising to me: "Our own scant research resources have left us, so far, in ignorance of the churches' role."

I refer you to the Gospel of Matthew, specifically Matthew 28: 18-20, and to the Gospel of Mark, Mark 16: 15, which seem to me to be the role of the church as stated by Christ. The true fulfillment of that role and the result is stated in Matthew 6: 33. . . .

Do you not think that the difficulty with the church today is not that the church is ignorant of its role, but ignorant of the true means and methods of fulfilling that role?

(Col.) Dorothy D. Phillips
The Salvation Army
New York City

• • •

Sir: Your open letter to the Vice President is perfect. I think you should now appeal to your TEMPO readers for a "free will offering" to pay for the Vice President's subscription—the jaybird!

Thelma Stevens
Leonia, N.J.

• • •

Sir: I just finished reading your open letter to our Vice President. It's beautiful!

In fact it's so good I am enclosing my check in the sum of $10.50 for a subscription for Spiro T. (in case he hasn't taken up your offer; also a subscription to President Nixon, who doesn't seem

(Continued on page 7)

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ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler
PROMOTION: David Poindexter
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Finlev, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull
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CARTOON: Mauldin in the Chicago Sun-Times, reprinted by permission.

"If a thousand men were not to pay their tax bills this year, that would not be as bloody and violent a measure as it would be to pay them."
—Henry Thoreau

MUST PACIFISTS PAY FOR WAR?

by Margaret H. Bacon

AS the war in Indochina drags wearily on, more and more Americans are seeking ways to protest their unwilling complicity in a struggle which they regard as immoral. There are more conscientious objectors in relation to draft age Americans than ever before in our history, more draft resisters, more protesters within the army. And a small but growing band of war weary citizens are turning to another method of protest; refusal to pay that portion of Federal income taxes which supports the war.

"Why should I send my dollars to war when I myself refuse to fight?" the war resister asks. "How can I prove the sincerity of my protest if I am too old for the draft, or the wrong sex, unless I am willing to take this simple positive step?"

Tax resistance is not new in this country. First the Quakers and then the Mennonites brought the notion with them when they came as settlers. In Pennsylvania, Quakers in the government agonized for years over raising war taxes at the request of the British crown, while private citizens often refused to pay either militia fees or war taxes. Many Friends Meetings kept records of Sufferings which were largely accounts of property seized by the militia from members for non-payment of such taxes.

In the nineteenth century, Henry David Thoreau was the most famous advocate of civil disobedience. In 1848, he spent a night in jail for refusing to pay taxes for the war in Mexico. "If a thousand men were not to pay their tax bills this year, that would not be as bloody and violent a measure as it would be to pay them," he wrote, "and thus enable the state to commit violence and shed innocent blood."

Other New Englanders seized upon the idea of civil disobedience. William Lloyd Garrison made non-resistance a part of his abolitionist campaign. Women suffragettes took up the theme. In one famous case, Abbey Kelley Foster and her husband, Stephen S. Foster, refused to pay taxes on their farm because Abbey did not have the right to vote.

Modern Tax Resisters

Tax refusal, however, remained the act of a mere handful until after World War II, when a few hundred pacifists decided to band together to reinforce each other's determination not to pay taxes, to urge others to join with them, and to work for conscientious objector status for their tax dollars. In 1969, the Internal Revenue Service announced that 848 individuals had refused to pay a portion of their taxes on their 1968 income. The 1970 figures will undoubtedly be much higher, since a spirited campaign was launched to increase tax resistance as part of the anti-war demonstrations of April 15, 1970.

One roadblock in the way of the individual who wants to refuse to pay a portion of this income tax has been the withholding tax. Many men and women find when April 15 rolls around that they do not owe the Government any money; their tax has already been collected by their employer. In fact, the Government may owe them a refund. A few individuals have tried to surmount this problem recently by claiming a large number of mythical dependents—in one case, all the wounded children in Vietnam—and informing IRS of this. Others have pressed the organization for which they work to stop playing the role of tax collector.

Since Federal law compels organizations to withhold taxes from their employees, most employers have felt unable to comply with this request. Even churches and service organizations dedicated to peace — even the strictly pacifist groups — have regretfully continued to serve as tax collectors. Because of the obvious dilemma faced by a pacifist employer in demanding that his pacifist employee pay war taxes, such organizations have been seeking with increasing vigor for a way out of the double bind.

A possible source of relief to this situation appeared on the national scene this past May when the American Friends Service Committee, a well-known Quaker organization, filed a complaint against the U.S. government for the return of AFSC funds which were paid to the government in lieu of Federal income taxes collected from employees conscientiously opposed to war. The suit, which was entered in the United States District Court of Eastern Pennsylvania, may reach the Supreme Court because of the constitutional issue raised.

The Service Committee had long been under pressure to take this step from employees who were opposed to paying war taxes. In its complaint to the government it stated that individual employees had threatened to resign and contributors had questioned the propriety of their donations while the AFSC continued to play the tax collector role. The AFSC was in fact eager to find a way out, but it took several years of committee meetings and conferences with lawyers to formulate the case now before the courts.

The AFSC Claim

During 1969, the AFSC began to honor the requests of several employees that it cease to collect from their salaries that percentage of their Federal income tax which goes for war purposes. (51.6 percent according to the Friends Committee on National Legislation as of 1968.) When it came time to make quarterly payments to the IRS for withheld taxes, the AFSC took from its own general funds the sum of $574.09 to make up the deficit. It is for the recovery of these funds that the claim is made.

Two AFSC employees are also serving as plaintiffs in the case. They are Lorraine Cleveland, 60, Director of the Family Planning Program of the AFSC, and Leonard Cadwallader, 27, Director of Youth Affairs. Mrs. Cleveland, who has been with the Quaker organization since 1944, has been a tax resister since 1949. Every year she and her husband refused to pay and the Government took the money from their bank account. Cadwallader, who is married and has a young baby is making his first income tax protest this year, though he and his wife had previously refused to pay the Federal war tax on their use of the telephone.

In Boston, two additional employees are planning to enter a similar suit, enjoining the AFSC to cease serving as the Government's tax collector. It is hoped that between these two suits the constitutional question involved will be brought to public attention. At issue, the AFSC feels, is the right of the Government to compel an organization founded on conscience to violate the conscience of its employees.

"The Federal withholding tax which compels the AFSC to collect military taxes as hereinbefore defined from those of its employees who are by reason of religious training and belief conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form, is in direct violation of the religious liberty guaranteed by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution," the Quaker claim states.

If the AFSC wins its suit, the implications for all religious organizations are immense. Even if it loses, the issue of conscientious objector status for tax dollars will have been brought more widely into public debate.

In the seventeenth century, the colony of Rhode Island in consideration of its Quaker citizens wrote the first exemption for those of "tender conscience" to participation in warfare:

"Be it therefore enacted, and hereby it is enacted by his Majesty's authority, that no person (within this Collony) that is or hereafter shall be persuaded in his conscience that he cannot or ought not to trayne, to learn to fight, nor to war, nor to kill any person or persons, shall at any time be compelled against his judgment and conscience to trayne, arm, or fight, to kill any person or persons by reason of or at the command of any officer of this Collony, civil or military, nor by reason of any by-law here past or formerly enacted, nor shall suffer any punishment, fine, distraint, penalty, nor imprisonment, who cannot in conscience trayne, fight or kill any person, or persons for the aforesaid reasons."

Perhaps in the twentieth century tender conscience in regard to warring tax dollars will win equal recognition. ■

Miss Bacon, whose books include "The Quiet Rebels" (Basic Books, 1969) is information director of the American Friends Service Committee.

A TEMPO Update On: "A new paradigm that can accommodate the old while fostering the new."

WHAT'S WITH THE UNDERGROUND CHURCH?

by Walter Fox

TO religious activists who have been turned off by the apparently lukewarm response of traditional church structures to pressing social problems, the current edition of *Win With Lofe,* a directory of the "liberated church" in America, offers a glimmer of hope.

A mimeographed booklet published by the Free Church of Berkeley, WWL lists 148 Christian groups in 36 states and the District of Columbia which, in the opinion of the editors, "represent grassroots ecumenism, and are serving the oppressed and working for peace and liberation."

It is a mixed bag, and listings include "renewed" suburban parishes, "house churches," new orders of Catholic religious and teenage coffee houses, along with the expected ghetto ministries, rural co-ops and GI counseling centers. Yet, despite the overwhelming diversity of purpose—or maybe even because of it—a mosaic emerges that is hard to put down as the shape of the new church to come.

Something is afoot. The statistics themselves, in the editors' words, "show you aren't just projecting your own fantasies."

In an attempt to define the "underground church" movement, a cross-section of non-established religious and discontented churchgoers met last month at Pendle Hill, a Quaker study center in suburban Philadelphia. If the meeting fell somewhat short of its purpose, it nevertheless dramatized the tentative and groping quality of religious strivings in a new age.

The movement eluded definition, but most participants would have accepted John Pairman Brown's description of the underground churches as bodies in which the "task comes before the inner structure of the community." In the "fossilized" churches, he noted, the order is reversed.

Berkeley's Free Church

An Episcopal minister whose books, *The Liberated Zone* and *Planet on Strike,* have made him the acknowledged theologian of the religious underground, Brown sees the movement as an attempt to embody the "intended ideals" of religion. He said the Free Church of Berkeley where he is theologian-in-residence, has restored the traditional role of the church, "in the manner of John Wesley, George Fox and Francis of Assisi."

The Berkeley Free Church began in the '60s as a "hippie service ministry" on Telegraph Avenue. It is now an independent church community serving what Brown calls the "largest white radical community in the nation." It is still primarily a task-oriented service community, operating an informational switchboard, housing from 30 to 60 young people a night and counseling runaways. And its members, including Pastor Richard York, bear the scars of direct action in the radical movement.

But out of this experience, the church has developed a liturgy that appears to have genuine relevance to the community it serves. It includes a "Freedom Meal"—a communion service of bread and wine—and a marriage ceremony used by hundreds of couples each year. The church also has compiled a prayer book, entitled "The Covenant of Peace," that will be published later this year and hopefully adopted by many of the underground churches.

Doctrinally independent and liturgically far-out, the Free Church nevertheless receives financial support from the area religious establishment, including the Episcopal Church, as well as the liberal community. Thus, it approaches closely Brown's notion of the liberated church as an alternative structure, standing alongside of, in dialogue with, and even receiving support from the traditional churches.

Even more important, in Brown's view, is that the liberated churches be an integral part of the secular radical movement, which, he said, "is trying to turn American society back from the wrong course before it is too late."

The dual role of the underground church as a religious witness within "the Movement" and a living model accessible to the traditional church structure was a persistent theme during the conference.

Theologian John Pairman Brown expounds his thesis that the church should concentrate on its task and not on its inner structure.

Ross Flanagan of the Backbenchers, a radical Quaker group, said most underground church members maintained some liaison with the religious "establishment."

"If you reject your church," he said, "you may end up standing alone in the closet. Our method in initiating communities of support is to presume a community and see who comes."

Flanagan said one of the primary aims of his group was to force the Society of Friends to take corporate stands on important issues.

"It is far too easy," he added, "for churches to absolve or justify themselves by permitting a small group of radicals to witness for them."

Rustum Roy, a founder of the Sycamore Community, a "house church" in State College, Pa., described the underground movement as "a new paradigm that can accommodate the old while fostering the new."

He predicted that the church of the future will consist of "small, existential communities which can join together in task forces to meet the world's needs."

A Michigan Experiment

Erv Bode is a 34-year-old United Church of Christ clergyman who is conducting an experimental ministry at Grand Valley State College in Michigan. His project, supported by the UCC, the United Presbyterian Church and the Disciples of Christ, includes a house church with 20 members and a campus ministry involved in peace action and educational reform.

Bode said at least half of the members of his house church did not consider themselves Christians, but that all were wrestling with fundamental issues—even, he noted, the possibility of a death within the community and how other members should respond to it.

"There is simply no blueprint for what we are doing," he said. "We are theologizing out of experience."

Bode said his experience has indicated that the geographical parish was no longer a relevant structure.

"Our community," he explained, "brings together people who operate on the same wave length. We are drawn together by what we are doing rather than where we live. There is simply no reason why the church of the future can't run on varying tracks."

A counterpoint to the discussions was the criticism from black participants that the underground churches might repeat the racial patterns of the establishment.

One speaker, the Rev. James Woodruff of the Episcopal Black Clergy and Laymen, said the underground movement appeared to blacks as "white folks trying to save the church for themselves."

Woodruff, a former urban missioner in Philadelphia, warned that unless the movement could develop priorities that are important to blacks and whites alike, it could become "an underground racist church."

"We have to develop priorities that everyone can work on at the same time," he declared. "Anything else is diversionary."

Woodruff said he was puzzled by the concern of the peace movement for the "Vietnamese in the rice paddies."

"It strikes me that they are winning the war," he said. "It is the Americans who are losing."

The number one priority for America, according to Woodruff, is "the development of a meaningful social order."

Charging that blacks had been left out of the decision-making areas of the church, he suggested that if the church was going to talk seriously about priorities, "it would have to develop a way to do it, since it never has."

Woodruff said the task of theology was to "discern where God is acting—to find the relevant areas—and to create symbols for the creative energies in our society in order to release them."

"The symbols," he added, "would not necessarily be the same for blacks and whites."

Tentative And Groping

The "creative worship service" that closed the conference underscored the tentative, groping aspects of a movement that had not yet found its style. It included recorded reflections by Elie Wiesel on the Nazi concentration camps, Hebrew religious music, a recording of Daniel Berrigan reading his poem, "America is Hard to Find," and moments of Quaker silence.

The homily was delivered by Muhammad Kenyatta of the Black Economic Development Conference, who chose as his text "Toward a New Golden Age" by Mao Tse-tung, and offered his audience a choice between joining the movement of the future or perishing with the ideas of the past.

But in its own awkward way, the service reached out to the experience of the participants, most directly as John Pairman Brown recited the "Prayer for Deliverance," a litany from the Free Church of Berkeley:

"From napalm and fallout, from shrapnel, gas and bullet, from poison, torture and mutilation.

"*Good Lord, deliver us.*

"From prison and detention camps, from conscription and from unjust sentences."

"*Good Lord, deliver us.*

"From cancer and stroke, from ulcers, madness and senility."

"*Good Lord, deliver us.*

"From starvation and epidemic, from overcrowding of the planet, from pollution of the soil, the air and the water."

"*Good Lord, deliver us.*

"From poverty and disease, from segregation and prejudice, from harassment, discrimination and brutality."

"*Good Lord, deliver us . . .*" ■

Free lance writer Walter Fox frequently reports on the religious scene. He is a lecturer in journalism at Temple University.

WASHINGTON REPORT

Military Procurement — A Bill for All Seasons

by Allen M. Parrent

FOR the next few weeks in Washington, the U.S. Senate will be where the action is. The $19.2 billion military procurement authorization bill (H.R. 17123), which passed the House in early May, came to the Senate floor in late July and should dominate the scene on Capitol Hill for several weeks. The provisions of the bill and the amendments to be proposed to it involve in one way or another just about every controversial question being raised currently about defense-related matters — the next round of the ABM debate, MIRV, a whole host of specific amendments concerning cuts in authorizations for particular weapons systems, national priorities, the use of herbicides for military purposes, an amendment to end the draft, and others. All of this heavy fare will then be topped off by a new round on the constitutional and moral questions raised by the war in Southeast Asia, centering on the McGovern-Hatfield amendment (No. 609), certainly one of the most publicized amendments in U.S. legislative history. Rarely has so much of significance been involved in one bill. Since much has been written on the "end the war" amendment, and since the draft is a different kind of question, this column will be devoted to the weapons aspects of the bill.

The ABM and MIRV have been the subjects of several columns on this page in the past two years, most recently in the April 15-May 1 issue. The basic arguments against them have not changed and have been reiterated again and again by expert testimony in recent Senate hearings. Concerning ABM, grave doubts continue to be expressed about its technical reliability, and there is real feeling that in proceeding so rapidly to Phase II before Phase I construction had even begun, the Administration broke its promise to review and evaluate the system in an orderly and phased manner before expanding it. Concerning MIRV, there is the opposite fear that such an effective weapon, with its potential first-strike capability, will dangerously destabilize the current nuclear balance, particularly as MIRV accuracy increases with further testing. Concerning both systems, there are three real concerns: (1) that they will endanger progress in the SALT talks where progress is essential if a new and costly arms race is to be avoided, (2) that they will create uncertainty about the capabilities and intentions of each super-power vis-a-vis the other and thus lead to overreactions, and (3) that in the last analysis both are unnecessary and even counterproductive. A recent statement by the majority of the faculty at M.I.T. was typical of many knowledgeable statements making these points.

Pro and Anti ABM

The on-again-off-again "Chinese" rationale for the ABM, ridiculed by China experts and others and never very convincing even to ABM proponents, is apparently off again. This may strengthen the pro-ABM case, although logically the discontinuation of an invalid argument in no way improves the system or the case for it. In reporting the bill out, the Senate Armed Services Committee rejected the President's request to begin work on four additional ABM sites to provide a thin area defense against a possible Chinese threat. Rather it limited its recommendation to continuing ABM funds to protect U.S. land-based ICBM's, first at the two Phase I sites in North Dakota and Montana, and second at two Phase II sites in Missouri (full funding) and Wyoming (advanced preparation). This action was reportedly taken to undermine Senate opposition to ABM expansion.

The Committee recommended $1.35 billion for the four ABM sites for fiscal 1971, about $1 billion of which is for Phase I. ABM opponents are currently trying to determine what strategy to use on the Senate floor. The best chance of success would be on a motion to limit the ABM program to Phase I, though it is possible that a more inclusive amendment will also be offered. Other possibilities would be to seek to put all or part of ABM funds into escrow, pending the outcome of the SALT talks, or to authorize funds only for research and development (R&D), not deployment. Meanwhile, from the massive resources of the Pentagon a special office has been set up, as was done with great effect last year, to assist senators during the ABM debate. The chances for halting Phase II look good but not certain; chances for more than that are only fair.

Chemical Herbicides

A late entry into the military procurement sweepstakes is an amendment to end environmental warfare. Offered by Senators Nelson, Goodell, and nine others, it would prohibit the use of chemical herbicides for military purposes. The Geneva Protocol of 1925 has still not been sent to the Senate from the White House for ratification, though with some fanfare it was promised over eight months ago. It is well known in Washington that the delay stems from the internal debate over U.S. use of tear gas and defoliants in Vietnam, something which the Government claims does not come under the provisions of the Protocol but which most of the rest of the world believes to be included in the Protocol. The U.N. has so declared in an 80-3 vote. Many believe that with such an implicit or explicit reservation the Protocol would never get out of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The proposers of the amendment, referring both to the doubtful military value of herbicides and to the ecological dangers of their use, hope to settle the question by denying any funds for them and thereby to open the way for ratification of the Protocol. Only the U.S. among the major nations has not ratified.

"We've spent so much on defense that there's not much left to defend"

In addition to efforts to get specific cuts in the military budget, there will be an amendment offered to get an across-the-board percentage cut in the entire bill, leaving allocation of the cuts to the Defense Department. This would be an attempt to make the "national priorities" point in a small way by encouraging efficiency in Defense. There is also a certain political viability in such a measure which would protect congressmen who may not want to vote on allocated cuts which might affect their own districts and states. Continuing evidence concerning gross waste in defense contracts, and the recent revelation from Senator Proxmire that cost overruns on 38 of the Pentagon's major weapons systems are now $23.8 billion (more than the procurement bill itself) should be useful support for this effort. A 3 per cent overall efficiency cut was approved in 1968 but a 5-10 per cent cut is being discussed for the current bill.

Probably the most thorough congressional study of the military budget and the rationale behind it is the recently released "Report on Military Spending", prepared by Members of Congress for Peace Through Law (MCPL), a bipartisan and bicameral group of about 100 congressmen and senators. The study recommends retrenchments for fiscal 1971 of around $5 billion, excluding manpower which would double that amount. (Manpower costs are part of the $71 billion Defense Appropriations bill, coming up later this summer.) In addition to ABM cuts, the Report includes the following among many recommendations:

(1) A freeze on MIRV deployment during the SALT talks and no further funds for MIRVing the land-based Minuteman because of fixed-base vulnerability and the destabilizing effects of MIRV. The 1971 request for this purpose is $686 million.

(2) No additional funds for the B-1 bomber. Projected cost is $9.4 billion, with $106 million requested this year for research. The whole question of the future of the manned bomber must be resolved first.

(3) No new nuclear aircraft carriers and reduction of active duty carriers from 15 to 10 or so. The increasing vulnerability and massive cost of carriers makes them increasingly difficult to justify.

(4) Deletion of the $309 million requested for S-3A anti-submarine aircraft. There is no need for this aircraft, the Report argues.

Real Costs Are Not Known

The Report also includes a section on "Economics and Defense Spending" with the following significant comment: "Both the real and monetary costs of defense are unknown because of Pentagon secrecy, under-reporting, and underestimating. The 'true cost' is still greater even than the unknown monetary costs because of the sacrifice of private and social spending. . . . Further incalculable costs include the disruption of the social fabric and the imbalances in our foreign policy between military and civilian goals. But we can calculate that 70 per cent of the world's arms expenditures are made by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., with the U.S. leading both in the total real cost in purchasing power equivalent and in real cost per capita."

As a result of the efforts of groups like MCPL, the Democratic Study Group on the House side, Council for a Livable World, some excellent hearings, and some highly competent congressional staff work, legislators are much better informed on military matters than they were in the old rubber-stamp days. There is at the same time evidence of greater awareness of ethical implications. Since the evidence of defense waste and of distorted priorities is undeniable, the mood on Capitol Hill—particularly in the Senate—seems to be one susceptible to reasonable pleas to curtail defense spending. There is also a strong predisposition to do nothing which might be detrimental to the SALT talks. Testimony of respected men like former Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul Warnke (—the SALT talks "are unquestionably the most important current development on the international scene. . . . But if each side tries to better its position in order to negotiate from greater strength, the talks . . . will become a vehicle for arms escalation.") have had some real impact. With appropriate encouragement from concerned citizens and groups, this long, hot summer in Washington may yet be a productive one. ■

IT SAYS HERE

GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME ENDORSED BY UCC LEADERS

PITTSBURGH (RNS) — Adoption of a guaranteed annual income of $5,500 for a family of four would move the U.S. down the road toward "the fulfillment of the promises of our forefathers," the national mission executive of the United Church of Christ said here.

Dr. Howard E. Spragg, executive vice-president of the United Board of Homeland Ministries, addressed the biennial conference of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO).

The $5,500 minimum income, he said, would be one way to shift national priorities from projects "which promote death to those which promote life." Dr. Spragg's board had formally supported the income figure he mentioned.

He declared that the high proportion of the national budget spent on the military is "insane," adding that it is past time "all of us had the courage to say so."

LUTHERANS BACK 'DOM HELDER' FOR 1970 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

EVIAN-LES-BAINS, France (RNS) — Roman Catholic Archbishop Helder Pessoa Camara of Brazil was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by the Lutheran World Federation's Firth Assembly.

The Archbishop of Olinda and Recife (See TEMPO, June 15) was called "a symbol for those who have devoted their lives to the struggle against oppression and inhuman conditions."

Youth delegates had asked the endorsement, campaigned for it, and gained the support of the influential Dr. Gustav Wingren of Lund, Sweden.

Archbishop Pessoa was to have addressed a youth convocation prior to the Assembly. However, when the meetings were transferred from Brazil to France, he was unable to attend.

The prelate has been particularly critical of the Brazilian government which is alleged to have tortured political prisoners.

SHOTS FIRED AT DELTA MINISTRY BUILDING

EDWARDS, Miss. (RNS) — Five shots were fired into a Delta Ministry building here as an interracial group sat in conference on the night of July 21, leaders of the National Council of Churches project reported.

About 10 people from North Dakota and Mississippi were conferring at the time. There were also children in the building. No one was injured.

The attack was described by Delta Ministry spokesmen as part of a continuing seige of harassment which began in 1965. The ministry assists poor blacks of the area. It is the only program, of many launched in civil rights campaigns of the 1960s, which has survived in Mississippi.

Officials said they believed the gun shots were in retaliation to a ministry reported tax suit now in court here. The case involves alleged tax assessment discrimination in Edwards. Blacks charge their taxes were raised while those in white communities were lowered or remained the same.

Delta Ministry leaders said they called the FBI following the shots. They were requested to call the county sheriff who, they said, suggested calling the local constable. There was no response.

BLACK BAPTIST LEADER SAYS 'MANIFESTO' DID 'MORE GOOD' THAN REVIVALS

TOKYO (RNS) — James Forman and the Black Manifesto "did more good" than all the revivals held last year in American churches, the past president of the American Baptist Convention said here.

Dr. Thomas Kilgore, pastor of Second Baptist church, Los Angeles, addressed the World Congress of the Baptist World Alliance on racism in North America.

According to the Negro clergyman, the Black Manifesto — which demands "reparations" from white churches — and Mr. Forman spotlighted the church's problem: the need to share wealth with needy people.

The "systems of America are racist," said Dr. Kilgore. He accused North American Churches of being the worst offenders in racial injustice. "The Churches have more to repent of than anyone else," he told delegates. "They have failed to fulfill their role."

Meanwhile, world statesmen were urged by the Alliance to strengthen the United Nations as an instrument for peace and to make the international organization representative of all people.

Delegates heard former Minnesota Governor Harold Stassen declare that the U.N. Charter should be revised and membership extended to provide for both Chinas, both Germanies, both Koreas and both Vietnams.

EVIAN-LES-BAINS, France — As outgoing Lutheran World Federation President Fredrik A. Schiotz addresses the federation's Fifth Assembly, a scattering of young people stand to protest a passage in his speech. Dr. Schiotz, who is president of the American Lutheran Church, said the change of site for the Assembly from Brazil to France may have been a mistake, a decision taken earlier in acknowledgement of political tortures in Brazil. Elected as the new federation president was Dr. Mikko Einar Juva, 51 year-old Finnish scholar who once headed his country's Liberal Party.

QUAKER STUDY ADVOCATES PRISONS BE ABOLISHED

PHILADELPHIA (RNS) — Prisons cause society more problems than they solve and should be abolished, says a brief study published here by the American Friends Service Committee (Quaker).

Author of the paper is Dr. David F. Greenberg a research physicist at Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh.

Having no prisons, Dr. Greenberg said would force society to deal with many issues it now avoids, such as the treatment of socially deviant but harmless behavior.

Abolishinp prisons, he claims, would lead to new means of restraining the small percentage of persons who constitute actual danger to society.

Alternatives to the present system discussed in the study are island penal colonies, such as in Mexico, or small homogeneous prisons located in communities, such as in Holland.

Until prisons are abolished, Dr. Greenberg recommends several reforms. He says prisoners should be entitled to due process, should not receive indefinite sentences, should not be forced to work, should receive cash allowances, should be permitted conjugal visits and should have access to their records.

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONDEMNED BY LUTHERANS

EVIAN-LES-BAINS, France (RNS) — Violations of human rights were condemned and aid to persons "persecuted for conscience's sake" endorsed in a resolution passed here by a large majority at the Fifth Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation.

A reference to Brazil, where the meeting was originally slated to meet, was included. Reports of political torture in Brazil caused the change in site for the conference.

Lutheran delegates said they could not "overlook the fact that there are dramatic and evident violations of human rights in the nation we once anticipated as the site of this Assembly."

Highlighting one of the sessions was a youth-inspired demonstration held before television cameras. Young delegates carefully tore up drafts to be presented before the Assembly, charging that they were "pretentious, unrealistic and irrelevant."

The Assembly was said to be the "youngest" on record. The average age of voting delegates was 44½ years.

METHODIST BISHOP LAUDS NIXON'S INDIAN PROGRAM

ABERDEEN, S.D. (RNS) — United Methodist Bishop James Armstrong of the Dakotas has praised President Nixon for his message to Congress pledging that the government will abide by "Indian acts and Indian decisions" in determining the future of America's original inhabitants.

The bishop commended Mr. Nixon for acknowledging "centuries of injustice," in rejecting the policy of "forced termination" of special Indian relations to the government and in recommending legislation enabling tribes to assume operational control of education and aid programs.

"You have turned away from the self-righteous paternalism of the past," he said.

The bishop—youngest in the 11-million denomination—has long championed the "empowerment" of Indians both on and off reservations.

LETTERS – (Continued from page 2)

to know what our country is all about either, and certainly not about what religion is today; also one subscription to Billy Graham, who seems to be the court chaplain . . . .

Lee J. Hereth
Cincinnati, O.

* * *

Sir: May I have several copies of the Open Letter to Spiro, or failing, permission to mimeograph copies of the letter?

That is, was and ever shall be the ultimate in its field. It should ever remain the classic in satire; it should be reproduced on vellum and hung in the halls of learning for the student in literature, law and theology. May it ever stand before the political scientist. I read recently that man is the only creature capable of standing before a crowd and putting both feet in his mouth.

(The Rev.) Murray L. Wagner
Mechanic Grove Church of the Brethren
Quarryville, Pennsylvania

* * *

Sir: I was distressed by your "Open Letter to the Honorable Spiro T. Agnew." I thought that "letter" was without a doubt one of the most unkind, unfair responses to our Vice President. I am sure that you know what Mr. Agnew meant when he referred to preachers more interested in fighting pollution than fighting evil. I did not feel that Mr. Agnew failed to recognize "pollution" as evil, but that he was concerned that the Church in many quarters has become so wrapped up in "social action" issues that we don't deal with sin and salvation. With declining membership; declining stewardship, etc., among our more liberal denominations (of which I am a part), and with forced steps and growth being realized by the more conservative element, maybe we ought to quit reading the "NCC Newsletter" and spend a little more time with the Bible . . .

(The Rev.) Jack Naff
First Christian Church
Hermiston, Oregon

* * *

Sir: I want to congratulate you on the splendid way you worded your (July 1-15) editorial. Especially the closing: "Dum spiro, spero".

After 40 years, my Latin is somewhat rusty, but I checked it out with my Latin-English Dictionary, and—the coincidence of it all—you were exactly right.

James L. Stone
Moberly, Mo.

* * *

Sir: I almost never write a letter to the Editor; but your delicious little bit of irony — An Open Letter to the Honorable Spiro T. Agnew — provides an irresistible stimulus.

Thank you very much—not merely for the Open Letter itself but for the implied promise of more to come.

As an ecclesiastical bureaucrat of some experience, I can testify to the aesthetic barrenness of most of my normal reading material. The deadpan, even labored seriousness with which so much of our ecumenical business is transacted never fails to chill me. Contrariwise, your offering in TEMPO gives me some hope that you may repeat the performance on another occasion.

(The Rev.) Robert C. Martin, Jr.
Associate Director
Experimental and Specialized Services
Executive Council of the Episcopal Church
New York City

* * *

Sir: It seems very sad to me that you find it necessary to be sarcastic in your letter to Spiro T. Agnew. It was very witty and very bright, even clever, but I find it hard to cope with your feelings of hopelessness about the Vice-President of the United States. You talk to him like a child, like someone who has such a small mind that he will totally miss all the slams you put on him in your letter. . . . Perhaps I would have hoped that you could better cope with a person like him. Couldn't you try to build bridges instead of sulking on your side of the water?

Diane Crane Gubas
New York City

* * *

Sir: I would like permission to re-print the 'Open Letter to S. T. Agnew' that appeared in the July 1-15 issue. I would like to include it in our Parish Letter . . . I think this editorial was one of the best things I have read in a long time. TEMPO is good, and such make it better.

Nelson A. L. Weller, S.T.M.
St. James United Church of Christ
Limerick, Pennsylvania

* * *

Sir: I just finished reading your open letter to the Vice President and note that he has you on the defensive.

I believe he is right when he talks about the minority of radicals on our campuses — I have observed them here in my ministry.

Relative to the NCC, I also agree with him and would urge that if this all rubs you the wrong way maybe it is time to examine the "mickey mouse" of it all and get back to the Christ who changes lives and motivates people to action!

Rev. Burnell A. Lund
Trinity Lutheran Church
Rapid City, South Dakota

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REVIEWING:

M.A.S.H. and LOVING

THESE two films have both been around awhile and *M.A.S.H.* even somehow copped the kudos (as they say in film reviews) at a big international festival. I put them together here because I happened to see them the same week and also because they both deal with that eternal isosceles triangle, Man-Work-Woman. They are both films about men primarily, but about men struggling with work they both love and hate, and with women they cannot live with and cannot live without. Cannes prizes notwithstanding, I think *Loving* is the better flick. So, since so many people seemed to like it, I'd better say why.

M.A.S.H. is about the rapscallion, roguish surgeons at a Mobile Army Surgical Hospital during the Korean war. The surgeons, recently out of college, play football in the mud, bed down with the nurses, glug down martinis by the helmetful and hack away at the flesh and entrails of wounded soldiers with large gobs of medical school humor. During their off-hours they keep the hospital lively with jokes and antics that seem entirely appropriate to the early fifties, that paleozoic period when the Korean War was fought. But it just doesn't seem funny today. In fact, a student of mine told me that after a brief survey he had concluded that only people between twenty-five and forty think *M.A.S.H.* is funny. If you're over forty you think it is gross and even offensive. If you're under twenty-five you think it's banal and chauvinistic. Presumably, if you're in the middle you still go to fraternity stunt night stuff, and you think making fun of religious creeps is just barrels of fun. Well, I'm glad *M.A.S.H.* is bombing out with the younger crowd. Its sexism, its pseudo-machismo, its overstrained barracks buffoonery just don't touch the kids at their center today. It stands for a lot of the stuff they're casting off. So much the worse for the (presumably middle-aged) Cannes jury.

Oh, I know that cutting out bullets, stashing arterial flows and sewing up gaping holes in living flesh is no fun. And I know that medical students have always thrown up a wall of swashbuckling humor and wenching around themselves, maybe to protect themselves from the feelings their calling must entail. And I also know that the Army has forbidden *M.A.S.H.* to be shown on military bases, so I suppose it can't be all bad. But when it comes to absurdist, black-humor antiwar films, *M.A.S.H.* falls way, way behind *CATCH 22* (on which there will be some comments in a later column).

LOVING tells the tale of a harried professional illustrator, well played by George Segal. At what appears to be about thirty-five he is living through a crisis in career, marriage and existence-in-general. The film skillfully puts all the dissonant notes in the melody, without making his life seem unbelievable. In fact it is very believable indeed. His suburban house is mortgaged until 2001 AD. His pretty wife, played by Eva Marie-Saint, is developing a little bitchiness to match the crow's feet around her eyes. His two kids are not just the fond children of ordinary movies but irksome, noisy, petulant little (normal) brats. He desperately needs a fat contract to keep from drowning but doesn't really want to do the truck pictures it requires. His wife wants to buy a new house. He has a vague relationship with a younger woman in the city, but he can't avoid fantasies about the women he meets at business luncheons or about his neighbor's flirtatious wife.

As in *M.A.S.H.* there is a lot of drinking, open warfare between men and women, hatred and fascination for the world of work, the frantic effort to wring a few droplets of life out of the carnage. But in *Loving* the hero is more vulnerable, less pretentious, not so suavely cocksure as the scalpel aces of *M.A.S.H.* So *Loving* is more believable, and ultimately more human. ■

The women of the Cuña Indians, whose home is the San Blas Islands off the Caribbean coast of Panama, wear intricately designed blouses depicting scenes from the life of Christ. They design and weave their blouses, or molas, themselves. Where their highly developed art form came from is a mystery, but it's believed to be a missionary-inspired adaptation of an ancient body-painting custom.

The two mola designs on the cover show the Crucifixion (top), and the story of David and Goliath. A Cuña girl (left) models her costume outside her thatched house. Above is shown a mola illustration of the Ascension, and at right, angels kneeling before the empty tomb.

Improvising the design as they go — there are no preliminary sketches — the Cuña women take as long as a month to produce a single mola. ■

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NEW ERA

In Pace With The Changing Church

September 1 — September 15, 1970

Peace pilgrims Nobuko Ueno and Miyao Ohara, both survivors of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, float lantern boats on the Central Park lake, New York City, on the 25th anniversary of the holocaust. The ceremony was similar to ones staged in Hiroshima and Nagasaki where, every year since 1945, relatives of those killed in the bombings float lanterns on the rivers of the two cities in memory of the victims and as a prayer for world peace. (See also page 2.)

Yale Divinity Library
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TEMPOSITIONS

HIROSHIMA: TWENTY-FIVE YEARS LATER

LAST MONTH, when the 25th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was being quietly observed, people in the Interchurch Center in New York City had the good fortune to hear some wise words from a Japanese biblical scholar and peace worker.

"Those who believe in power politics justify the continued stockpiling of nuclear weapons by calling a balance of power the 'basic reality'", said Dr. Takuo Matsumoto. "To me, as a Christian, the basic reality of power is love, understanding, cooperation, and forgiveness."

The 82 year-old director of the World Friendship Center at Hiroshima was the leader of a party of six Peace Pilgrims who came here from Japan to participate in the 25th observance of an event that shook the world's conscience as no single act of war violence had ever shaken it before. All six had undergone that shattering experience which, a quarter century ago, wiped out 275,000 lives instantly in both cities — leaving 300,000 more who still need medical care as radioactive survivors of the holocaust.

"Before the war began," said another member of the group, "the militarists were very strong in my country and the Christians, being a very small minority, did not dare speak out against the majority. This was not right," said Miss Katsue Ueda who lived through the bombing at Nagasaki. "In your country today the militarists are also very strong, and I urge you not to repeat our mistake. Christians should be courageous enough to speak out against these horrors."

Nagasaki, August 9, 1945

THE GROUP had travelled widely in the United States. They spoke to various gatherings, and they talked with people. In Texas, Miss Ueda recalled, "it was the children who were most concerned — they told us they hoped it would never happen again." Women's groups were shocked to learn that people were still dying from the effects of radiation. Members of men's service clubs, however, "did not seem to hear me, and were most concerned about how this country could extricate itself from Vietnam with honor."

Dr. Matsumoto found young people's groups in Portland, Oregon and Denver, more committed to peace than many older Christians. And so it went.

MANY AMERICANS today still feel the shock waves that swept the world from Hiroshima and Nagasaki 25 years ago. Some at first rejoiced that it meant the end of the war with Japan, and a saving of American lives. Others shuddered with horror at the prospect of more and worse holocausts to come, in other wars, in other years.

Today all can feel a sense of wary relief that so far nuclear warfare has since been held in check. Two important treaties have been signed, one in 1963 placing strict limits on nuclear testing, and the other, coming later, that bans proliferation of nuclear weapons.

But the danger of nuclear extinction still hovers over us menacingly, and it will continue to do so as long as mankind is capable of giving free rein to passions of hatred and aggressive, insensate greed.

The world's best hope is that "peace pilgrims" will grow in numbers and influence, and that one day they will prevail as a determined and ever vigilant majority dedicated to the ending of all war. ■

The Editor

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell

ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler

PROMOTION: David Poindexter

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull

Subscription Correspondence: TEMPO, P.O. Box 81, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010

Editorial Correspondence: Dept. of Information, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027

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Report of A Journey to The World's Unhappiest Country

THE WOMAN WITH A BAMBOO POLE

by Bishop Paul Moore, Jr.

THE first glimpse we had of Saigon was in Paris. Between planes, almost lost in the crowd of hurrying Americans, stood a small Buddhist monk, Thich Nat Thanh. He had waited five hours to spend five minutes with us. Intellectual, poet, ascetic, politic exile, his eyes burned with the suffering of his people and his longing for Vietnam.

The symbol of the people of Vietnam is a woman carrying a bamboo pole. They say their strength is in their weakness. Thich Nat Thanh, who wrote "Lotus in a Sea of Fire," radiates the strength of weakness. Again and again, in the days that followed, I thought of his face and of the woman with the bamboo pole.

Our team of religious leaders and students set forth to talk to the Vietnamese people. We wished to assess the strength of the movement for peace there, and the extent of its expression. Seven days is not long, and yet our group of 20 must have interviewed more than 200 persons: students, Catholic priests, Buddhist monks, peasant farmers, prostitutes, businessmen, lawyers, politicians, mothers, American soldiers, embassy officials (including the assistant ambassador), journalists, welfare workers, doctors.

The Vietnamese, to a man, want us to go home. Some of the students would like us to go tomorrow. Others say we should leave over a period of months. But not one Vietnamese interviewed wanted a U.S. presence to continue long. However, even stronger than their concern for our withdrawal and their desire for peace was their bitter anger toward the Thieu-Ky regime.

Our information did not come from books or from the ideologies of political parties. It came from the mouths and voices and tears and bodies of men, women and children.

An old monk, sitting enthroned on a barge in the Mekong River, eats nothing but coconuts and has kept silence for seven years, for peace.

A brilliant, sharp-eyed student tells us of 13 months he spent in the notorious tiger cages of Gonson prison. His offense: speaking out for peace.

A Catholic priest in his cassock describes in exquisite French, and with a touch of Gallic humor, the confiscation of the last four issues of his magazine.

Spiritual Toughness

Vietnam is a country loved by her people with a mystical passion. Their religion—whether Taoism, Buddhism, Catholicism or Cao Daism—is pervaded with a strange and wonderful mystique called Dantoc, the spirit of the Vietnamese people. It is this spirit which gives the people a bravery willing to fight for freedom over the years, and it is this spirit, running far deeper than communism or anticommunism, which accounts for the courage of those who continue to risk imprisonment or death for freedom and peace.

A homeless Vietnamese woman and her grandson.

I remember the clean eyes of a wrinkled, gray-haired countenance shining strong as she spoke of her daughter imprisoned for writing a freedom song. I held the strong brown hand of a boy whose fingernails were still splintered because of the bamboo slivers his police torturers inserted there. I can still see the beautiful face of a young woman as she showed us the bruises on her body; she was beaten in an unsuccessful attempt to make her confess that she was a Communist.

The theme was always the same: We are against communism but we must have peace and a new government.

One afternoon, as the tropical rains came down outside, we sang freedom songs in the student center with these small brothers and sisters, amazed that they could be polite to us, much less embrace us in their arms and songs.

It was difficult to believe much of what we heard during our visit. A government decree enables the authorities to arrest and jail anyone for up to two years without bringing charges. The detention without trial may be renewed any number of times. To hold a meeting for peace is against the law. Newspapers are confiscated regularly. The Supreme Court declared a conviction unconstitutional but the victim, a member of parliament, remains in jail.

It is hard to believe that a million lives have been lost to preserve such a government.

American Corruption

Our eyes could not accept what we saw; on every street, in every town, every minute on every road, vehicles of the U.S. Army rolled by. The Vietnamese are a delicate, intellectual, lithe, nervy people. They move quickly and surely. They smile easily and touch easily. Their women move with grace, their men are agile and free. French culture lies easily upon them. But the heavy boot of our great army seems to smash unheedingly the fragility of their bamboo civilization. And the American dollar seems to draw into power the worst in their society.

One night we sat in the elegant living room of a leading intellectual. He and his friends had all been arrested at one time or another. We spoke of the future and asked them if they were not afraid of a bloodbath after the U.S. withdrawal. They noted bitterly that 20 years ago they were being protected from a bloodbath; since then a million have lost their lives.

We asked them their plan for the future. Their projection coincided with that of all the thoughtful people we met. They suggested the formation of a provisional government made up of elements in the center of the political spectrum. This interim regime would exclude the NLF and the present right-wing leaders, but could be acceptable to both. There were many able men, they said, capable of leadership and of popular support. This provisional government would sponsor elections for a permanent administration. It was clear that they thought reform was essential to stability and that under Thieu and Ky reform would not occur.

We became very fond of some of those we came to know and were touched by their thoughtfulness. When the student leaders asked us to join them in a public meeting, followed by a nonviolent demonstration for peace, we were moved by their trust. But we also hesitated to accept, for we were a careful group: a law professor from New Zealand, the mother general of the Sisters of Loretto, moderate peace and student leaders, a black Baptist minister, a woman on the staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a New York rabbi. An open meeting seemed appropriate, but would it be appropriate for a fact-finding team to become "activist"?

We decided to accept, first, to give our moral support to the brave peace leaders we had come to know, and second, to see whether a peaceful demonstration would be suppressed.

A Bitter Lesson

We met in a full assembly hall—high school and college students, Buddhist monks, Catholic clergy. Enthusiasm ran high, for this was the first time an international group had joined the Vietnamese peace movement. After a series of speeches, two old ladies walked up the aisle carrying a small coffin on their shoulders. "This is our present to you," they said. "It represents the dead of Vietnam."

Soon came the time to move out. The plan was for us to walk together down the street. The destination of the American delegation was the U.S. embassy, where we planned to leave a statement expressing our concern. The Vietnamese were to continue to the palace. We were to conclude by joining together in a nearby park to say goodbye.

The sun shone. The young people spilled out on the street in a holiday mood, laughing, joking, singing. We turned the corner and started along the wide avenue where the embassy was located two blocks farther on "Look, they're there!" someone cried. I looked ahead through the crowd and saw the street cordoned off by police in battle dress. We were still at least 150 yards from them when a puff of smoke went off and the tear gas began to fall.

We turned to run and found our rear cut off by another cordon. Fences and walls lined each side of the block. Kids climbed a high iron fence to escape. The rest of us searched wildly for an opening. We burst through a narrow gate, a bicycle fell, women fell on top of it and were almost crushed. Luckily, the crowd held back even though the gassing continued.

At last we escaped. A little old lady stopped me and wiped my burning cheeks with a lime to take away the sting. What courtesy!

This was not a march on the embassy but a peaceful procession. The behavior of the police was not aimed at dispersing but at trapping us so they could punish us. Some students were not only gassed but beaten. Others were chased all the way back to the assembly hall, where they were gassed again.

Apparently due to our inquiries through the U.S. embassy, whose staff was most helpful, the arrested students were released, as were some members of the press corps who had also been apprehended, roughed up and in one instance had a film confiscated. The photographer told us the film contained a picture of a soldier pointing a tear gas gun point-blank at a woman. The week was long and tough and it ended with several students in the hospital. But we heard of the gratitude of our new friends. We were the first foreigners, we were told, whom they had ever trusted. This was enough. We had seen the strength of a woman with a bamboo pole.

Bishop Moore, formerly Suffragan Bishop of Washington, D.C., was recently installed as Bishop Coadjutor of the Episcopal Diocese of New York. His account of his recent journey first appeared in the Washington Post; reprinted by permission.

GOD, COUNTRY, AND LT. FONT

(The interview that follows could have happened at no other time or place than now in the U.S.A. It is actually a transcript of a dialogue between Lt. Louis Paul Font, a West Point graduate who is seeking his discharge from the U.S. Army because he believes the war in Indo-China is immoral and unjust, and Dr. Paul Deats, Jr., Professor of Social Ethics at the Boston University School of Theology. The dialogue took place on "Frontiers of Faith," prepared in cooperation with the National Council of Churches' Broadcasting and Film Department and aired July 12 on NBC-TV. TEMPO here presents this condensed transcript as a unique, personal record for our time.)

DR. DEATS: *Lt. Font, one of the issues which profoundly divides this nation, as you and I know, is the issue of the Vietnam War. This cuts across a lot of other divisions between youth and age, black and white, male and female, and even now cuts across political parties. As I understand it, this same war divides your own life and your own experiences. Is this true?*

LT. FONT. That is right, Dr. Deats, because I find myself in the position of wearing the Army uniform and believing, my religious beliefs, compelling me to believe, that the Vietnam War is immoral and unjust. On those grounds I am seeking discharge from the United States Army. This war has divided me from my childhood friends, from my childhood dreams of a military career.

You are not just a draftee then?

No sir, not at all. I graduated from West Point in 1968, and I had sought entrance to the Military Academy. I spent four long and rigorous years there preparing myself for a military career, and now I find that the Vietnam War is one that I must believe, that my conscience compels me to believe, that I feel is immoral and unjust, and I can have absolutely nothing whatsoever to do with it.

So what have you done? You are wearing the uniform. What is your status?

My status at present is that I am at Fort Mead, Maryland, and my decision with the Department of the Army is pending with regard to my request for discharge from the United States Army as a conscientious objector to the Vietnam war.

Your request for a discharge was filed in February of this year?

That is right, sir. It was filed in February, and for the last several months I have been stationed at Fort Mead, Maryland.

Where have you lived?

My family currently lives in Kansas City, Kansas, and that is where I spent most of my life.

You lived a normal boyhood?

Yes, I did. I was in the scouting movement for six or seven years, rose in the ranks from Tenderfoot to Eagle Scout, earned the "God and Country Award" and also was elected to represent the State of Kansas at the annual Boy Scout report to the Governor of Kansas.

Your church experience?

My father is a lay teacher in the Methodist Church. My older sister, also my younger sister, were very active in women's society meetings, in Methodist Youth Fellowship, in church suppers. My father was president of the Methodist Men's Club, and also taught Sunday School. And, being a normal son and wanting to follow in my father's footsteps, I, too, was most active in church activities.

When did you decide you wanted to go to West Point?

I decided quite early in life. There is a photograph in my family album of my older sister and me—I was aged six and she was eight at the time—and my family was touring West Point and there is a picture in my family album of my sister Nancy and me seated at Trophy Point at the Academy. So while I was growing up, in the dreams of youth, I would consult this photograph. I wanted to make the military my career and I resolved then to live by the ideals of a cadet and of an Army officer.

So you were at West Point from 1964 until 1968. Tell us just a little bit about your life at West Point.

I was in a good number of extra curricula activities at the Academy. You see, I resolved to do well at an early age at the Academy. My parents have always told me that I should try to be first and do my very best and I tried to do this at the Academy. As a result, I am considered a distinguished graduate of West Point. I stood number 31 in a class of over 700 at the Academy and this includes both military aptitude and physical education as well as the academic rating.

You were invited also out of the country to represent West Point a couple of times. Is this true?

That is right. There were several times that I was invited to Latin American countries or rather I was picked by West Point to represent West Point and the United States in military functions in Latin America.

Did you find yourself at home in the West Point chapel?

I found myself comfortable at the Protestant chapel because even though I am a Methodist and my mother and father are devoted Methodists, we also attended other religious services. We attended Presbyterian services, Episcopalian, Catholic and Unitarian services and so I found that even though I am Methodist, I am by no means confined by my beliefs. I find I am liberated by them.

Boy Scouts have a code, they have a motto, are there similar things at West Point?

Yes, there are. For example, the Boy Scout Oath

Lt. Font is interviewed by the press.

says in part. "On my honor I will do my best to do my duty to God and to my country." The motto of West Point is "Duty, Honor, Country." And, the West Point Cadet prayer is closely associated with, of course, the Boy Scout motto and also the West Point motto and the cadet prayer says in part, for example, "Give us sympathy for those who sorrow and suffer, suffer not our hatred of hypocrisy and pretence ever to diminish, guard us against flippancy and irreverence in the sacred things in life." And you were mentioning divisiveness, Dr. Deats, at the beginning of this program and one of the things that is so true in my life is that I take these ideals I learned at West Point like the West Point cadet prayer.

Does everyone memorize that prayer or do you just know it?

No sir, everybody memorizes it as a plebe.

It is not unusual for you to know the prayer?

That is right, sir. But I find it is these very same ideas that I have learned that compel me to reject the Vietnam War.

Let me backup. You were not a C.O. — a conscientious objector — when you went to West Point?

That is right.

You finished West Point in 1968 and you were not a conscientious objector then?

No sir.

So your application for conscientious objection came after you went to West Point?

That is right.

After West Point, what happened? Did you immediately go into active duty?

Yes I did, in a sense. As a "distinguished graduate from the Military Academy, that is standing in the top 5% of my class, I was eligible and in fact encouraged to attend a program at Harvard University at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, studying government and political science for two years leading to the Masters Degree.

What were your interests there?

At that time I was very concerned with matters of foreign policy with regard to the Vietnam War. That is changed since then. I am now more concerned with religious beliefs and conscience and so on.

What influenced your views on the Vietnam War? Were you just reading the new left?

No sir, because, let me point out, at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, the average age of the students is 33. There are 120 students, most of them government employees that are in their mid-career and are now returning to graduate school for a year or two. There were also about 14 military officers, all older than I was.

You were studying foreign policy?

Yes, a combination of political theory and foreign policy. One of the courses that I took was called the National Security Seminar, and the professor was Professor Henry Kissinger who is now foreign policy advisor in the White House. One of the main subjects was the Vietnam War, and I found the more I learned about the Vietnam War, the more I had moral doubts with regard to this conflict and the more I turned to the matter of religion. I kept having more and more doubts. I kept learning of things that I felt were not in the tradition of the United States of America, and so I started turning to matters of religion. I found that I really enjoyed, I felt much more at ease if I were to sit down in church each Sunday and search my conscience for at least an hour a week. So I started to attend the Friends Meeting House in Cambridge—the Quaker Church. Also I enjoyed attending services at Memorial Church at Harvard University. The preacher there being Dr. Charles Price.

So is you were studying foreign policy, you increasingly turned to clarify your own theological and ethical posture. You were involved in worship and you had more time to think and had different kinds of experiences of worship?

That is right. That is one of the things I wanted to find out, you see. The main difference to me between Harvard and West Point was that I had time to sit down and ask myself questions that the rigorous life at the Academy did not allow for.

At West Point were there returnees from Vietnam with whom you had informal discussion about their experiences in the war?

There were many Vietnam returnees and I did have similar discussion with them but not at great length. You see, it was first at West Point during my senior year there, that is, during the academic year of 1967-68 that I first had twinges of conscience I first had some slight belief that there were discrepancies between my duty to God and my duty to country. I asked questions of Army officers with regard to foreign policy. This was the time of the Tet offensive and the 1968 presidential campaign. The public attention was focused on the Vietnam War. I asked officers questions along those lines but I also asked some specifically having to do with taking another life. I remember one officer at West Point that I was speaking to one afternoon. I asked him, "Sir, how does it feel to kill?" He looked me straight in the eye and said, "I feel the same elation as when I kill deer." I could not believe his words and I remember standing there rocking back and forth on my feet and I then asked him, "Sir, do civilians die in Vietnam and if so, to what extent?" He said, "Lt. Font, it is like this. You are walking down the street after a battle in Saigon and you see a six-year-old girl lying there. You roll her over," and he motioned with his foot a rolling motion, "and you say 'How about that, the Vietcong now even use 6-year-old girls to do their dirty work.' " I must say this man was not typical though.

He was not telling you this to discourage you about the Vietnam war?

No sir, he was not.

And when the men talked about it at the Kennedy

(Continued on page 7)

ECUMENISM NOW

by Elliott Wright

HAS the ecumenical movement gone as far as it can? Or is the present lull merely a rest period before another surge toward Christian unity?

The reason these questions are currently being bandied about is clear enough: the ecumenical pizzazz of the 1960's has faded, or at least become commonplace and, therefore, more placid. This is not really surprising. The implications of the Second Vatican Council had to settle in. Innovations do lose their edge of newness.

Were it not for the success of ecumenism to date, the present-day unity scene would not look so leveled-off. Yet because the strides of the immediate past have culminated in neither organic union nor thelogical-sacramental unity, questions about future directions and intentions have urgency.

The where-do-we-go-from-here syndrome is especially relevant in light of assessments citing losses in ecumenical fervor. According to the late Dr. Thomas P. Neill, a U.S. Catholic scholar, the Catholic hierarchy may have completely dropped out. Archbishop Michael Ramsey of Canterbury has warned of a "complacency" threatening progress and pointing ecumenism to an institutional bog. To a writer in a recent issue of *Time* magazine, the movement has become plain boring.

A possible third choice to stagnation or energy respite is a pull back toward sectarianism. The Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox foes of unity initiatives in the past decade would like now to bet on the third. It is a dubious wager. In all likelihood those of the Christian family who have drawn together on church and society issues and who have gained mutual respect in faith and order are not going back to the stodgy and stubborn days of the early 1950's and before.

Where they are going is the open question. Of course, it matters much whether Christian unity is approached from the top official church echelons or from the grass-roots. The press has a way of equating ecumenical progress with the velocity of the wind at the Vatican, the orthodox Eucmenical Patriarchate in Istanbul, the Ecumenical Centre in Geneva and the Interchurch Center in New York.

Official and institutional levels are not the only ones to consider. More actual Christian unifying of attitudes and activities may be taking place in local communities. This assertion has become popular, especially among the anti-institutional and the hopeful. The hopeful are those who long for the grass-roots to save the institutions.

Reality and Myth

The strength of grass-roots ecumenism is probably both reality and myth, depending on geographical factors and local leadership. The facts in some communities support Dr. David H. C. Read of New York's Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, in his tribute to an "unplanned, ecumenical advance, one of mood rather than method, one that has nothing to do with mergers or negotiations."

Still, in many places denominational division is as great as it ever was. In some U.S. areas, regional ecumenical groups, usually councils of churches, have been abandoned because of lack of support. Phasing out church councils is not, however, necessarily a minus mark. Often such agencies were confined to mainline Protestants. Their demises open the way for reformulations including Catholics, Orthodox and non-council type Protestants. (In a number of instances, there was no demise but replacement of outworn structures with more inclusive ones, such as those in Texas and New Mexico. . . .)

Lacking an exhaustive global survey, the debate over whether official or grass-roots unity is the more advanced remains moot. Which one is more important is another matter. Officials of institutionalized ecumenism, as National Council President Cynthia Wedel has said, realize they need more and better ties with grass-roots.

The situation in contemporary Catholicism, according to Dr. Neill, is such that echelons lower than bishops must carry the ecumenical burden. This idea is rather new in the Roman Church, but it has been around for some time in Protestantism. The Rev. Stephen Rose, author of *The Grass Roots Church*, and Dr. Paul Lehmann, professor at Union Theological Seminary, New York, are representatives of two generations who have argued the point. Both of these men have particularly doubted the ability of the Consultation on Church Union (COCU) to bring organic union among its nine Protestant member Churches. After working out, on upper levels, a theological confession and a plan of union, COCU is now seeking local and denominational responses. COCU will be in suspended study animation for another year and a half. Then the grass-roots verdict will be returned. It shall be a day of great ecumenical disclosure.

Orthodox Stance

For Catholicism, and for Orthodoxy, the unity impetus has traditionally been linked to the top leadership, the Second Vatican Council giving the push for Catholics and Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras in Eastern Christianity.

The Patriarch is 86 years old and, at the moment, has many complex inter-Orthodox issues to consider. Also, he has spiritual but not administrative authority in the independent national churches. But if he has his way, the Orthodox will not be on the sidelines in the ecumenical future.

Breaking with a tradition which has not been enthusiastic about inter-communion with other Christian groups, the Patriarch has set a "common chalice" as his goal. He does not find organic union a heady issue. Unity in full exchange of communion he judges essential. Rome approves of inter-communion with the Orthodox in certain circumstances. The first pragmatic breakthrough on the Orthodox side came earlier this year when the Church of Moscow extended the right to approach the Lord's table to Catholics in Russia.

Ecumenical intention in official Catholicism with regard to Protestants is rather opaque in what is called "faith and order," that ecumicratic term which means doctrine and practice. "Church and society" — which translated means social action and its theory — is always easier.

All Christians, and some Jews, had no problems whatever in unifying to provide assistance to civilians suffering in the Nigeria-Biafran war. Between Protestants and Catholics there is a near impasse on the sacrament of communion. This is not only a Catholic hang-up. About the only Protestants who are totally free historically and doctrinally to invite anybody to their communion, or to go to anybody's, are the Methodists, who had a wiser founder than is generally admitted. The Presbyterians in America and the Reformed in Holland can now get under the inter-communion wire with no trouble.

Across the board, anytime, inter-communion for Lutherans and Anglicans would require not-yet taken action by the various expressions of those confessions. It is a local congregation matter with Baptists. The largest U.S. Baptist phenomenon, the Southern Convention, is not ecumenically minded.

Inter-communion is, nevertheless, generally known as a Catholic bug-a-boo, as was shown recently when Dr. Henry McSorley, a former Paulist priest, said most of his colleagues in the Roman theological fold were willing to accept the eucharistic ministry of Lutheranism. Dr. McSorley is a noted scholar on Martin Luther.

The Vatican and numerous Catholic churchmen quickly objected to increasing inter-communion rites involving Protestants. A similar reaction has followed practically every widely publicized joint communion. Cardinal Paul Goyon of Rennes, France, declared following Dr. McSorley's statement that promotion of inter-communion "compromises" the cause of unity by overlooking differences.

Catholics and Inter-Marriage

On another issue, inter-marriage, Father Hans Küng, the famed German theologian, is not convinced the Vatican is following a genuinely ecumenical line. In a somewhat belated reaction to the early 1970 revised norms on mixed marriage, Father Küng took the Holy See to task. One stipulation of the new norms is that the non-Catholic partner is not required to agree verbally to a Catholic upbringing for children, but the Catholic partner is expected to carry out that expectation of the Church.

Father Küng found this provision offensive to the conscience of the non-Catholic and felt the Vatican had acted unilaterally when consultation with other churches was in order. The Tubingen professor did not speak in a vacuum. German Protestants had been led to believe by Cardinal Lorenz Jaeger of Paderborn, before the disclosure of the norms, that mutual recognition of marriage rites would be extended by Rome. When that did not happen, some regional Protestant Churches in Germany were embarrassed and their leadership enraged. In anticipation of a liberal Vatican ruling, a few German churches had abolished requirements that Lutherans raise children as Protestants.

It is sometimes difficult to fathom why more action within unity does not take place in light of the statements on consensus and harmonious cooperation which proliferate. Episcopalians and Catholics in a U.S. dialogue group have agreed that no theological reason exists for them not to reach eventual "full communion and organic union." Orthodox and Catholic theologians in America have "remarkable and fundamental agreement" on the eucharist. Twenty Catholics and an equal number of Baptists met in North Carolina this year to talk about "a unity of concern and action." They reached an "optimistic consensus" on future cooperation in social areas.

Delegates to the Fifth Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in July jubilantly endorsed more and deeper dialogue with Catholics and received a report from a joint Lutheran-Reformed discussion unit which virtually obliterates theological differences between those two Reformation families. Lutherans and Anglicans are in dialogue consensus on the meaning of communion.

Ecumenism As "Threat"

Why then the foot-dragging on practical "faith and order"? Dr. Neill, writing in the *Critic*, bluntly says that Catholic bishops find ecumenism a "threat to their exercise of power." If that is true of the Roman hierarchy, it may likewise apply to prelates of other traditions. or to policy-making conclaves of clergy and laymen. Protestant authorities have a different kind of power from Catholic bishops, but they have power in their various segments of the church. Organic union would substantially reduce the number of persons with power.

The apparent inability of the institutions to get along with actualizing ecumenism in faith and order is partly what is producing calls for a non-institutional unity, focusing on social causes. Overlapping with this is that segment of the movement which has always stressed unity in purpose and witness but not union in structure. When Father Leo Alting von Geusau of IDOC International urges non-institutional unity, he is not meaning the same thing Dr. W. A. Visser t'Hooft, former World Council chief, intends in a similar appeal. Father von Geusau wants to escape from or circumvent the force of the institutions. The recognition of historical differences in the churches is more pronounced in the Visser t'Hooft view.

Both, however, see the danger of making unity dependent on official decisions and would put more reliance on the Holy Spirit's judgment. Common work for the sake of humanity gets the stress in the non-institutional versions of ecumenism. Ultimately, this may beg the point of what will happen to structures. In the meantime "common cause ecumenism" is healthy; even if all Christians cannot celebrate God's grace together at the communion table, they can feed the hungry.

—Mr. Wright is a widely published journalist who specializes in the religious scene.

IT SAYS HERE

F.B.I. AGENTS SEIZE DANIEL BERRIGAN

PROVIDENCE, R.I. — The fugitive priest Daniel J. Berrigan was arrested August 11 by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation at the home of Episcopal lay theologian William Stringfellow on Block Island, Rhode Island.

Father Berrigan, a Jesuit, is one of the "Catonsville Nine" who were convicted of destroying draft files. He has eluded imprisonment since his sentencing last April 9.

H was seized by some 12 F.B.I. agents posing as bird watchers, and taken by boat from the Stringfellow home, ten miles off the Rhode Island coast, to Providence. He began serving his three-year sentence at the federal penitentiary in Danbury, Conn. shortly afterward.

Since he has been fugitive, Father Berrigan has published several articles explaining his anti-war position and appeared both at Cornell University, where he had been chaplain, and at the United Methodist Church of Germantown, Pennsylvania, where he preached.

He and his priest brother Philip, also an anti-war crusader and a fugitive seized earlier, had "chosen to be branded as peace criminals by war criminals" Fr. Daniel Berrigan said.

INSTITUTE FOR BLACK MINISTRY PLANNED AT PHILADELPHIA SITE

PHILADELPHIA (RNS) — An "Institute for Black Ministry" will be opened here in the Fall at what was formerly the Conwell Theological Seminary.

Conwell merged with the Boston-based Gordin Divinity School last year and the Philadelphia property was used as an urban center operated by what became the Gordon-Conwell Divinity School. The urban center foundered.

The Rev. Vaughn Eason, pastor of the Poplar Street AME Zion church, announced the black institute which is being formed by a 300-member Council of Black Clergy.

Purpose of the new school is to "train men and women for Christian service from the perspective of the black experience." The institute is the first black theological facility to emerge in the current upswing of attention to a distinctive black theology and its contribution to the church.

BLACK SOUTHERN BAPTIST AIDE SEES MORE RACIAL COOPERATION

LOUISVILLE, Ky. (RNS) — Cooperation between white and black Baptists is growing, according to a Negro who has an executive position with the predominantly white Southern Baptist Convention.

At the same time, white church paternalism toward black churches is decreasing, said the Rev. Emmanuel L. McCall.

In an interview, Mr. McCall said that Kentucky leads Southern Baptists in bi-racial ministry. Some Negro Baptists, he said, have disapproved of his taking a position with Southern Baptists, calling him a "traitor," an "uncle Tom," and "window dressing."

"They don't understand that I am working for them," he said.

WEST GERMAN YOUTH SERVING, IN U.S. AS 'TOKEN OF REPENTANCE'

BERLIN (RNS) — About 30 young people from West Germany will go to the United States this year to serve as social workers under the auspices of the "Token of Repentance" council of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKID).

The volunteers, who will serve from 18 months to two years, will join other international youth working on projects sponsored by the Church of the Brethren, headquartered in Elgin, Ill.

The projects include education centers on Indian reservations, neighborhood centers in urban slum areas and homes for the aging and youth.

Since 1965 when the first contingent of the repentance group did social service work in a St. Louis inner-city area, representation has grown steadily.

Most of this year's group are recognized conscientious objectors and their service is allowed as an alternative to military duty by the West German government.

Since the repentance group's inauguration in 1958, about 5,000 young people, including many Roman Catholics, have participated in projects abroad as an "expression of contrition for the sufferings" caused by the Nazis before and during world War II.

Volunteers have served in Israel, the Netherlands, Norway, England, France, Belgium and Greece, and over $2 million has been donated by West German Protestants to support the undertaking.

ORTHODOX CHURCH CANONIZES ITS FIRST AMERICAN SAINT

KODIAK, Alaska (RNS) — The first American saint in Eastern Orthodox Christianity was canonized and proclaimed to the world in four days of ceremonies at a small wooden church overlooking the Gulf of Alaska here.

St. Herman of Alaska was officially elevated by nine bishops. The climax came as the prelates moved around the church behind the coffin containing the remains of the missionary priest. They chanted the story of his life. Following were several hundred pilgrims.

The canonization was under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church in America, the former Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America (Metropolia). The Church, which had de facto independence from the Church of Moscow since the Russian Revolution, was recognized as fully independent by Moscow earlier this year.

INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE IN MISSISSIPPI: DELTA MINISTRY STAFF MEMBER PRESIDES

JACKSON, Miss. (RNS) — A white Presbyterian minister on the staff of the Delta Ministry has performed what is believed to be the first interracial marriage in Mississippi.

The Rev. Rims Barber, educational director for the National Council of Churches-sponsored civil rights project, conducted the ceremony at the Central Methodist church here.

Married were Roger Mills, a white law clerk working for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and Miss Berta Linson, a black woman who works as a file clerk in the same office with Mr. Mills.

Mr. Barber hailed the marriage as being "born in the movement" and said it would "help the movement continue until there is liberation and peace."

The marriage successfully defied a Mississippi law stating: "The marriage of a white person and a Negro or mulatto or person who shall have one-eighth or more of Negro blood, or with a Mongolian, or a person who shall have one-eighth or more Mongolian blood, shall be unlawful, and such marriage shall be unlawful and void."

METHODIST EXECUTIVE HEADS NATIONAL DRUG COALITION

WASHINGTON, D.C. (RNS) — Rev. Thomas E. Price, United Methodist executive in drug and alcohol control, was elected president of the National Coordinating Council on Drug Abuse Education and Information, Inc.

The council is a non-profit organization representing some 93 professional, educational, governmental, service, law enforcement, youth and religious organizations. Mr. Price will represent the National Council of Churches in the council.

"What we need now is a cooling of the rhetoric and a raising of the level of performance on drug problems." he said. "The issue is much more complex than simply the abuse of drugs by individuals."

CADET TELLS WHY HE SEEKS DISCHARGE

NEW YORK (RNS) — West Point Cadet Cary E. Donham charged here that he is being "punished" for religious belief by the Army's denial of his request for honorable discharge as a conscientious objector.

The native of New Baden, Ill., appeared at a press conference here on the week-end of August 8. It was his first exposure to the press since he filed suit in a civil court to have the Army's denial of his petition overturned.

He maintained that he qualified for the C.O. status under existing civil and military regulations. He is the first West Point cadet in history to ask discharge as a C.O. (See page 4.)

PRESIDENTIAL PANEL'S PORNOGRAPHY CONCLUSIONS ARE CHALLENGED

WASHINGTON, D.C. (RNS) — A Presidential commission's tentative conclusion that "rigid and conservative attitudes concerning sexuality" may play a more significant role in "psycho-sexual maladjustment and anti-social sexual behavior" than pornography was challenged here.

After an initial adverse reaction by Congressional leaders and some members of the commission itself to this and other "key" conclusions of the report, a House subcommittee probe of the report was launched.

The report, not yet officially released by the Presidential Commission on Obscenity and Pornography but "leaked" to the House subcommittee on postal operations, stressed that "there is no (available scientific) evidence that exposure to pornography operates as a cause of misconduct in either youth or adults."

On the other hand, "sex offenders generally report sexually repressive family backgrounds, immature and inadequate sexual histories and rigid and conservative attitudes concerning sexuality," the report stated.

CORETTA KING VISITS NEW YORK TO ASSIST HOSPITAL EMPLOYEES

NEW YORK (RNS) — Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., made a one-day visit here to assist union efforts at organization of hospital employees.

Her efforts were in support of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Union, which was attempting to build support for an upcoming election by non-professional employees at St. Luke's Hospital. St. Luke's is a large, private hospital in New York's Morningside Heights area.

Mrs. King held a news conference at the Interchurch Center, also in the Morningside Heights area, and later stood on a sidewalk at the hospital to greet employees changing shifts.

She is honorary chairman of Local 1199's National Union of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees, and has assisted its organizing efforts in other cities.

CONTROVERSY OVER PEACE SYMBOL: 'SATANIC' MEANING IS DENIED

NEW YORK (RNS) — Leaders of religious peace groups here have denied that the familiar peace symbol is a "Communist-inspired" sign representing an inverted broken cross, a witch's foot or other Satanic device.

Claims that the peace sign is a "symbol of the anti-Christ" inspired by the "Reds," have been circulated nationally by groups including a unit of the American Legion and the John Birch Society.

The Rev. John Neuhaus, co-founder of the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, said the charges were the result of an "imaginative persecution complex."

"The imaginative persecution complex of these right wing groups leads them to see Communist associations in everything," noted the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod pastor.

Nathaniel W. Pierce of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship explained that the peace symbol was originally designed in England for a group concerned about nuclear testing. He said the peace symbol is a composite of the semaphore signals for the letters "N" (flag held vertically) and "D" (flags held at a 45 degree angle). The encircling sphere represented the world. The symbol stood for "Nuclear Disarmament in the whole world."

A TEMPO Update

THE PADRES AND THE CHICANOS

by Kay Longcope

THE Roman Catholic Church in America is beginning to recognize that one-fourth of its flock is Spanish-speaking, mostly poor, and needs the church's helping hand to obtain economic and social justice.

That clearly is the message from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' recent mediation of differences between Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) and some California growers. Because of the steady impetus of the farmworkers' movement itself and the willingness of the bishops to mediate the five-year-old labor dispute, the UFWOC now has contracts with 80 per cent of California's growers.

Other items reflecting a newly emergent emphasis on ministry among the country's 12 million Spanish-speaking, of whom 90 per cent are estimated to be Catholic, include:

—The consecration in May of the nation's first Mexican-American bishop, Most Rev. Patrick F. Flores, as auxiliary to Archbishop Francis J. Furey of San Antonio.

—A grant of $15,000 in April by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops to Los PADRES (Priests Associated for Religious, Educational and Social Rights), a relatively new, national organization of Mexican-American priests pressing for ecclesiastical change.

—The establishment of the former Bishops' Committee for the Spanish-Speaking as an integral part of the U.S. Catholic Conference.

"What is happening now is nothing short of miraculous!" exclaimed a priest who has long been active in the farmworkers' movement and was moved around the San Diego Diocese because of it.

Fr. Victor Salandini's current assignment reflects the change in the church hierarchy's thinking as support for the UFWOC has become more acceptable and even fashionable. For the past year, the Italian-American priest has served with his bishop's approval as UFWOC research director.

What is responsible for Catholicism's new push for economic and social justice for its Spanish-speaking flock?

A variety of factors, says Antonio Tinajero of San Antonio, executive director of the U.S. Catholic Conference's Division for the Spanish-Speaking. Primary among them, he notes, is "a general upsurge and articulation of needs" by the Spanish-speaking community itself, which increasingly has become more critical of the church for its reluctance to engage in controversial activities of the community.

Another important factor is the self-interest of Catholics in reclaiming members who aligned themselves with Protestant or Pentecostal churches which first recognized that parishioners with empty stomachs were more apt to hear growls of hunger than the Word of God.

Crucial to the awakening of the Catholic hierarchy, said another spokesman, was Cesar Chavez who "dramatized the significance of the Spanish-speaking" and "opened up the whole problem for the bishops to see."

The gutsy union leader spoke of the church's belated involvement in the farmworkers' struggle at a June press briefing in Delano.

"In the five years of the struggle since the strike began, the Church — even our own — has stood aside or supported the growers against the workers," said Chavez, a practicing Catholic and a former migrant worker.

The exception, he noted, was the Protestant migrant ministry which "was the first to come to our aid financially and in every other way."

If not for "the close — and I would even say beautiful — relationship we have had with the migrant ministry for some years," the strike launched against Delano growers in September 1965 would not have survived, he said. He paid particular homage to the Rev. Wayne C. (Chris) Hartmire, director of the California Migrant Ministry, and the Rev. James Drake, a United Church of Christ minister who served for years alongside Chavez as his top administrative aide, for their single-minded efforts in gaining church and other support for the UFWOC.

Support of the movement to unionize farmworkers by Roman Catholic and Protestant groups has differed financially and politically.

Major Protestant church bodies and the National Council of Churches have overtly backed unionization efforts and the grape boycott, risking money and members to do so. Nationally, Protestant agencies have poured some $210,000 into the coffers of the California Migrant Ministry for direct and indirect support of the farmworkers' movement. Additional support has been mustered on state and local levels.

The Catholic Church has taken a more covert approach, exercising financial and political caution. Though nuns and priests have long walked picket lines on behalf of the union and individual prelates have backed unionization efforts, "at no time has a formal body of bishops endorsed the boycott itself," declared a press representative of the bishops' mediating committee.

Regardless of the difference in Catholic and Protestant support for the farmworkers' movement, constituency backlash has been equally fierce.

The single, most striking example of that in Protestant quarters was the death of the Fresno, Calif., Council of Churches, which had backed the farmworkers' strike. The council announced its dissolution in March, the victim of dried-up operational funds.

A possible similar fate currently is confronting the *Central California Register*, official newspaper of the Fresno diocese. It has lost $55,000 in advertising revenue in the last two years.

Just as the Church—both Protestant and Roman Catholic—has suffered financially in the lush agricultural valleys of California, it undoubtedly will continue to do so as long as it responds sensitively, and with meaningful action, to cries for justice from the poor and the forgotten.

—Miss Longscope, religious publicist and journalist, has long specialized in the field of the church and minority problems.

GOD, COUNTRY, AND LT. FONT

(Continued from page 4)

School, they were not trying to discourage you?

No. But it was at the Kennedy School that I finally decided that either I am a selective conscientious objector or well on the way to being one and that I should seek legal counsel and religious counsel. I got in touch with Mr. Marvin Karpatkin in New York city along with Mr. Michael Pollet, they work for the American Civil Liberties Union without fee.

You said selective conscientious objector. Now does this mean you are not an objector to all wars?

Yes, it means that I object to the Vietnam War. That I believe that in Vietnam the United States is destroying another country, an under-developed country, a peasant society and in the process is destroying itself. It is what is happening to us because I believe that violence is a word that has no handle. When you embrace violence, you embrace only a blade and you can't help but get hurt in the process.

Most conscientious objectors who start from outside of the military services have to do alternative services. How do you feel about alternative services?

I am more than willing to perform alternate services for whatever number of years the government suggests.

Do you think that conscientious objection, such as yours is a divisive form in our nation?

No, because there is tradition in America of recognizing conscientious objection. What makes me feel that ultimately my religious convictions will be upheld is the fact that it is a tradition of our society to recognize the religious beliefs of the individual and that my government has no intention, I believe, of violating my innermost convictions, because the government that does so soon loses its own consience.

In a sense you are not a rebel against the country, just against a policy.

That is right. I feel that I am concerned in America and that is in the American conservative tradition.

Your parents — are they in support of what you are doing?

Oh yes, there is no doubt about that. They feel that I am doing the right thing and that is what they have been teaching me to do all my life.

Do you feel that you have departed from the traditions you were taught at West Point?

No, because in fact my claim is based in part on the West Point cadet prayer. One of the articles of the cadet prayer is "Guard us against flippancy and irreverence in the sacred things of life." To me, that means, like life itself. It also says "Give us sympathy for those who sorrow and suffer" and I can think of no one who suffers more than the Vietnamese people and the American people during this war. ■

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THE NATURAL THEOLOGY OF 'HAIR'

by Harvey G. Cox

HAIR is now more than three years old. Ratty, nappy, stringy companies of Borger's friends are greeting the starlight in Sao Paulo, Berlin, and Tokyo. And in Belgrade a locally recruited tribe of hairy kids is singing the Serbo-Croatian equivalent of "Let the Sun Shine In!" Perhaps the American Tribal Love-Rock Musical is therefore now robust enough to endure a few theological reflections, meant only half in earnest. I'm prompted to do so in part because *Hair* really is a kind of ritual and also because so many church people I meet remain ecstatic about it for months after they see it. Why?

Is it because *Hair* is so brashly explicit, playfully putting every no-no word from "pickaninny" to "pederasty" in its lyrics? I doubt it. Frankness is scarcely a rarity in today's theatre. Is it because *Hair* celebrates the current image for astrology? I don't think that will stick either. I'm convinced that the current longing for the "Age of Aquarius" when "peace will rule the planets and love will guide the stars" says something. It focuses our cultural hopes for a time, soon we hope, in which there will be less conflict and crisis, in which "harmony and understanding" will prevail. And it symbolizes those hopes today for many people, more than the Kingdom of God or the Classless Society do. Every society needs an image of hope and aspiration, and I'm afraid neither the ones I've just mentioned nor the Great Society arouse much enthusiasm today. But this is still not *Hair's* central appeal.

Hair grabs people because it puts nature, expecially that part of nature called the human body, very dramatically back into the center of things. It hints that the great religious questions (Where should I go; what should I live for?") can be answered, not out of the cultural traditions of the past but by "following the children." It is their sweet faces that tell us "what we live and die for." Furthermore we get the signals about how to live from our bodies. At least six of the songs in *Hair* focus on parts of the body, everything from skin color to blood to hair length. The enemies of the *Hair* natural theology are the "smells made in laboratories" and the people who want to trim

Claude's mane and send him to the army (we are never sure which is the worst fate.) The famous ensemble nude scene at the end of Act I bears utterly no similarity to the nudity in, say, *Oh, Calcutta!* *Hair's* nudity is the baby flesh nakedness of the newly born, the ingenuous, the innocent, the natural. It is the Noble Savage back from his long exile and once again tempting the stated consciousness of the modern urbanite with delicious visions of a simpler more authentic existence.

HAIR is really very American, which is why it is so popular from Japan to Yugoslavia. The more concrete and complicated life gets the more we should like to think that the answers are to be found in natural simplicity (although in the very midst of its celebration of nature one *Hair* lyric says "Into the city, where the truth lies"). American literature and religion have lurched back and forth between the city and wilderness, between nature and artifice, between emulating "civilization" (Henry James) and admiring paganism (Melville) for as long as we have been on the continent, and before. Those who came have sought a verdant new life in the unspoiled wilderness, far from the effete complexities of Europe. The man of blood: Faulkner looked for him in the swamps, Mailer looks for him in the gonads. The kids search for a more natural way of life in the communes of Vermont and Big Sur. We all want to follow the children.

Hair's natural theology is seasoned with a potpourri of traditional images. Jesus, for example, is called upon to legitimate long hair. The kids frolic around in beads and rosaries. At one point a stoned hippy enters a roomful of tripping colleagues and announces that he is Jesus Christ, come down to bless them all. There is a swingy version of the chant sung by the devotees of the International Society for Khrishna Consciousness — "Hari Khrishna, Hari Rama!" *Hair* is indeed, as everybody who sees it agrees, very "religious." Claude says he "believes in God" but that God believes in Claude. Which is exactly where most of *Hair's* theology lands—as prop and decor for its basic kerygma: "nature saves!"

But not quite. What saves *Hair* from being a trivial, if very well made restatement of an old saw is that, as it turns out, nature doesn't save us at all. In the last scene of the show, Claude is lying in state, his head nearly shaved, his psychedelic robes replaced by a neatly pressed U.S. Army uniform. It is *not* a triumphant ending. The whole cast is singing "Let the Sun Shine In!" but it is at best a plea, not an affirmation. By the end of *Hair*, the Age of Aquarius has not dawned, peace is not ruling the planets and love is not guiding the stars. *Hair* is not mere vitalism nor nature worship. Its writers know that even natural man prowls in a thicket of conflict and terror. Even Nature's law is the law of tooth and fang.

HAIR is a musical but not a comedy. It reaches its apex when, half way through the action, there crashes onto the stage a swirling, strobe-scorched resume of all the killing and bigotry of the ages in a ferociously sped up pace. Nuns, guerrillas, marines, monks all kill each other in an ugly eruption of death. But suddenly a song comes forth that lifts *Hair* from either mere naturism or cynical nihilism, the twin temptations of today's youth culture. In a quaint almost eccentric style, the cast sings, "What a piece of work is man . . .," its stilted Elizabethan vocabulary countering nicely the hard rock street talk of the rest of the show. In the midst of death an affirmation, not just of nature but of man: "the paragon of animals, in understanding how like a God." It is the only point where Hair reaches back to a tradition that in most other scenes appears to be forgotten or disdained.

We go for *Hair* for many reasons, some of them not so good: its anxious innocence, its amazing sentimentality. But, in a bad-time, it helps us dare to believe in man. And in that department we need all the help we can get. ■

ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA

by J. Murray MacInnes

To him that hath 85,000 troops, 100 helicopters, 200 tanks. . . .

THE weeks since the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom announced his government's intention to resume arms sales to South Africa have been well used by the South Africans to better their position. They have changed their tactics from the presentation of a shopping list of arms to concentrate on quiet talks about reactivating the 1955 U.K.-South Africa naval defense agreement. This is more acceptable to Prime Minister Vorster because he is not interested in specific hardware nearly as much as establishing a better place in the community of the West and recognition as an indispensable ally in the defense of the "free" world. The South Africans have been striving for this recognition by stating on all opportunities their strategic value between the oceans, given the build-up of Russian fleet strength in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. This year also an associate membership in NATO was discussed for South Africa. Alec Douglas Home's bumbling response to the fury of criticism from the Commonwealth, the Security Council and independent African countries and his deferral of a concrete decision on the arms sale have so far served Mr. Vorster well.

Undue Tory Haste

The Heath government made the South Africa issue its first major policy move with the apparent intent of broadening its economic base. At least this provides better rationale than the argument for increased naval capabilities at the Cape. Whichever rationale you prefer, the scenario and timing are intriguing. The Tories made undue haste to extend an ambiguous election promise into a major declaration of accommodation and involvement with the minority regime of South Africa. Negotiations with Rhodesia are also in the wind, and the Portuguese territories would have to be included also because of the shared planning of military and para-military operations between the four entities. It is quite a spectacle. A government that denounced the rabic racism of one of its own parliamentarians, Enoch Powell, scrambling after the election to embrace three severely oppressive, racially oriented ethnacracis. The position is even more ludicrous when one considers that two of the territories had parted from Britain with illwill. Can this mean anything but rank discrimination to the dark nations of the Commonwealth

Since there has been as yet no definite contract made, there is time to try to dissuade Heath from strengthening apartheid through either arms or an increase in international acceptability. The United States Government may be influential in this regard by continuing to disassociate itself from the British intention. The probable fruits of the British intention are neither in line with the stated goals of American policy nor with U.S. interests. The U.S. would honor its own rhetoric best by opposing the United Kingdom's intention publicly with vigor.

After all, such opposition would coincide directly with the U.S. policy for Africa: "That the continent be free of great power rivalry or conflict in any form. This is even more in Africa's interest than in ours."

The United States was one of the prime instigators of the arms embargo against South Africa in 1963. It is surely therefore in its interest to oppose the United Kingdom's intended course which would severely weaken the embargo the one concrete action that the Security Council has taken in response to the flagrant abuse of human rights by the Southern African government.

World Council Position

There are many practical reasons which indicate that the British-intended resumption of arms sales is shortsighted. Eugene Carson Blake has outlined several of these in a strong letter to the British Council of Churches of July 3rd. He mentions the threat to potential trade with independent Africa and the disillusionment of Africans with the sophistry of arguing that some air power is limited to external defense and could not be used against the liberation movements in their struggle. There is another very practical reason why we as Americans should show a great deal of imagination in the next few months to dissuade the British from their course. We as part of a white-dominant system need the practice of discerning the real human issues in Africa lest we make a prophet of Larry W. Bowman when he said, "The greatest long term threat which southern Africa poses for world stability is the very real possibility that left-leaning guerrilla movements will one day be near success, only to have the West intervene on the side of the whites."

This is not fanciful. In the face of U.S. policy as stated by Secretary of State Rogers last February that we will show respect for the independence of African nations, why should President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia be unable to find defensive weapons which South Africa's defense budget has grown six times in ten years thanks to western arms. ■

J. Murray MacInnes, a specialist in southern Africa affairs on the staff of the National Council of Churches, is director of leadership development at the Church Center for the United Nations.

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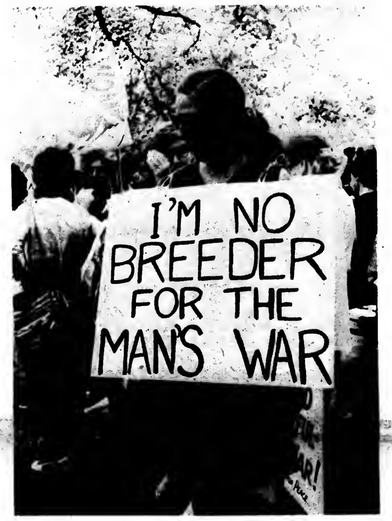
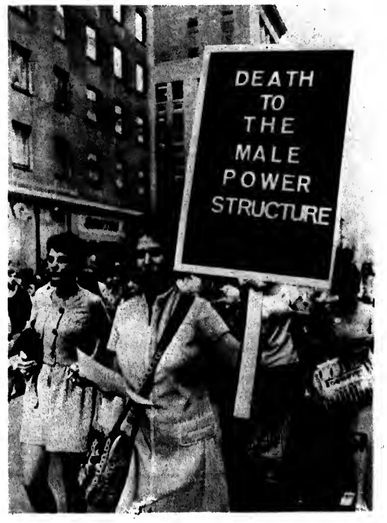
In Pace With The Changing Church

October 1, 1970



Women's Liberation and the Church



LONG after other headline events have faded from memory, the Women's March of August 27 will serve to identify the mood and spirit of the 1970's.

There can be no doubt about it. Women have been heard — with sympathy and understanding by some — with apathy by others — with fear, anger and ridicule by still others.

But no matter what the reactions, when 20,000 women marched down Fifth Avenue in New York City, and other thousands marched along other avenues in other cities in every state they established, unmistakably, that women are a power to be reckoned with. We suspect, somewhat uneasily, that we have seen nothing to what the next years will bring, and with louder and more persistent voice. The wide coalition of timid groups with extremely militant ones, arm in arm, curb to curb, symbolized a resolute solidarity.

Needless to repeat, the women's strike was called to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the ratifying of the 19th amendment giving women the vote, and to dramatize for all America the unfinished business of equality.

It was a contradiction to begin with that a nation founded on equality and freedom had to be pressured to grant this right to more than half its citizens, or — perhaps a truer statement — to grant official political recognition as human citizens to more than half its inhabitants. That this national act took place in the lifetime of many of us who have spent these years working professionally in the church leads us to take a long look at our ecclesiastical experience. To what degree is membership in the church now, as the vote was then, a matter of sex privilege?

We have learned much about the church in these fifty years.

We have learned to give up the illusion that freedom can come through individual struggle. We have learned, through heartbreaking disappointments and dehumanizing work inequities, that competence, commitment, creativity, and efficiency are not enough to deal with a male supremacy that has become a pervasive, structured force in our church.

We have learned that men in control of our church tend to consider it a threat to their virility (and resistance against God-created subservience), when women make any great effort to participate in top decision-making. Further, these men tend to dismiss, usually with

(Continued on page 3)

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New Haven, Conn.

TEMPOSITIONS

WOMEN AS CHURCH DECISION-MAKERS

Guest Editorial by Claire Randall

I AM DELIGHTED to see the intelligent and straight forward presentation that Nelle Morton has made on women's liberation and the church being made available to clergy and members of the church through these pages. (See cover and page 3, this issue.) I hope TEMPO's readers will give it serious consideration for I believe the push for women's liberation was validity in this time. I do not say that without considerable awareness of the many desperate needs and problems of the present moment on many of which I expend a good deal of time and energy. I feel that we women, as well as all the other groups struggling for liberation today, must begin to define ourselves so that we may assume a more responsible share in shaping the church and society. Women have an important contribution to make to the shaping of a new society that is being born.

For this reason, I would like to add a few comments on women and decision-making in the church. I think men in the church have no idea of how long and how much women within the church have talked among themselves with deep concern and frustration about their inability to have a real part in shaping the church. Women within the church have not separated themselves by choice into women's groups so much as they have been segregated out because there was no other place for them. Women still fill token slots on boards and committees and hold secondary jobs on staffs. In ultimate decision-making, women are practically non-existent.

One of the problems that women face is that essentially the church is run by the clergy. The staffs, boards, and committees are dominated by the professionals. Women cannot be, or are discouraged from being, ordained clergy. Consequently, women are not given the opportunity to prepare themselves and serve in positions that will make it possible for them to fill the decision-making spots as they now exist in the church.

Many of the jobs in the church could be filled, perhaps better, by lay persons. Women would have little more chance under these circumstances however. There are certain things that minimize the contribution that women can make if they do get into any kind of decision-making role in the church. Their ideas and insights are not taken with the same seriousness that those of men are taken. When a woman gets up to make a contribution, generally the discussion halts and then moves on around her as if she had not spoken. This has a tendency to discourage women from speaking very often. And yet at this point in history and in the future we may well need the very things we deride in women's contributions. In a technocized society, we may need to be more personal in our thinking. Already as the church tries to function in relation to society, we are realizing that we need to be more practical and less theoretical, and the most practical people around the church are women.

The ultimate put-down which is a widely used technique for minimizing the contribution of women is the snigger or laugh. It distresses many of us very deeply to realize that even men within the church will affront another human being with "dirty joke" laughter. And yet this happens consistently even in the highest echelons of the church.

Women are also a stumbling block to other women in fulfilling the decision-making role in the church. Many women do not believe in other women because they do not believe in themselves or in their own ability to fulfill this kind of responsibility. There are also many women who, like many men, simply believe in the status quo and want things to remain as they are. Others think they are being a more "desirable" woman. There are, of course, those women who like many men honestly believe that women are some kind of secondary being and should not be in such positions.

One of the most important things that has to be learned by both men and women in the churches is how to become colleagues. Up to now we generally function on the mother-son, wife-husband, sex object-lover basis that we have learned as roles in the past in other circumstances. These are totally irrelevant in most instances to the activities of committees, boards, and agencies of the church. What we do need is the ability to work as colleagues, being open and sharing our insights and accepting the competency of one another as full human beings.

At this point in history the church must address itself to what it **really** believes about humanness, about wholeness of persons, about justice. I believe that women, particularly young ones, along with blacks and students will push the church to do this. The present decision-making group in the church, whether at the national, state, or local level, will do well to listen in an unpatronizing way to the voices being raised. Furthermore the church needs all the help it can get, all the competence, all the commitment, all the insights of all its people being brought into the mainstream of its life if it is to really be the church in this time of violent transition to a new age. An increasing number of women want to make their full contribution to the church at this important time. Who really has the right to deny us this?

Miss Randall is Director of National Program Development, Church Women United

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Bruno Kroker, Elsa Krause, Dorothy Rensenbrink, L. I. Stell

ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler

PROMOTION: David Poindexter

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: John Abbott, David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, John Fisher, Dean Kelley, Robert Lecky, Henry McCanna, Allen M. Parrent, Howard Schomer, Maza Tilghman, John W. Turnbull

Subscription Correspondence: TEMPO, P.O. Box 81, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010

Editorial Correspondence: Dept. of Information, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027

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Women's Liberation and the Church

Continued from The Cover

by Nelle Morton

politeness, such women by dragging all sorts of red herrings across the issue.

With "her voice is too rasping," a nationally prominent church executive clouded some truly prophetic statements broadcast by Betty Friedan. A seminary professor's "She just doesn't turn me on," was enough to stymie further consideration of a woman candidate for a faculty post. The old Freudian cliché takes countless forms: "They don't like being a woman." "They want to be men." "They have a hang-up on men." "They are men-haters." "All they need is a good man in bed." It would be interesting to examine the psychology back of such sayings or analyze the way paternalism and ridicule become so cutting.

Not the least of our learnings is that the majority of women like the church and society the way it is. These Aunt Janes want to continue to be protected and supported. They want to be without sustained community and political responsibility. They like to be thought of and treated as the children they have become.

The Deeper Struggle

After serious research we are now learning that the struggle is far deeper than getting the vote, or equalizing salaries, getting ordained, or demanding mutuality in marriage — important as each of these goals is. We are learning that the roots of the subservient-master patriarchy sink deep within the psyche, shape styles of life, set relationships, and determine destinies long before conscious awareness.

We have learned, to our shame, that one of the worst perpetrators of the deadening stereotype is that body that calls itself the Church of Jesus Christ.

Where was this body on August 27?

Witness the few men taking advantage of the open invitation to attend the noon mass meeting at the Interchurch Center in New York City. One would expect a sizable number if not to support at least to find out how women in their employment feel about work with the church.

Recall the long list of professional organizations, national boards, local and national chapters, and various informal clubs that participated in calling for and sponsoring the observance of the Women's Strike! Not one official church group appeared on the original list.

What does this say to us in the church?

Male ownership of the church has existed so long that it is responded to by both men and women as an absolute — revelatory — with no alternatives. Women, therefore, cannot be damned for liking it as it is, nor men dismissed when threatened by new possibilities. False images have encrusted our authentic hearing so that we are not attuned to be open to another voice, to consider another dimension in the life of the church.

The church has sacralized sexism by supporting the double standard in its offices, ministries, functions, and discriminatory quality of membership. The double standard will persist so long as women do not have control over their own bodies and over their basic welfare. It will persist so long as men make decisions about women's place in the church, women's jobs in general, women's time, and the place she spends it; about women's names and the way they give her identity. Try reversing some of the labels to see what I mean: 'house-husband,' 'call-boy,' or 'our mother God.' Substitute the dehumanizing opposite in the headline reporting Cynthia Wedel preaching at Riverside — "Grandmother Takes Pulpit," or Lynn Morrison's pastorate at New Providence, N.J. — "Blonde Minister." Sexist references simply rob Christian service of its human dignity.

With parades and rallies women's Lib marchers observed 50th anniversary of the women's suffrage amendment.

Women Stereotypes

The church has supported commercialization of motherhood as the norm for the true existence of all women. Through its sentimental madonnas, bland advent sermons, insipid 'baby Jesus' stories, it has made Christmas, not Incarnation — God with us, but alienation — God separated from common life. Thus, it has put woman on a pedestal to be adored — the goddess of heaven; or in a kitchen, to be used.

The church has published material that molds little children into these stereotyped roles while they are still in pre-school. Before most church children can utter the word 'God' they have already started to listen to culture tell them who they are. Not long ago a task force of the United Methodist Board of Social Concerns presented a documented analysis of stereotyping in certain nursery material. They called for a similar examination of all church school material published by that denomination. Though the motion passed, it would be embarrassing in such an article to record some of the responses they received.

How could all of this have come about and continue still in the church's life and practice?

Perhaps the church's most blatant error lies somehow in the way 'he' has preached, taught, and 'used' the Bible.

No theologically aware person looks to the Biblical document for scientific explanations! Yet, the best church executives, preachers, curriculum writers, and teachers (to say nothing of seminary professors) fall into a trap when they get to the story of creation, particularly the creation of man.

Written long after the Hebrews had come to name their God as one who had made himself known in their history, the creation stories served to affirm for the Hebrews that their God was one and the same Creator-God of the cosmos and all that lives and breathes in it.

Note the fantastic turn these Hebrews give the pagan sources providing imagery for their confession. The Babylonian myth, for instance, makes their first god, Marduk, the creative energy produced as male and female principles—Apsu and Tiamat merge. In contrast, the Hebrews posit the astounding insight, "in the beginning God . . ."

God as Male Authority

When the Hebrews recorded their full confession they had available only the word symbols out of their already strong patriarchal culture. No wonder the image of God for centuries lost its central unity, its androgynous dimension, and became partisan — a great, white, male, authoritarian Father! No wonder members came to be engrafted into their Hebrew Covenant Community through circumcision. Look who could be circumcised. No wonder the Covenant Community, and in time the New Community, the Church, came to be known as 'she' and God's special dispenser of his love and grace as 'he.' This sort of blasphemy gave rise to most spurious interpretations of sin as rebellion, disobedience, wandering, pride — all male conceived theological terms. No wonder the status of woman became subordinate when she had to look to man for her identity rather than to God!

I believe the Hebrews were confessing something far more profound than a cultural pattern. Yet it is the cultural pattern that came through — and still comes through today in our ecclesiastical behavior.

With this sort of heritage it is inevitable that we forget who we are, if we ever really knew. It is no surprise that the radical nature of baptism has not yet dawned upon us. That we still live under the old law is evident in all the church boards across the country, in the National Council of Churches, in the World Council of Churches, and in every local church.

If this movement says nothing else to us, as church people, it can call us to question the source of our identity.

When Krister Stendahl points to Galatians 3:26-29 as the breakthrough on identity for both men and women he insists the English translations miss the powerful interruptions rendered in the Greek:

> "For in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God, through faith. For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, *there is no 'male and female:'* for you are all one in Christ Jesus."

Radical Openness

These verses, set in the context of transcending the law in Christ, make obvious reference to the Mosaic law of male-female polarity. ". . . the most primary division of God's Creation is overcome, that between *male and female* — the terminology points directly back to Genesis 1:27 and in the direction of man and the image of God, beyond the division into male and female" (Stendahl, p. 32, *The Bible And The Role of Women,"* Fortress Press). 'Male and female' would reckon faith by gender and create hierarchies, specialized privileges, discriminations in salaries, rank, position, and control. It would put sex in things and roles rather than in persons. Abolishment of the male-female dichotomy would define the Christian Community eschatologically with a kind of fradical openness that would prohibit any possibility of determinism and causality. As Christ is One, as there is one Baptism, there can be only one membership, one ministry. To distort it into either a male or female one is idolatry.

This insight from the church's faith will not allow us to settle for mere equality. It demands a far more radical response. It calls the church to enter into its true heritage. It calls all its members to have done with cheap identities. It calls for new interpretations of sin, new understandings of repentance, and new experiences of salvation.

Is it possible that the spontaneous mass movement gathering momentum in parts near and far suggests that the whole human race may be growing ripe for change?

Is it possible that the youth, the blacks, the women, the poor, those men who sense they, too, live out of stereotypes, and all the disinherited everywhere are bringing us to the verge of experiencing for the first time what it really means to be human?

> "We know that the whole creation has been groaning in travail together until now; and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait . . . for the redemption of our bodies. For in this hope we are saved," *Rom. 8:22-24.*

That the church is offered a chance to forge a life style — even without a clear vision of its shape — is cause for great rejoicing. "It doth not yet appear what we shall be." But herein lies the faith: that we venture and ferment with many new models, with new forms, with the new women and men we are called to be. That we are given by God this new song is celebration, indeed.

Dr. Morton is Professor Emeritus of Christian Education at the Theological School of Drew University, where she continues to teach one course. She also serves as consultant on women's liberation for Church Women United.

The Challenges of Today And Tomorrow

THE U.N. AT 25

by Ambassador Charles W. Yost

THE United Nations at the age of 25 is a troubled organization, torn between disillusion and new resolve. Its mood reflects the troubles and perplexities of the family of nations which are its members and which, today as at its founding, hold the fate of the UN in their hands.

Those of us who remember the bright hopes in which the United Nations was born at the end of World War II, and the fervent determination which then prevailed "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," cannot fail to feel a pang of disappointment at the inadequacy of the UN to the dangers and challenges of today's world. It is little wonder that there is such a widespread inclination at the UN this year to observe the Twenty-fifth Anniversary not as a mere ceremonial affair but rather as an opportunity to strengthen and reinvigorate the organization.

To say "strengthen the UN" is easy enough; to do it is exceedingly difficult. President Truman, speaking at the signing of the Charter in San Francisco 25 years ago, put his finger on the problem when he said:

> "We all have to recognize—no matter how great our strength—that we must deny ourselves the license to do always as we please. . . . That is the price which each nation will have to pay for world peace. Unless we are all willing to pay that price, no organization for world peace can accomplish its purpose."

Any review of the history of the United Nations during its first quarter century will confirm this truth. Its successes have been achieved precisely in those situations where the members most directly involved found the will to limit their individual freedom of action and to act together in support of the Charter.

When this common will was manifest, many important good results have been achieved. The UN provided the framework for a successful collective resistance to aggression against South Korea. Three times it helped to halt war in the Middle East, and twice between India and Pakistan. It prevented the breakup of the Congo and thus averted a big-power clash in the heart of Africa. It has checked civil strife in Cyprus, where a UN peace force still stands guard today. In facing these emergencies the UN has assembled the first peacekeeping forces—the famous "blue helmets"—ever to fly the colors of a world organization. The presence of these impartial forces, and of UN observers along disputed borders, has done much to calm explosive situations and to keep local conflicts from mushrooming into dangerous confrontations between the major powers.

Much also has been accomplished in the cause of peace through the use of the UN as a center of quiet diplomacy. At least twice, in the Berlin blockade of 1950 and the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, discussions on the neutral ground of the UN have helped to avert a direct collision between the superpowers. Along with the occasionally bitter UN debates there is a constant flow of diplomatic exchange, often with the quiet and indispensable help of the Secretary General. In numberous cases this process has led to peacefully negotiated settlements of dangerous issues—including those over Trieste, West Irian, Alto Adige or South Tyrol, and this past spring, over the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf.

Failures Mingled with Success

By the same token, where key states were not willing to cooperate, the UN has experienced its most massive frustrations and tragic failures. It has been unable to contribute to peace in Vietnam, where two of the parties, North Vietnam and Communist China, oppose any UN involvement. In the Nigerian civil war the UN, by the wish of the African nations, was limited to supplying humanitarian relief. Against the Soviet Union's forcible suppression of dissent in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, neither the UN nor any of its leading members was prepared to go beyond debate and condemnation. And time after time in the Middle East, the UN's most painstaking efforts for peace have come to nothing because the parties to the conflict sill cannot bring themselves to compromise their mutually incompatible claims.

A similar tale of mingled success and failure can be told of the UN's efforts in other spheres. It has helped to launch the most significant arms control agreements thus far negotiated—but arms races, both nuclear and conventional, still consume a tenth of the world's resources. It proclaimed a United Nations Development Decade in the 1960's and is about to proclaim a second; but the gulf between rich and poor nations still widens. It has championed human rights, non-racialism, and self-determination for colonial territories, and has welcomed 57 new members from the former colonial world; but the fulfillment of all these high principles remains a distant hope in parts of the world, notably in Southern Africa.

In less turbulent and fast-moving times, such a mixed record might be acceptable. Today it is not. The rush of technology, of transport and communications and push-button nuclear weapons, has made the phrase "one world" a daily reality for better or for worse. It is little wonder that so much heed has been paid to U Thant's famous warning a year ago, that the powers of the earth

> ". . . have perhaps 10 years left in which to subordinate their ancient quarrels and

> launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion, and to supply the required momentum to world development efforts."

The time seems to be fast approaching when all of us, the entire family of man, if we do not want to die together, must nerve ourselves to make the hard choices, even the unprecedented choices, that will enable us to live together.

Available Strengths

There are those who argue that among these hard choices will be the amending of the United Nations Charter to confer on it the power to enforce its decisions. In the present state of evolution of world opinion such a step would hardly be possible; but neither is it necessary. For in the present Charter there is very great strength—if only the members will make use of it. The frailty of the UN arises less from the defects of the Charter than from a defect of will among the members to do what the Charter says. For example:

—In 25 years the members have still not put at the disposal of the Security Council the forces contemplated in the Charter, or indeed reliably available forces of any kind, to enable it to fulfill its primary responsibility for international peace and security.
—We have done far too little to assure that the General Assembly, with its broad powers of recommendation would serve the UN's basic purpose "to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations," rather than deteriorating as it so often has into an arena for sterile debate and bitter polemics.
—We have made too little use of that unique international command post and center of quiet diplomacy, the office of the Secretary General.
—We have withheld from the Economic and Social Council, and all the agencies that cooperate with it, the authority and resources they need if they are to cope adequately with the massive tasks of human welfare and development.
—We have allowed the world's supreme judicial organ, the International Court of Justice, to languish for want of business.
—We have all too often proved fatally reluctant to submit our differences to the processes of peaceful settlement which are are the essence of the Charter, rather than to the obsolete judgment of arms.

The Churches' Voice

Many proposals will doubtless be offered in the 25th General Assembly to remedy these and other weaknesses of the United Nations.

But will the nations summon the will to translate their bold words into bold actions? Or will they continue to treat the UN in the manner of a certain kind of churchgoer who observes the Sabbath punctiliously and sings the hymns in a lusty voice, but doesn't put much in the plate and, as soon as the service is over, continues to hate his brother?

The answer, especially in free societies such as ours, will depend ultimately on public opinion and those who lead it. Few voices have been more constructive in this regard than those of the Christian churches. The world still remembers the UN address of Pope Paul in 1965 with its impassioned appeal: "Never again war! War never again!" Similarly the Protestant churches, both here and abroad, have raised their influential voices to point out the growing interdependence of nations, the necessity of peace, and the need for a greatly strengthened United Nations. Never was their influence more needed than now.

Last May there assembled at the United Nations a "Conference of Human Survival," attended by eminent men and women from many nations and led by former Prime Minister Lester Pearson of Canada. In his report Mr. Pearson said: "It was clearly apparent in our discussion that the cause of man is tied to the cause of the United Nations and that the greatest service that can be performed for world peace is to aid in the fullest possible development of the United Nations within the shortest time possible."

I share that conviction, and hope and pray that the powers of the earth—not excluding the power of public opinion—will act in the light of it in the years immediately ahead.

Ambassador Yost is the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations.

WASHINGTON-COMMENT

The SALT Talks: Between Vienna And Helsinki

by Allan M. Parrent

NOW that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) are in recess until November 2, some sort of interim evaluation seems appropriate. The Institute for Strategic Studies has referred to these talks as "the dominant event of the year for world security." Former Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul Warnke believes the talks "are unquestionably the most important current development on the international scene." He goes on to say: "Only the fact of rough nuclear equality makes negotiations even possible. But if each side tries to better its position in order to negotiate from greater strength, the talks on arms limitations will become a vehicle for arms escalation." Talks of such potential importance for all of us deserve much closer scrutiny than they have so far received from the American public, though part of this neglect can be attributed to the minimal public exposure to which the talks have been subjected. This has freed the participants from excessive concern with propaganda, but it has also made it difficult to obtain accurate information. This, then, is another reason for this article.

The SALT talks were an outgrowth of years of nuclear arms escalation and attempts to arrange some limits to that escalation. The urgency of the need for such arrangements received new emphasis in recent years through the development of greater missile accuracy, multiple warheads, anti-missile defense systems, and the decreasing assurance that neither side had a first-strike capability. After much mutual foot-dragging the talks began in November, 1969, in Helsinki and continued, after a recess, in Vienna. The Vienna session recessed in August and the talks will resume again in Helsinki in November.

During the Vienna session some substantive progress was made, and the two sides now appear to be approaching a significant breakthrough. At Vienna the U.S. sounded out the Soviets on both a comprehensive and a limited agreement on strategic arms limitations. The former would cover both qualitative and quantitative limits and would include a ban on MIRV's. But it would also involve on-site inspection for purposes of verification, something the Soviets have always resisted as both an unwarranted intrusion and unncessary, and something it was known in advance they would reject. The limited plan would apply only to the quantity of weapons and would rely on national means of verification. There apparently were discussions on a wide spectrum of "packages," with the Soviets showing primary interest in a more limited package which did not call for on-site inspection. The President then gave his approval on July 8 to the limited plan approach and such a proposal was made on July 24 after discussions with European allies and key senators. While no formal Soviet proposals have been made, a Soviet counter

proposal, hopefully within range of the U.S. proposal, is expected in Helsinki. The U.S.S.R. did indicate a preference for a ban on all ABM's but showed a willingness to accept a limited ABM defense around Washington and Moscow.

Three Basic Proposals

The U.S. package proposal now being given serious study in both capitals appears to have three principle elements:

1. An overall numerical limitation on strategic launching systems, *i.e.*, land-based missiles, sea-based missiles, and strategic bombers. Within the allowable number, each nation could determine its own mix among the three categories.
2. A limitation within the above quota on the number of Soviet SS-9 missiles, the giant missiles of which the U.S.S.R. has produced about 300.
3. A limitation on rival ABM systems to a low level, either by banning them or limiting them to the two capitals. The limit would be under 100 ABM's. The Soviets have for some time had a small 64-launcher system around Moscow.

While such a proposal would provide a quantitative ceiling on the strategic arms race, it would not prevent either side from mounting multiple warheads on existing missiles. The U.S. began in June to mount MIRV warheads on its Minuteman III missiles and plans to continue this expansion. The U.S.S.R. is testing multiple warheads (MRV) and should be able to deploy within a year. The proposal also fails to prevent qualitative changes in nuclear weaponry since no limit is put on testing to improve accuracy and other capabilities. In this respect it resembles the Partial Test Ban Treaty under which there have been more nuclear tests than there were before its adoption. There is fear that it may also resemble the test ban agreement in utilizing all the incentives existing for a more comprehensive agreement and thereby weaken the chance for the latter. But there are dangers on all sides and there may be wisdom in pursuing a limited package first, provided it is understood to be only a beginning.

Three factors appear to have provided the basis for the emerging SALT agreement, according to knowledgeable observrs:

1. The U.S.S.R. has achieved a rough parity in nuclear arms with the U.S. thus giving an opportunity to halt the oscillating arms spiral.
2. The U.S.S.R. fears that the U.S. ABM system may be expanded into a heavy, nationwide area defense of the whole nation. By providing protection to the whole U.S. population, and threby down-grading the Soviet nuclear capacity to launch a retaliatory blow in case of attack, this would open the possibility, in Soviet eyes, of an American-first-strike capability.
3. The U.S. fears that the Soviets will produce a sufficient number of the giant SS-9 missiles to make possible a Soviet first-strike capability which could largely destroy the U.S. nuclear deterrent, or at least the land-based portion of it.

ABM As Cause And Effect

At the same time, however, these same factors have been inducements upon each nation to upgrade its own strategic weaponry in order to counter what it feared in the adversary's arsenal. This upgrading, of course, only increases the original fear of the other side. The Soviets reportedly have said that unless the U.S. avoids creating a massive ABM area defense system (which it must assume would be the end result of the Safeguard program, despite U.S. denials), it will have to continue building more offensive missiles, *i.e.*, SS-9's. Similarly, on the American scene a major thrust of the Administration's effort to secure congressional approval of an expanded ABM was to point to the spectre of an ever-increasing number of Soviet SS-9's. Furthermore, there is strong evidence to indicate that while the U.S. has proceeded in spite of the SALT talks to seek and secure approval for Phase II of the Safeguard ABM and to begin actual deployment of MIRV's, the U.S.S.R. refrained from further SS-9 deployment from August, 1969, before SALT began, until June, 1970, three weeks *after* the U.S. began deploying MIRV's. There was no U.S. response to this possible signal of restraint. Rather, the Soviet act was never publicized, the ABM program was expanded, MIRV was begun, and the Pentagon defended its requests on the basis of the "continuing deployment of SS-9's."

Part of the reason for Administration silence doubtless had to do with the recently concluded ABM debate in the Senate. Such information might have eroded the support for an expanded ABM in a closely divided Senate. Also, the ABM debate became closely tied to the SALT talks through the "bargaining chip" argument. The Administration pushed hard and successfully the argument that expansion of Safeguard was vital for the success of SALT. Only with this "bargaining chip" in hand, they argued, could the U.S. persuade the Soviets to limit the SS-9's.

Opponents argued that the practice of arming in order to disarm had never been a very sensible or productive course, and that ABM expansion would be more of an incentive to Soviet expansion of SS-9 deployment than an incentive to stop, thereby undercutting efforts to reach an arms control agreement. They also emphasized the major technical short-comings of Safeguard. Furthermore, if the U.S. must have an expanded ABM to bargain from strength, the U.S.S.R. may by the same token seek to continue its expansion. The U.S. has ample bargaining chips already in its unquestioned capacity to continue and accelerate the arms race, it was argued. It is this capacity, and not an unbuilt ABM system of dubious efficacy, which really concerns the Soviets.

Elusive Superiority

By proceeding with ABM and MIRV, instead of halting or at least postponing further action in deference to SALT, the U.S. may only be increasing the impression that it is determined to proceed toward some elusive "superiority," come what may, and that it really isn't interested in disarmament negotiations. In the light of the optimism generated by the SALT talks to date, both wisdom and common sense appear to be on the side of restraint by both powers, but particularly by the U.S. There would be no loss of security if both the ABM and MIRV programs were postponed in order to make the most of the favorable political and strategic conditions now existing for major agreements to halt the arms race both qualitatively and quantitatively.

But both the difficulty in grasping this fleeting opportunity and the special responsibility of the U.S. for doing so are symbolized in the following statement from the Pentagon's director of research: " . . . (I)n each case it seems to me the Soviet Union is following the U.S. lead and that the U.S. is not reacting to Soviet action. Our current effort to get a MIRV capability on our missiles is not reacting to a Soviet capability so much as it is moving ahead again to make sure that, whatever they do of the possible things that we imagine they might do, we will be prepared." The self-fulling nature of such anticipatory action, in which the adversary's deterrent is undermined in advance on the basis that he may in the future attempt to undermine ours, is obvious. Its ultimately self-defeating nature, though maybe not as obvious, is just as real. ■

Mr. Parrent frequently reports in TEMPO on international affairs from his base in Washington where he is director of program for the National Council of Churches' Department of International Affairs.

IT SAYS HERE

STORM GROWS IN BRITAIN OVER WCC GRANTS

LONDON (RNS)—Controversy reflecting serious differences of opinion is growing here over the World Council of Churches' decision in Geneva to allocate $200,000 in grants to 19 anti-racist organizations, including African guerrilla movements.

The decision taken by the WCC's executive committee immediately drew angry reaction from churches and churchmen, including Anglicans, in South Africa and Rhodesia. In Britain, church leaders are openly divided over the decision and some influential voices are urging Anglican Archbishop Michael Ramsey of Canterbury to make clear where he stands.

All noted that the grants are not supposed to be used for military purposes but, in the words of a World Council spokesmen, are to "strengthen the organizational capacity of racially oppressed people."

But it is also noted by churchmen here that the WCC will have no control over the way the money is spent and that some recipients are African liberation movements. They hold that even if the grants are not directly used for military purposes, they will release other money that can be used to this end.

This view was expressed by Sir Cyril Black, current president of Britain's Baptist Union.

A more cautious view was expressed by Anglican Archbishop Donald Coggan of York, who said, "Racism is one of the major evils of the 20th century and the World Council of Churches and (U.N. Secretary General) U Thant are right in opposing it. As for the grants to African organizations, I note the assurance that the money will not be used for military purposes. On that assumption, it is right for the World Council to go ahead with its program."

AMERICAN BAPTIST AIDE DEFENDS WORLD COUNCIL'S AFRICAN GRANTS

BERLIN (RNS) — A World Council of Churches official said here that South African churchmen should not have been surprised by the Council's grant of funds to 18 organizations fighting racism.

The allocation of $200,000 in grants ranging from $2500 to $20,000 was made at a recent meeting of the WCC executive committee near Frankfurt, Germany.

Speaking to West Berlin churchmen, the Rev. Paul Abrecht said the World Council's rejection of racial suppression had been officially proclaimed as early as 1954.

Mr. Abrecht, head of the WCC department of church and society, said it was of decisive importance that the church express its opposition to racism not only in verbal declarations, but also through active measures.

MIDEAST CRISIS AND ECUMENICAL REBUILDING ARE MAJOR TOPICS AT NCC POLICY MEETING

PHOENIX, Ariz. — Concern over the Middle East situation and ways and means to strengthen the National Council of Churches' usefulness and effectiveness dominated discussions at the fall business session of the NCC's General Board, which ended here Sept. 13.

The basic decision to restructure the National Council into a new form of national ecumenical agency was made at its last triennial General Assembly in December. Since then a 15-member task force from denominations in the Council has worked on four plans which were resubmitted here. Board members in the final hour of the meeting instructed the task force to continue the process of studying and refining their proposals, to solicit reactions to them from member denominations, and to design one tentative model to be submitted to the Board at its next meeting — Louisville, Ky., next Jan. 23-27.

They listed the following elements that should be retained: mission as a primary goal; membership expanded to include the Roman Catholic Church and other Christian churches; a decentralized structure with membership restricted to churches; and a selective program participation, with certain programs designed to "spin off" into independence.

It further directed that the new model should include an administrative coordinating entity and that its general style should be participatory rather than bureaucratic or authoritarian.

The Board also agreed that any National Ecumenical Consultation which it had recommended calling at its June, 1970 meeting should be called not by the NCC but by interested communions.

A MOTHER WEEPS

FORT PIERCE, Fla. — Mrs. Mary Campbell weeps over the coffin of her son, Specialist 4 Pondexteur E. Williams, 20, at a military funeral in the Fort Pierce, Fla., National Guard Armory. The young soldier was killed in Vietnam. After the funeral his body was returned to a mortuary until he could be buried with honors at a private, all-white cemetery that rejected him because he is black. His mother sought a court injunction forcing the cemetery to allow her son to be interred there.

At a press briefing, NCC President Cynthia Wedel explained that it is felt the churches should call such a consultation, for "this will attract a wider Christian fellowship than is possible under NCC sponsorship."

Elaborating, she declared it essential "to get everyone, all interested groups, in on an equal basis without the motivating force supplied by what might be represented as a power group from the National Council."

On the possibility of Roman Catholic connections with the National Council, Dr. Wedel said that the official NCC-Catholic "bi-lateral conferences" were continuing, but that the question was more when the Catholics and the Council "will work more closely together" rather than whether the Catholics would "join" the NCC.

"We're more concerned with getting the dialogue widened," she said, through whatever means seems most appropriate.

Of the options being considered by the General Board for possible new Conciliar structure, Dr. Wedel said the question of which would be chosen was "completely up for grabs."

Asked whether she thought the Conciliar structure had outlived its usefulness, Dr. Wedel replied: "I think the ecumenical movement is what God wants for this time. The structure of past Councils may not be the form appropriate for today. But to smash the NCC and start over is a silly idea. Why waste what we have?"

The Anglican Archbishop in Jerusalem, the Most Reverend George Appleton, made a special trip to Phoenix to address the board on the Middle East crisis.

He declared that Christians have a duty to understand the history and motives of the human beings on both sides of the conflict, and to seek areas where some measure of reconciliation might be possible.

He thanked the President and people of the U.S. for having taken the peace initiative and urged that "this time of opportunity not be thrown away.

"I would say that at least 90 percent of the people there (in the entire Middle East area) want peace, were grateful for the cease-fire and gained new hope.

Actions taken by the board on the Middle East included a statement expressing gratification and support for U.S. initiatives in that area and calling attention to the plight of the Palestinian people.

"Their voice, grievances and rights should have full place in the negotiating process," read the statement.

In his report to the board, Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, general secretary, declared that "recent stresses and strains affecting the NCC can be attributed to the issues facing all churches.

NCC programs continue with great vitality and the "ongoing need for a cooperative national enterprise of the churches is evident" he said.

Polarization has left its mark on conciliar and denominational structures, he said, but "while the views of some persons that the Council is about to expire are "understandable," it in fact has come through the ferment of recent times "clear and strong."

The board adopted a budget for 1971 totalling $21,503,000 — cut by two and a half million dollars from the one originally proposed.

The board also heard a report from its Commission on Faith and Order concerning the process leading towards its proposed second North American Conference on Faith and Order, to be sponsored jointly with the Canadian Council of Churches sometime in 1972. Discussion concerned the movement theologians have made throughout the past several years in their concept of "saving communities."

One of the Vice Presidents of the National Council issued a statement to the press on the second day of the meeting in which he criticized the invitation by the Rev. Carl McIntire to Vice President Nyugen Cao Ky of South Vietnam to attend a "total victory rally" in Washington, D.C., Oct. 3.

Pointing out that he spoke for himself, the Rev. Dr. Kenneth G. Neigh, general secretary, United Presbyterian Board of National Missions, said the invitation "clearly identifies the Saigon regime with radical right wing groups in the USA." He noted that Mr. McIntire is a deposed minister of the Presbyterian Church whose ministerial credentials were withdrawn 35 years ago for "sowing dissension within the church."

Dr. Neigh said he made the statement, which coincided with news of Ky's acceptance of the invitation, because "the time has come . . . for challenging those who, like McIntire, have a ministry of dissension, when the church and the world desperately needs reconciliation and unity."

ANNOUNCE NEW COALITION FOR A RESPONSIBLE CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark has announced the formation of the National Coalition for a Responsible Congress to help the U.S. Congress to "assert its constitutional powers in matters of war and peace" and to work for a more humane society. A number of prominent religious leaders will serve on its board of directors.

To help launch the new coalition, it was announced that churches and synagogues will be asked to circulate a signature and fund-raising petition in conjunction with services on Sunday, Oct. 4. Other institutions will be canvassed, along with shopping centers and house-to-house canvassing to help amass support for peace candidates in the coming fall elections.

Among religious leaders named to the Coalition board are United Methodist Bishop A. James Armstrong, Aberdeen, S. Dak.; Dr. Robert C. Bilheimer, New York, Executive Director, for International Affairs of the National Council of Churches; The Rev. John Sheerin, New York, C.S.P., Editor, Catholic World; Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, New York, President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.; Dr. Thomas Liggett, Indianapolis, President, United Christian Missionary Society; and Fr. Robert Kennedy, Social Action Director, Catholic Charities, New York City. A number of prominent educators and labor leaders are also members of the board.

DELTA MINISTRY HITS AT WELFARE FUNDS BLOCK

GREENVILLE, Miss.—The Delta Ministry, a black-led program in Mississippi supported by churches in the U.S. and overseas, has protested the non-use of funds allocated for that state's poor people. Owen Brooks, director of the Delta Ministry, in a bitter letter to HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson, notes that the State of Mississippi returned to its own treasury over $5 million that had been appropriated for welfare and medical care programs for the poor. The State allegedly imposed rules limiting the participation of the poor in the welfare programs, thereby (according to Mr. Brooks) "saving both the State and Federal governments money that was really for the poor." He asks Richardson for the Federal share of the matching funds—some $24 million—to be shared with agencies which will use the money "to meet the needs of those for whom it was intended." According to the head of the Delta Ministry, an Administration that can—in his words—"invade Cambodia without consulting Congress can figure out how to disburse funds to the needy." He charged the Department of Health, Education and Welfare with having "approved the rules that Mississippi used to keep down the participation of the poor" in the welfare and medical programs.

IT SAYS HERE

RELIGIOUS AGENCIES BACK FAMILY AID PLAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. (RNS) — Spokesmen for the National Council of Churches, the U.S. Catholic Conference, and the Synagogue Council of America presented testimony before the Senate Finance Committee in support of the "underlying intent" of President Nixon's Family Assistance Plan.

"We are for its basic thrust and we trust that it will be strengthened and improved further by Senate action," the statement before the committee said. "We strongly urge your active support of the basic features of this bill. The people need this legislation."

The statement praised the plan as a "new and realistic attempt to provide basic income for poor families" and said it "maintains family unity and is directed toward helping the family unit function under its own power, thereby insuring stability and cohesion."

The bill is important, it said, "not only because it is an alternative to a welfare system that has become increasingly cumbersome and inefficient, but because it is the first step toward a series of family-centered policies that will benefit not only the poor, but all other portions of our society as well."

It said, however, that the proposed plan was regarded as a "starting point toward a fully adequate program of guaranteed annual income."

The controversial measure was criticized for not providing an adequate level of family income. The proposed $1,600 a year for a family of four, it said, is "unconscionably low for a society which is probably the richest the world has known."

FCC LIFTS LICENSE OF OFFENDING TV STATION

More than a year after a Federal Court ordered the move, the Federal Communications Commission has lifted the broadcast license of station WLBT in Jackson, Mississippi. The station management has been under fire from church and civic groups since 1964. Leading the battle was the department of communications of the United Church of Christ. The station was charged with systematically ignoring news and programming about and for the large black community in its area. At first, the FCC rejected the complaints, saying that the church group had no stake in the matter and could not complain. The United Church then won a landmark court ruling that public groups have the right to challenge broadcasting licenses when they come up for renewal. The FCC now has awarded the license temporarily to an integrated, non-profit community corporation. The group says it will use its profits for development of educational television and for communications training for blacks. Meanwhile, four other corporations, some of them integrated racially, are preparing to apply for permanent possession of the television license in Jackson, Mississippi.

POPE 'CENSURED' FOR BRAZIL TORTURE SILENCE

NEW YORK CITY — Fr. Ivan Illich, controversial priest-educator has criticized Pope Paul in an open letter for maintaining a "prudent" silence in the face of allegations of torture in Brazil. Fr. Illich's letter, printed in the September 4 issue of the Catholic magazine **Commonweal**, claims that police torture has "become a system of government" in Brazil. (See TEMPO, June 15, 1970.) The letter refers to "overwhelming proof . . . sufficient in the courts of law of any civilized nation . . . of hundreds of cases of torture." Fr. Illich writes that he censures the Pope for having renounced the "prophetic burden" to condemn violent deeds, "crimes that cry to heaven," as Illich calls them. Fr. Illich directs the work of a Latin America-studies center in Cuernavaca, Mexico which originated as a training-station for missionary personnel going South. The center became controversial through its open welcome to thinkers of all ideologies, and was declared "off limits" to Roman Catholic personnel a year ago.

IFCO ASKS CHURCH ACTION ON COMMITMENTS

NEW YORK (RNS) — The president of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) said here that the organization's financial picture for 1971 is uncertain and that "another Jim Forman" may be needed to remind churchmen of minority needs.

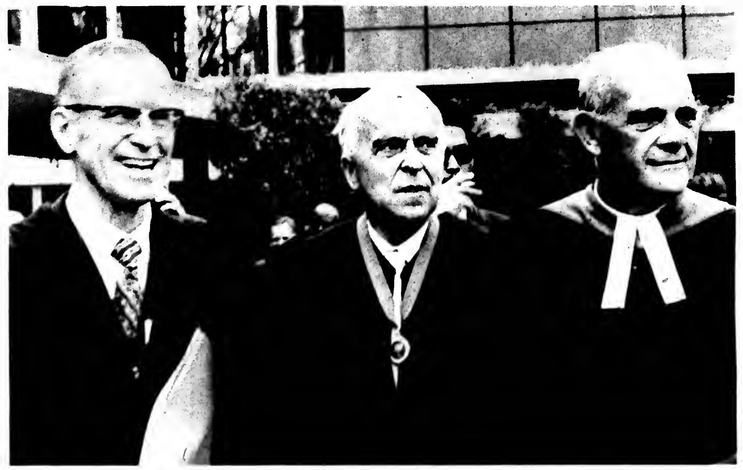
IFCO sponsored the 1969 Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit where James Forman delivered the Black Manifesto demanding $500 million in reparations from white churches and synagogues.

At a board of directors meeting here, the Rev. Earl E. Allen of Houston, IFCO president, urged members from church agencies with commitments to IFCO during this calendar year to make the payments so that IFCO's commitments can be met.

A financial report to the board showed that unpaid 1970 commitments to IFCO totaled $289,166, while the agency's commitments to projects for the remainder of the year was about $243,000.

The Rev. Lucius Walker, Jr., executive director of the organization, whose headquarters are located here, said IFCO's financial situation was a reflection of that confronting the major Protestant denominations.

Despite the uncertain financial picture, the board adopted a resolution to add the funding of minority empowerment efforts in the suburbs as a priority item. Since its founding in 1967, the organization has directed its efforts to urban and rural areas.



AT UNITY CEREMONY

NAIROBI, Kenya — Church leaders march in a procession to St. Andrew's church, Nairobi, to take part in a ceremony forming the New World Alliance of Reformed Churches (Presbyterian and Congregational). The new structure, which brings together the former World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the International Congregational Council, represents about 55 million members among 127 denominations in 70 nations.

From left are Dr. Ashby Bladen, moderator of the former International Congregation Council; Dr. Wilhelm Neisel, president of the former World Alliance of Reformed Churches; and Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, general secretary of the World Council of Churches. Drs. Bladen and Neisel both retired as their organizations went out of existence.

BEDC SETS NEW PROGRAM ON DEMANDS TO CHURCHES

DETROIT (RNS) — The Michigan chapter of the Black Economic Development Conference (BEDC) has announced a new plan of tactics in its quest for "reparations" from white religious groups in the Detroit area.

"We feel attacks on churches at this point would bring brutal repressive response," said Michael Hamlin, head of the Michigan chapter and director of the BEDC-funded Black Star Press.

He charged that "there is no conscience left in the churches."

"We feel that most of the people with conscience have left the churches," Mr. Hamlin said, "unlike the situation when the (Black) Manifesto was first issued, and what is left is mostly the reactionaries."

The Black Manifesto, a document charging racism in American churches and synagogues, came out of the BEDC meeting here in 1969. The manifesto asked $500 million in reparations from white churches and synagogues, a figure later raised to $1 billion.

Mr. Hamlin said new BEDC strategy in the Detroit area would probably include forms of mass confrontation, distribution of leaflets outside parishes, Black Star Press projects, confrontations at offices of religious groups and occupying churches in black ghettos used by a few "white hangers-on."

The Detroit Catholic archdiocese will continue to be a target of BEDC, the black leader warned.

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BOOKS

BRING US TOGETHER: THIRD LIVING ROOM DIALOGUES, A Guide for Ecumenical Discussion, edited by James J. Young. (National Council of Churches, Department of Education for Mission and Paulist Press, 160 pages, $2.50.)

THE inevitable unevenness in any large selection of readings is bound to create a certain mountain and valley effect on the reader. This new addition, **Bring Us Together**, by James J. Young is no exception. Although the selections, in general, are quite good, the movement, for instance, from Senator Edmund Muskie to James Michener, to Jerry Rubin, to Norman Mailer, to Arthur Miller (within the space of ten pages) is not always so easily made. Nor can one readily perceive the relevance and importance of all of the selections. **Bringa Us Together** is divided into six dialogues which attempt to set up a "controlled confrontation" between traditional values, traditional points of view and their contemporary opposites in an effort to enable participating groups to form a new synthesis of values. The list of contributors is indeed impressive, some of whom are Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Piet Schoonenberg, Daniel Berrigan, Corita Kent, Malcolm Boyd, Eugene Carson Blake, James Michener, Jerry Rubin, Harvey Cox, Alan Watts, Abe Fortas and Martin Luther King.

Dialogue One — "The New Jesus" — presents the person of Christ not as an historical cult-object but rather, in Bonhoeffer's words, as "the man for others," concerned for human life in all its manifestations. The dialogue challenges us to come to terms with the disparity young people see between Jesus' example and the example of the respectable institutionalized Church. One of the articles shows the similarity between youth's rejection of the institutional Church and Gandhi's acceptance of the person of Jesus and rejection of the Church.

Dialogue Two — "The New Unity" — deals with the "underground church" movement which seems to be a unity movement in itself in that it cuts across old doctrinal positions not only in the churches but also in political, economic, and cultural areas as well.

Dialogue Three — "The New Morality" — with articles on aspects of this topic such as the improvement of modern moral consciousness, decline of morals, the need for a specifically "Christian" ethic, double standards, and a magnificent statement on the precious dignity of man from the Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.), presents compelling viewpoints and data on Christian conduct in personal and social relationships.

Dialogue Four — "The New Order" — confronts us with the social issues of dissent, justice, crime, law and order, and civil unrest as seen through the eyes of persons very close to the contemporary developments: Abe Fortas, Jerry Rubin, Mayor Richard Daly, Governor Agnew, Norman Cousins, and others. Of special merit is the section dealing with the violence proper to Christians as suggested by Saint Paul. (Rms. 12:17-21) —the violence of love.

Dialogue Five — "The New Affluence" — juxtaposes our great natural abundance with its concommittant personal problems: alienation, personal disintegration, lonliness, and competitiveness. An article by Martin Luther King, treats the Established Church's sins of complicity, support of the status quo, and silence in the face of obvious evil.

The Sixth and final Dialogue — "The New Religiousness" — explores the ways modern man has expressed his need for mystery, and his search to fulfill this need through such means as Pentecostalism, Oriental Religions, and Astrology. The last selection, from the Dutch Catechism, is both an excellent response to the "mystery" question and also a fine summary of all this book is trying to effect.

> "Our faith tells us that God has revealed nothing greater than the Son of Man, who has led us along the way of obedience and love. It is not twilight mysteries, but the mystery of something as ordinary as goodness and love, the mystery which does not vanish with the dawn and can face the glare of midday, which shows the way to life. . . . The responsibility to which our Creator calls us in our freedom, gives us the truest contact with reality. There is nothing of the magician about Jesus. His miracles show great powers, but the great sign that he gives is the dedication of his life."

REV. James J. Young, C.S.P., a Roman Catholic priest provides each dialogue with provoking commentary and discussion questions. A prayer, Scripture reading, and meditations begin and conclude each dialogue.

Special commendation must be given to Fred W. McDarrah, staff photographer of New York's "The Village Voice." Forty of his photos are so well placed, along with the excellent book layout and artwork by Ragna and Tom Goddard, that what would have been a very heavily "linear" presentation takes on a refreshingly McLuhanesque flavor, giving the book a visual as well as cerebral intensity.

This book, although prepared primarily for the post-college individual, might also be used with profit by college students. The manner in which current thought confronts traditional views should, in fact, lead to a greater understanding and awareness of the "new's" continuity with the "old."

Members of the National Council of Churches will find it somewhat amusing (hopefully) to see the company NCC is made to keep by contributor, Edward Gross (cf. p. 157). Inasmuch as the National Council of Churches' Department of Education for Mission, in conjunction with the Paulist Press, is one of the joint publishers of this work, it shows just how broad-minded NCC really is!

This work of James Young will prove to be a valuable contribution to the grass-roots ecumenical dialogue initiated by volumes I and II of the series. It moves beyond the concentration in the previous volumes on our confessional differences. We are made to face important, and to many, vitally real issues. Sharing with one another in charity cannot help but dispel so many of the imaginary differences and barriers which have been allowed to separate us for too long ■

John McGuire, O.P.

THE RADICAL KINGDOM: THE WESTERN EXPERIENCE OF MESSIANIC HOPE. Rosemary Radford Reuther. (Harper and Rowe, New York, 1970, 304 pp. $7.50).

HANNAH ARENDT says in *On Revolution* that since traditional Christianity has been oriented towards the maintenance of the status quo, it can have no relationship towards social movements which envision a new order in history. That is why, she says, social radicals have always either stood on the fringes of the church or been antagonistic towards it.

In her latest book, *The Radical Kingdom*, Rosemary Reuther addresses herself to criticisms such as these. During most of the book she surveys thoughtfully and at great length the thought of revolutionary movements from the turn of the millenium. She treats the radicals of the Reformation, Marx, crisis theology and the theology of hope, the American apocalypse and the New Left. The sweep of this cultural and intellectual survey is so great that judgments on its parts is better left to the various experts in these areas. Suffice it to say that the breadth of the treatment makes fascinating reading. It also stirs insights that might not be aroused by a more restricted approach.

Easiest to deal with in a brief review and also of more general interest are her philosophical or methodological presuppositions as proposed in the introduction and conclusion.

In the introduction she presents a masterful analysis of three different patterns of redemption, drawing explicit parallels between the theological and the social patterns. She calls the first "The Apocalyptic Crisis." This considers present structures to be so hopelessly corrupt that they must be overthrown and the world remade on an entirely new basis.

The second she calls the "Inward Journey." This is a tendency to see the eternal world as "above" the present world. The soul reaches it by gradually purifying itself of all physical and mental attachments. It thus rises above finite limitations into an immediate and personal contact with the eternal. In social terms, this results in some sort of physical escape from those "material" forces so potent in this world, sexuality, power and money.

The third pattern of redemption she calls "The Great Master Plan." This is an evolutionary view according to which good and evil are both immanent in the world, with the good victorious in principle.

She adds that classical Christian theologies have favored the third pattern of salvation as an evolutionary process, while classical Christian spiritualities have emphasized the second, world-negating approach.

HAVING laid this foundation, Mrs. Reuther then tries to show by historical analysis the link between Christianity and contemporary radical social movements. Augustine's *City of God*, she says, was the archetype of Christian history from the 5th to the 15th centuries or so. Under Augustine's influence the institutional church during this period saw itself as the fulfillment and goal of world history. Only the timelessness of heaven lay beyond it, for it felt itself to be the eschatological realization of a messianic age already come. This self-contained, immobilized institution came under challenge from the apocalyptic and pentecostal left wing of medieval Christianity typified by Joachim of Fiore (1130-1202) and the doctrine of the Third Age of the Spirit. These were not too successful, however, and it was not until Christendom went into dissolution that the full revolutionary implications of the Christian world view could free themselves from their domestication by the instutional church. Though these secularizing forces acted mostly in opposition to the institutionalized status quo, she feels that in reality they were rescuing the fundamental substance of the Gospel and allowing it to exert its pure influence once again.

Such a reading of history is consistent, clever and partly right. It is also partly wrong, for it contains several historical weaknesses. The first is its oversimplification of a 1000-year period of church history by identifying it almost exclusively with Augustinianism. The second is its totally negative attitude, if only by silence, towards the civilizational and social achievements of those same 1000 years. The third is a curious omission in the philosophical synthesis of the introduction of any mention of the Reformation and its consequences. The net result of these historical biases is a strong mistrust of any instutionalization of the life of the Christian community. The implication is that if the church institution has played such a terrible role in the past, then it should continue to remain suspect in the present. All the while, of course, Christianity itself remains a pure force, and it is this which has been rediscovered by the secularized forces of social change.

Perhaps it is this distrust of institutionalization that helps to explain the contrast between her enthusiasm for the revolutionary vision as expressed in the concluding chapter on "Man as Revolution," and her cool analysis of the dangers of apocalypticism and the advantages of evolutionism presented in the introduction.

BUT such complexities and paradoxes are not really necessary. Mrs. Reuther does present excellent summaries of revolutionary movements down through the centuries. And in the course of these, she frequently is successful in showing their interrelation with Christian thought and life. Her analysis of the three patterns of redemption is brilliantly done. But it is the institutional church which is the rub. Granted that it is, has been and still will be prone to corruption, this does not mean that the pure, prophetic or revolutionary vision of the Gospel has disappeared from it completely, or that it can be rejuvenated and fulfilled only by forces outside or even opposed to it. One can admit to Hannah Arendt, in other words, that the bath water is dirty without throwing the baby out too.

A final point that deserves mention is the hard and fast line which Mrs. Reuther draws between the three patterns of redemption. It is one thing to isolate them from each other for purposes of analysis; it is quite another to say that in real life they are severely compartmentalized one from the other. In reality they tend to be found mingled together both in individual Christians and in the lives of Christian communities. Thus Roman Catholicism between Vatican I and II tended to be characterized by an uneasy blend of Patterns Two and Three, whereas after Vatican II, a blend of Patterns One and Three emerged.

It would thus seem to be entirely feasible to accept the revolutionary fervor and excitement that so captures Mrs. Reuther throughout the book and combine it with an evolutionary understanding of reality, including that of the life of the Christian institutional church. She herself says something like this on page 286, "Yet, in longer retrospection, such moments of boundless vision and practical possibility are probably the best moments of revolutionary history, when hope and possibility come together to create some limited yet concrete and real change for the better."

Richard W. Rousseau, S.J.

BOOKS

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In Pace With The Changing Church **NOVEMBER, 1970**

CAMPUS UNREST: CAUSES AND CURES

RACE, the war, and the defects of the modern university have contributed to the development of campus unrest, have given it specific focus, and continue to lend it a special intensity. But they are neither the only nor even the most important causes of campus unrest. . . .

American student protest, like the student protest which is prevalent around the world, thus signifies a broad and intense reaction against—and a possible future change in—modern Western society and its organizing institutions. It thus appears to define a broad crisis of values with which the American people must now begin to cope.

Administrators and the public should . . . be aware that in many cases no entirely successful response to campus disorder is possible. . . .

The free pursuit of learning is a delicate process. For it to survive, it must be based on a degree of mutual forbearance, tolerance, and trust. These qualities cannot be secured by force, nor their absence penalized by law.

If the university is to meet the critical demands of the coming years, all of its members must rededicate themselves to its common purposes. . . .

A trustee who is not prepared to proclaim in public that his university is correct when it defends the right of dissent and of orderly protest should ask himself whether he has any business being a trustee.

(The university) must face up to the fact that campus disruption will not cease in the foreseeable future. It must recognize its responsibility to protect itself, its values, and human life in the event of disorder. . . .

Students, while still remaining loyal to their fellows, must give their loyalty to the university as well. They must face the fact that giving moral support to those who are planning violent action is as morally despicable as standing by while a criminal beats someone senseless on a street corner.

Faculty members who engage in or lead disruptive conduct have no place in the university. . . .

Above all, the faculty—the chief beneficiary of academic freedom—must be a vigilant defender of this freedom within the university community.

The Commission has serious reason to call in question the awareness on the part of universities and law enforcement authorities of the need to prepare themselves for the use of police or the National Guard in situations of campus disorder. . . .

The way policemen behave during a campus disorder is often the most critical determinant of the course the disorder may take. Yet, the job of a law enforcement officer in such a highly charged atmosphere is enormously complex. He must prevent the threatened injury, destruction, or illegal disruption. He must minimize possible injury to the participants and to himself. He must exercise particular care to avoid conduct that can be interpreted as excessive, harassing, or discriminatory. Not only is such conduct unprofessional and sometimes unlawful, but it is also apt to make moderate members of the campus community join with the disrupters against the police.

While the improper use of force by the police or National Guard may inflame campus situations, its proper use can protect the right to protest and prevent the occurrence of violence. Moreover, it is clear to us that, in the face of violent and dangerous conduct, the use of force—at the minimum level necessary—is completely warranted to defend the university and our civil society.

The growing disrespect for police is a sad consequence of our national disunity. It will not disappear until as a nation we agree that the cost of injustice and disorder is too high.

It is essential that those committed to law, order, and justice in these difficult times recognize and commend the high standards of professionalism that an impressive number of law enforcement agencies meet.

Government often can solve the social problems and evil which many students and other citizens point to. We emphatically believe that many problems exist in American society, and that government must address itself to their solution with urgency and commitment. We believe, too, that only if America pursues such reforms can it redeem its historic promise of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The fear of repression, as well as the fact of repression where it exists, is another force for division with which government at every level should deal. Obviously, government cannot end repression where it does not exist or eliminate fears of it that are pathological. But it can help eliminate abuses that are repressive or that suggest repression, and it can make certain that its own actions do not contribute to an atmosphere of repression. National leaders must recognize that what they say is also an implicit statement of the premises upon which government will act. When they seem insensitive to individual rights, they appear to imply that government will act insensitively. It is not easy to address issues forcefully without creating suspicion among at least some youthful dissenters, but awareness of their fears should influence political rhetoric as well as official action.

There must be continued progress toward the national goals of ending the war and of achieving racial and social justice, and the Commission observes once again that so great is the concern of many university communities about these matters that failure even to appear to be pursuing them could provoke further campus protest. . . . ■

Excerpts from the report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest. See also pages 2, 4, 5, and 6.

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TEMPOSITIONS

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT NIXON

Dear Mr. President:

One of the most constructive statements that has been made to the American people in recent times is the report just issued by your distinguished Commission on Campus Unrest, under the chairmanship of former Governor William Scranton. I write to express the hope that its findings, its recommendations, and its call for reconciliation will be shared widely among the people of our country. I am commending it to the member churches of the National Council of Churches for their study and support.

When the nation has become so divided in feeling about the great social issues that confront us, it is both sobering and inspiring to read this report which assesses so forthrightly and with so constructive a spirit the issues underlying campus unrest today, and in particular the tragic events at Jackson State and Kent State last Spring.

Our nation faces "a crisis of violence and a crisis of understanding." The Commission excuses neither the instances it found of intolerable violence on the part of students nor of inexcusable reactions on the part of law enforcement officers. But it points beyond these to an alarming polarization of attitude that is splitting our nation into opposing camps and could lead to still further violence and, in its wake, counter-violence and repression. It affirms that only a fresh attack upon the basic causes of unrest in our society and among our youth, and a recovery of the common humanity and aspirations of all Americans will keep us from further tragedy.

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest, with Chairman William W. Scranton announcing its report.

The Commission speaks to all of us in our particular responsibilities, whether we be students and faculty, law enforcement officers, government officials at any level, college and university administrators, or concerned American citizens.

But there is no one, Mr. President, as the report says, who can better exercise the reconciling moral leadership that is needed today by the whole country than yourself. I hope you will both speak out in the spirit of our highest national ideals and give the support of your entire Administration to the report's recommendations.

Our national commitment to social justice, especially for blacks and other minorities, must be renewed and implemented, the ending of the war in Indochina must be accelerated, nonviolent dissent must be encouraged, due processes of law enforcement must be followed and respected, the idealism of our youth must be affirmed, and the priceless freedom and service of our colleges and universities must be extended and given reinforced public support.

I express my deep appreciation for the courageous and far-sighted work of the Commission on Campus Unrest, and gratitude to you for having appointed it. I urge you to give it your most serious attention and to commend it to the nation for the reconciling spirit it expresses and the recommendations it proposes.

Respectifully yours,
Mrs. Theodore O. Wedel
President
National Council of Churches

With this November issue, TEMPO becomes fixed for the foreseeable future as a monthly publication. But, we are quick to add, it also becomes fatter — with twelve pages instead of the customary eight. And, with anticipated growth, we hope to expand it still further as time goes on.

The focus of this issue is the American campus — where our hopes and fears for the future are increasingly centered, almost for the moment obsessively so.

With an eloquence and frankness rare for any such document, the report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest has stated the case for student dissent, and the case against radical terrorism as its expression. The cover excerpts are a mere teaser. The full report — obtainable at $2.00 from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20401 — deserves thoughtful reading in toto. On this page, the president of the National Council of Churches calls on President Nixon, under whose aegis the commission did its notable work, to commend the report's finding and recommendations to the nation. In other words, to exercise his reconciling moral leadership with an unequivocal endorsement.

While the only Administration reaction at press time has been the divisive attacks on the commission by Vice President Agnew — whose interests seem to lie in short term partisan gains through inflammatory rhetoric in the election year — it is still to be hoped that Mr. Nixon will be moved to exercise that leadership so seriously needed in this time. THE EDITOR

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Dorothy Rensenbrink
ART DIRECTOR: Heff Hetzler
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, Dean Kelley, Allen M. Parent, Howard Schomer, John W. Turnbull
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Will The Environment Be Cleaned Up at The Expense of The Poor?

THE PERILOUS LINKS BETWEEN ECOLOGY AND POVERTY

by Norman J. Faramelli

ACCORDING to ecologists, we are threatened with extinction within 50 years if current pollution trends are allowed to continue. Despite some overstatements by a few "prophets of doom," an increasing number of reasonable people recognize that the ecological problem has reached a crisis stage.

In the midst of the burgeoning interest for ecology, a few voices have warned that ecology is becoming a new cop-out, a way to refocus the enthusiasm of the young (especially college students) away from the war, urban problems and poverty. One can rationalize that the young are frustrated over Vietnam, almost completely alienated from poverty and the ghettoes, so ecology buffs are now in vogue. In many ways, ecology is a logical successor to the middle-class concerns of conservation. But that explanation is too simplistic and misses entirely the seriousness of the ecological crisis.

The ecology rage must be understood in light of the two cultural, social and political revolutions occurring in our society today. They can be termed the "pre-affluent" and "post-affluent" revolutions. The first is dominated by the poor and the black communities. Their primary focus is on social and economic justice as well as freedom and self-determination. The quest of the powerless and the alienated is primarily for human dignity and the restructurjng of power relationships. Many in this revolution, however, want to move beyond "getting a fair piece of the pie" on to new life styles, where "soul" or spontaneity is an essential ingredient. For the alienated youth in the "post-affluent" revolution, however, the emphasis is not on power, but on new life-styles. There is a flat rejection of the values of over-consumption, technical efficiency and adulation of economic growth that has dominated American society. The ecology movement is closely linked with the "post-affluent" revolution. Only those who have been reared in affluent suburbs can rebel against over-consumption and the banality of materialism. It is no surprise that ecologists like Barry Commoner, Lamont Cole, Paul Ehrlich, and Eugene Odum receive their biggest ovations in jammed college auditoriums.

Those who have been involved in urban and poverty problems have often distrusted the ecology fad. On the other hand, most ecology enthusiasts, and especially the old-line conservationists who are becoming attuned to ecology, almost completely ignore the problems of the ghettoes and the poor. Ecology, for them, has more to do with saving a certain marine species than eradicating rats from infested ghetto apartments! To the ghetto resident, air pollution is clearly not at the top of his priority list. As one black community organizer in Chicago said to me recently: "The one thing I don't look forward to is living in a pollution-free, unjust and repressive society."

A Cop-Out?

A growing national mood seemed to be reflected in President Nixon's State of the Union Message when he said:

"The great question of the '70s is, shall we surrender to our surroundings, or shall we make our peace with nature and begin to make reparations for the damages we have done to our air, to our land and to our water?

"Restoring nature to its natural state is a cause beyond party and beyond factions. It has become a common cause of all the people of this country."

The President also noted that Americans have to make "some very hard decisions" on priorities, which meant:

"rejecting pending programs which would benefit some of the people when their net effect would result in price increases for all the people."

In other words, urban spending, which benefits the white and black poor, is inflationary!

I have heard many blacks say that, "Ecology is the new club to use over our heads," or "It's a 'middle-class' issue." Of course, there was no specific reference in the State of the Union message to anti-pollution programs as a cop-out on the poor. But in the entire address the President had few references to the poor (except welfare reform and food stamps), and no specific references to the black community. But even despite his warnings on inflationary spending, he did offer to double the amount of federal money given to the police in order that Congressmen and Senators could walk safely to their homes at night. Guess to whom the President was referring? It is not too surprising that black citizens felt alienated from the President's address, and also saw in it the omens of repression, and from it, deduced that interest in ecology is a cop-out.

But will funds be diverted from poverty to ecology? As of now, the funds spent on either ecology or poverty are pitifully small. To choose one instead of the other is to make a bad choice. We should not be asked to select between schools and homes for urban dwellers, on the one hand, and a clean environment on the other, while the ABM is expanded, the SST is developed and Vietnam continues almost untouched by sanity. Despite the deceptive Defense Department cuts, new weapons systems are still top priority items on the national agenda and devour a substantial part of the federal budget.

Environment is a problem for the ghettoes, too.

Ecology And Economic Justice

The more substantive question is: If the ecological crisis is taken seriously, have we properly assessed the impact of the proposed remedies on low-income households? This is necessary from two standpoints: (a) someone has to pay for decreased pollution and the poor will be asked to pay disproportionately, and (b) some of the remedies proposed to halt pollution, such as curbing economic growth, will have severe repercussions on the poor.

The idea posed by **Life** magazine and others that "Ecology is everybody's issue" is misleading. There is a widespread illusion that at last we have found a real national issue that is non-controversial, and hence, we act as if a clean environment can be obtained without cost. We forget the law of both the ecologist and the economist: "There are no free lunches"; someone will pay for pollution control. If, for example, a chemical or power plant has installed expensive pollution control equipment it can do one of three things to cover expenditures: (1) raise the price of the product, (2) appeal for a government subsidy, or (3) reduce corporate profits.

Capital expenditure in pollution control equipment is basically an investment in non-productive devices. Given our current accounting procedures, such a venture increases the cost of production. We have for years assumed that disposal of waste into the air or waterways is free. The ecological costs have seldom been calculated, let alone included in the costs of production. To do any of the three items will tend to slow down consumption and attack our cherished sacred cow—an increasing "standard of living." Raising the price of a product will surely reduce the amount that a family can buy. The price increase is tantamount to a sales tax — a regressive form of taxation that hurts the poor most severely when imposed on necessities. The federal subsidy also does not come free of charge, because the taxpayer will ultimately pay it, even if by a progressive income tax. Any tax credits offered to industries for cleaner effluents are really another form of subsidy for pollution control. The third alternative — lowering the corporate

(Continued on page 11)

"Vietnam has contributed to the stripping of respect and awe from all authority, for it is the greatest failure of government, perhaps, in American history."

Six Roots of Campus Trouble

by Nathan Glazer

It is almost a certainty that another year of campus crisis lies ahead. We now have a sufficient degree of historical perspective to trace the steadily broadening pattern of student revolt from Berkeyey in 1964 onward, and to see the depth and complexity of its causes. There is no way of concealing the fact that the campus crisis is very serious. We now have a new report by a presidential commission to assure us that it is. Yet even as one affirms that matters are very serious, one does not want to evoke despair. One hopes, instead, for harder thinking about the nature of the crisis, and what, realistically, might be done about it.

My own best understanding is that trouble on the campus is occasioned by six overlapping crises.

1

The first is the crisis over the function of higher education. This is the oldest of the six sources of trouble.

We have seen an enormous expansion of higher education. We have seen near-universal acceptance of the idea that every person of college age should have the experience of a least two years of college and probably four. When five or ten percent of the age group get higher education, the issue of function is less in question. Most of the five or ten percent will become doctors, lawyers, teachers in colleges and universities and specialized schools, scholars, government administrators, and the like. For all of these callings, higher education has for a long time been accepted as either necessary or desirable. Others are receiving higher education because their parents can afford it and it is part of the cultural experience of their group. But when forty or fifty percent get higher education, then what? What do they go for?

Of course, this is a problem that affects not only higher education. What is religion for, these days? What, even, is business for? How much of it do we need, for what purposes? All traditional institutions and functions are being questioned to a degree that I think is unprecedented. Higher education has done no better than the others in answering the questions.

2

The second crisis is the issue of free speech—and by extension, political activity—on the campus. This is where things started, in Berkeley in 1964. What could students do on campus to advance their political positions, and what restrictions could the university impose? This has remained an issue ever since. Whatever substantive questions have become the subject of dispute —the war, civil rights, university expansion— there has always been the issue of what tactics, what means, what mechanisms are legitmate; how these matters are to be settled; by what means discipline is to be imposed, and by whom.

In this connection, certain things have been settled. Peaceful demonstrations on campus are now accepted almost everywhere. The collection of money, the recruiting of students for political activity, are also widely considered legitimate. There has been enormous expansion in the kind of activity that is accepted. But other matters relating to political activity have not been settled. What is the line between legitimate political activity and disruption? For example, demonstrations in classrooms are nowhere accepted—and yet they occur and have become an expected part of political activity at heightened moments, such as Cambodia-Kent State.

What about discipline? At many places we are far past the point where administrators could privately and without appeal impose discipline —expulsion, suspension. Most assume that there must be faculty and student participation, some degree of due process. This imposes a great burden on faculty and administrators, and yet in many places the mechanism works, in some measure. I feel that this crisis, of all I discuss, may be nearest to solution. Certain practices will be considered illegal (destruction of property, disruption of classrooms and meetings, blocking access of members of the community); most others will be considered legal; and mechanisms are coming into being that make possible — if faculty and administrators are firm, and enough students are willing to brave the anger of those who reject all discipline—the maintenance of order on the campus.

3

The third crisis is occasioned by the position of blacks and other minority groups in American society. It has borne many names in the past six or seven years; civil rights, open enrollment, black studies, black power, third-world demands — all these are aspects of this third crisis. This has been an important part of the over-all student crisis from the beginning. But now the movement is almost entirely in the hands of black students and black student organizations of a type that did not exist six years ago. This new black student movement is itself only possible because of changes in recruitment and admissions procedures that greatly increase the numbers of black students on major campuses. All the terms in the civil rights movement changed when its youngest and most vigorous elements moved overwhelmingly from the demand for integration to the demand for an acknowledgment of separate formal status, in the society and on the campus: a status as yet poorly defined, but already with unhappy results for universities and colleges. Civil rights is no longer an issue on the campus; what is an issue is what special place for black students, black courses, black faculty, may be granted without doing violence to central conceptions of the university as a place of free teaching, free research, free discussion, and open access.

4

The fourth crisis is that of Vietnam. Vietnam is itself many crises. It is the crisis of the draft, and what that has done to students and colleges. It is one of the chief causes of the crisis over political activity on the campus, for it is one of the main occasions for political activity on the campus. It raises the question of the proper function of the university, for university-sponsored advice and research plays a role, and no minor one, in Vietnam. It has contributed to the stripping of respect and awe from all authority, for it is the greatest failure of government, perhaps, in American history. It is in this last sense that the impact of Vietnam on the campus crisis is most serious.

I do not have to go into all the things that war has done to this country, let alone the countries of Southeast Asia. But one of its legacies is a burden for the colleges and universities of this country that it will take decades to lift, if indeed we ever lift it. It has made America, the United States, an evil country in the eyes of its youth. It has changed all the terms of political discourse. Today it need not be argued whether any vile action overseas is American-inspired; it is assumed. The nation that restored a ravaged Europe and Japan, that began programs of foreign aid of ingenuity and generosity from Point IV to the Peace Corps — that nation, in the eyes of its youth, is no more.

I speak not only of the radical youth. Their point of view now dominates most youth, all but the consciously patriotic or conservative youth. This process is furthest advanced at elite schools: Berkeley, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard. But it is happening everywhere. It is taken for granted that the country is ruled by a selfish oligarchy, that the people are without power, or that even if they had power, it would not matter because they are in turn corrupted by affluence and the mass media; that America is allied only with feudal, military, and dictatorial rulers. All the complexity that the social sciences — political science, sociology, history, economics — try to teach seems to be without effect. It is only without effect on most of the students who take the courses; it is of increasingly less impact on the graduate students who are now manning the junior social science posts in the colleges and universities. Thus, one heritage of Vietnam will be a distorted sense of the world and reality — we are in for twenty years of social science dominated by the crude simplifications of radical thinking.

Now obviously, this incredible intellectual transformation in the way educated youth see their country cannot be ascribed only to Vietnam. But I am convinced that Vietnam, because of its horrors, because of its stupidities, is the major reason for what has become a radical alienation of youth from their country. Insofar as their colleges and universities are tied up with the country — and they must be, since they prepare youth for jobs, get funds from nation and state, conduct research for business and government — the university is also involved in this alienation, this radical distaste.

5

The fifth crisis that afflicts the campus is to my mind the most mysterious. It may be in some ways the most important. This is the revolution in youth culture. One feels the way the Romans of the fourth century must have felt. For us as for them, there are the people outside — the wearers of beads and bells, of strange colorful costumes, of long hair, using odd dialects, living in strange ways. But we have never seen so many of them, filling the streets of every university precinct. The dress, the language, the music, the drugs, the style of life, mark a radical alienation from the society whose scale and extent it is difficult to grasp.

What does the youth culture mean for the campus crisis? It means, at one level, an increase in the number of issues which lead to tension between colleges and universities and the outside public — issues of drug use and obscenity in student publications and dramatic productions in particular have caused a good deal of conflict.

But more serious is the challenge to intellectual and rational values, everything involved in the process of learning. For the youth culture has, if not a single formal ideology (it makes do if necessary with a barely understood, warmed-over Marxism), some favored cultural orientations: mysticism, astrology, science fiction, encounters. All this undercuts the critical functions of the colleges and universities. It also undercuts the pattern of life that they try to induce in students.

I do not know what "the youth culture "means." I do not know how deep the rejection of rational and intellectual values extends, how long it will continue. I do know that almost every book and magazine written by young people, and addressed to young people, reflects the rejection of all the values which are incorporated in the current curriculum — balance, objectivity, rationality, analysis. I do know that this culture could not be found on college campuses before late 1965. It can now be found on almost every campus. I do know it is now incorporated in the powerful mass media addressed to youth, both radical and commercial. It is enormously difficult for young people to maintain interests in resistance to this culture. The scientists are best protected, but even they succumb. The humanists and social scientists who have what we might consider traditional academic interests already act like an underground.

Campus Views of America, Today and Tomorrow

STUDENT EDITORS SPEAK OUT

By Martin Flumenbaum

Editor-in-chief, Columbia Spectator, Columbia University

I HAVE been a "waiting" student for almost four years now, and since violence is antithetical to both my upbringing and education, I will probably remain a stander-by for several more years to come.

I am politically frustrated, idealistic, and have admitted on occasion that I love both my country and my university. Oh yes, I have even stated that all the channels to change in America are plugged, and that perhaps change could not occur without violence.

Our society is disintegrating before our eyes, and all some can say is to be patient. "Youth can lead a crusade anytime it wants to." Youth can appear "400,000 strong in a slum with scrub brushes."

These are typical responses to our restlessness, and despite the noble attitude, the sad truth remains that all this work would bring us no closer to ending the war in Vietnam, to ending political repression in our own country, to guaranteeing adequate medical services for all our citizens, to providing food for twenty million starving Americans, to ending corruption among politicians and law enforcement officers, to saving the very air we breathe and the water we drink.

For on these issues, the 460,000 people at Woodstock could not do as much as one man in Washington.

Policy is made by a certain moneyed ruling elite who have made it perfectly clear that they do not want to listen to what we have to say. In the words of Spiro Agnew, the notion that the Nixon Administration might be at all responsible for student demonstrations "is the most ridiculous idea I've ever heard." The President himself has gone out of his way to rebuke the report of his own adviser on college disturbances, Dr. Alexander Heard, who has suggested that the Vietnam War was a partial cause of student unrest. By scoring campus protesters, Nixon not only gratifies an electorate looking for scapegoats, but also steers public debate from the issues which are at the root of the violence.

In my four years at college, I have waited for some concrete sign that substantive change can be achieved without violence. As of now, I am still waiting, and I plan to wait a little longer ■

By Rena Steinzor

Editor-in-chief, The Daily Cardinal, University of Wisconsin

TIME is running out for the American student. Each of us is up against the wall of his own morality and a desperate need for social change in this country.

Violence on campus grew out of frustration, but it is no longer a tactic of frustration. We are not in the streets because we cannot find anything better to do—because we are too lazy to "do it right." We are in the streets because we are attacking our own mother country—attacking it at one of its wells of lifeblood: the great research source that is the university.

For universities in this country are not "neutral" institutions whose "academic freedom" must be preserved at all costs. Universities serve one prime function in this country: research. Undergraduate education and, in most cases, graduate education, serve virtually as window dressing for that one prime function. The research is used to manage factories better, to break strikes better, to make better weapons of war. We know it because we have been on strike ourselves often over the past few years. The university ignored us when we exited from our classrooms. They listened when we took to the streets and began to threaten those labs and those computers.

Most of us are middle class. We have suffered, materially, less than most. But we have learned in our years of growing up here that a home in Scarsdale and a swimming pool around the corner are not what make life decent. Life is more than money and comfort. Life in America to us is kill or be killed in a jungle, make money and buy, succeed or be branded an outcast.

Each of us will try to bring about revolutionary change in his own way. Voting is not enough. The promise of the vote and the rat race for possessions have kept American people quiet for years. The choices we are given in national elections are between Tweedledee and Tweedledum.

We have and we will talk to the rest of the American people. We have and will work in local elections. We are building day care centers, free schools, cooperative stores, and collective living units.

As for violence, thousands of us are licensed everyday to kill people in Vietnam. When we break windows and bomb buildings at home, we are called "self-indulgent" lunatics. We know that there is something horribly wrong if breaking a window here makes him a criminal while shooting a human being full of holes in Vietnam makes him a hero.

Our generation is confused and up tight. This year will be the most difficult one we have had to face yet. We may see our friends die before it is over. Yet we also know that if we dare to struggle, we also dare to win. ■

By Martin Hirschman

Editor-in-chief, The Michigan Daily, University of Michigan

DESPITE the nationwide student uprising last May, the torrent of criticism that has lately been levelled at violence on campus seems sadly misdirected. Quite possibly students have been responsible for far too much senseless destruction. But has the vision of those outside the universities become so clouded that they cannot perceive the source of the vast preponderance of violence in our society?

Are we not now in our sixth year of watching scores of Americans and hundreds of Vietnamese (and now Cambodians and Laotians) slaughtered each week? Are U.S. bombers not continuing the systematic destruction of vast rural areas of Indochina?

Have not dozens of blacks, especially black political leaders, been shot down on the streets of our cities—and even while sleeping in bed—by racist law enforcement officials and others?

For those of us who have attempted to sort out new directions for the student left, the question of violence has become increasingly difficult to deal with because our alternatives seem to be rapidly disappearing.

Students have petitioned the Government dozens of times, in growing numbers over the last five years, but there has yet to be a serious response.

Many students at one time or another have turned to electoral politics. But they soon learned that these traditional mechanisms have become, and perhaps always were, farcical, dishonest, manipulative and virtually lacking in real political content.

Alienated from traditional political processes, yet conscience-stricken by the diseases that continue to infect our nation, many young people have turned to violence.

Thus far, if only on the basis of their political effectiveness, these actions seem to have been a failure. And where these actions have led to deaths, no matter what individuals or groups have been assigned the blame, they have been frightening and tragic.

But when used in a highly politicized context, as in a successful strike for increased black admissions at the University of Michigan last spring, mass disruption and low-level property destruction have proven effective organizing tools. We have only begun to feel our way toward building a popular front for social change. ■

(Continued from page 4)

6

The sixth crisis interacts with and is the outcome of all the rest. It is the crisis of authority. This crisis affects more than the university. In many ways it is more serious in the university than elsewhere. Because there, even more than in other spheres, coercion as a support of authority has played very little role. It is true that universities and colleges have the power to expel and suspend. Yet it is used with great reluctance. In addition, the rise of the youth culture as an alternative to previously accepted, conventional career lines weakens it.

Authority in the university has been based less on power than on the common acceptance by all involved of what Walter Metzger calls the "asymmetries" of academic life. The professor is empowered to lecture uninterrupted, to set the course of study, to demand work and evaluate it. This authority exists not because he has the power to call police into his classroom, or because he has the power to discipline or expel students, or even because he wields some power over the student's future — though that is certainly a consideration. It exists because it has been accepted as reasonable by all those participating. At its origin lies a contract that emerges from history, that is hardly ever thought of by either participant in the asymmetry of teaching, but is accepted by them and works. When it is not accepted — and it can be rejected with many arguments — then it is very difficult to see what is to be done, how that authority is to be restored.

ONE is always uncomfortable when pointing to a problem without moving on to a solution. The thesis I suggest is that one problem — and a problem that universities and colleges were themselves in large measure responsible for, as against all the other problems that afflicted them — was to allow the accretion of functions for which they were not suited, which weakened their image and reality as institutions engaged in valued and respectworthy work. They became institutions for everything — to educate everybody, to prepare for all professions, to do any necessary research, to respond to any demand for service. . . .

One possible solution of the crisis would be to exchange power and wealth for the freedom of learning communities. This may restore authority in the colleges and universities. It would now be a more restricted authority, wielded over a narrower but more suitable field.

As I review the many sources of the present crisis again and again, I come to the conclusion that this reformation of the colleges and universities is an essential task. ■

Dr. Glazer has been Professor of Education and Social Structure at Harvard University since 1968. Author of many books, he was formerly Professor of Sociology at Berkeley. This article was adapted from Bulletin, the Harvard, *Sept. 21, 1970.*

Views of A Campus 'Non-Leader'– Interview by Ben Hartley

Why Are the Young so Angry?

(As editors are wont to do when a new college year approaches, Editor Ben Hartley of *Presbyterian Survey* recently visited the campus of Florida Presbyterian College to find out what's on the minds of returning students. He had the good luck to run into Robby Barnes who at age 22 is back for his senior year. In the interview that follows, reprinted from *Presbyterian Survey* of September 7, 1970, Robby Barnes speaks not only for himself but very possibly for an uncountable number of others on the campuses who do not pretend to be leaders, but who nevertheless cast a critical eye at some of the assumptions and values that typify our times.)

Robby, some people think you look like a hippie. Are you?

No. The hippie movement is dead.

But you have long hair. Why?

Well, in the first place I like it long; second, it's anti-military because you have to have a crewcut to be in the military; and third it's a free flag to show people of similar feelings that you are a kindred spirit.

You think it's the sign of a free man?

No, because you're not really free when you have long hair. But it's a sign of a feeling for peace.

Some people think that people with long hair don't want to work and make a living.

I've been working and I'm going to work as a photographer when I graduate next spring.

But you ride a motorcycle too. Why?

It's cheap transportation, doesn't require much parking space, and I can go anywhere, on or off the main roads.

Even with your long hair and cycle, you consider yourself an orthodox sort of Presbyterian?

Yes. I believe in the system. I had some doubts until recently, but now it seems the General Assembly is going to let youth have some voice in church affairs. So I'm going to stick with it.

But some people in our church feel hostile toward young people like you. Do you understand this?

I'm constantly amazed by the reaction of people to my long hair, for example. But one reason they don't understand us is because we don't see a future. I can't see what's two years in the future. Can't really see past graduation. Some kids are thinking of leaving this country.

Are you thinking of leaving the country?

Yes. I'm waiting to see how the elections come out in 1972. If the right people are elected, I'll stick around. Some bigwig in government recently said that we'll have to choose between anarchy and repression. I don't want to make that choice.

You really feel the country is in that bad shape?

I really do—economically, environmentally, socially. We are badly polarized and Spiro Agnew hasn't helped a bit. He has really divided the country.

What should we be doing?

I believe among other things we ought to, like Jesus said, feed the hungry and "do unto the least of these." A woman in Montreal told me it would be okay to feed people if they're Christians. I just don't see things that way.

So you're going to cop out?

I'm willing to work within the system as long as it will let me. But when it becomes intolerable and not effective at all, I'll have to leave.

Some young people have given up and turned to revolution. I judge you're not going that route?

It's not worth it because in the first place you would lose. And why "kill" in order to survive?

Does your Christian faith have anything to do with your view of the future?

I think it's in line with God's will, and I've got to do what I believe is right. If this country should fall because of what it is doing—making war, polluting the land and air and water, corporate theft, etc.—then I'm going to get out and let it fall.

But doesn't a Christian's patriotic duty to his country go beyond that?

If your house is burning, should you stay inside and let it fall on you, or get out and come back later to help rebuild it?

I am not willing to be that pessimistic.

I'm not either—yet.

How general is this feeling among young people?

There are still a lot of sororities and fraternities going strong, and in any 15,000-student state university mediocrity thrives.

Some people might think you sound like a communist. Are you?

No, I'm a capitalist. I believe that an enterprise which makes its dollars honestly is a worthy venture. But if making a dollar means polluting the rivers and the air we breathe, then I'm against it. Communism just doesn't work. It kills the imagination and dulls the intelligence essential to making products and improving life.

Why are some young people who think like you rejecting the church?

Mainly because it's ineffectual. Because it ignores them. Oh, occasionally it deals with the real world, but not very often. That's why most kids turn off.

Some older people feel that young people are not honoring their fathers and mothers. Comment?

One out of every four marriages ends in divorce and no telling how many unhappy homes are not broken up. Young people's awareness sharpened by television has caused them to distrust the marriage relationship. Not many young people have parents they can be proud of. And I don't see why they should unless they have parents like mine.

Is this one reason why there's more sexual promiscuity among some young people?

Yes. But another reason is contraception. There was fear of pregnancy before the pill and parents were saying that sex was a "no-no," but now kids are finding out for themselves that it's a "yes-yes."

I hope that parents who read this realize that they have about up to age 15 to shape the character of their kids. After that they might just as well settle back and watch.

Do you have any other advice for parents?

Recognize your kids as individuals, as persons, with their own minds and feelings. Lay it on the line with them, be honest with them. You can't shelter your children any more; and if you try, you only damage them. Teenagers and college kids are not the naive people their parents think they are. And they're not willing to wait around for things to change.

What should a parent be talking about to his 14- or 15-year-old?

Drugs, for example. Ask your child if he or she has been taking drugs. Don't be surprised if he says

yes, and be ready to talk about it. But be sure you know what you're talking about because your kid may have more information on drugs than you do.

The scariest factor in this generation gap is drugs. What are we going to do?

There's no way you can stop marijuana. It needs to be legalized like booze. Make it legal for people over 21 to buy. It doesn't leave people with bad after-effects like booze. Trouble is that kids twelve and thirteen see older kids and adults smoking it and they try it and it doesn't kill them, and they think that since adults lied to them about pot, they also lied about LSD, mescaline, amphetamines, heroin and all the rest. We need non-government independent agencies run by cool doctors to give kids help and information about hard drugs.

What about this four-letter word syndrome of young people?

It's part of the rebellion against that which is frustrating and which you can't change, like pollution or corporate corruption or not getting anything from a teacher or school. But four-letter words don't always mean the same thing to young people as to their elders. Four-letter words are often more slang than dirty. They're a form of communication not intended to be profane.

But some older people are terribly offended by some of these words.

I'm sorry, of course. But I wish that Christians weren't so hung up on language. Kids use these words to get attention. Sometimes you have to shout to get people to start listening—like television commercials are louder to get people's attention back to the screen.

Young folks' rather casual attitude toward nudity has some of their elders up tight, too. Do you want to say something about this?

"My rights end where your nose begins," the saying goes. If you don't want to look at me when I am nude, then turn your eyes, because I am not doing anything to harm you. I'm sorry for people who only feel lust at the sight of a human body.

Let me get your reaction to this stock response: "We hear what you kids are saying and we think you're wrong. We hear okay—but we don't agree!"

They have that right and responsibility. But if, for example, we're not getting what we need in the curriculum in school, we've got to keep telling them about it. We've got a responsibility for improving the school for those who follow.

That's another thing: what's so wrong with the schools?

The silly rules for one thing: it's ridiculous to expect a college to be parents to a kid away from home. Another thing: the schools are stamping out graduates like a production line, not teaching people how to live in today's world.

(Continued on page 11)

The Growing Impact Of Eastern Orthodoxy

by Religious News Service, with Paul Anderson

EASTERN ORTHODOXY in America, associated primarily with 20th century immigrant groups, is moving out of ethnic ghettos, bringing an approach to Christianity and a set of international church problems little known before in the public arena.

Among the signs of this movement is the wide spread discussion on the future of Orthodox union in the Western Hemisphere and steps, not without controversy, toward vernacular languages in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of the Americas, largest of a dozen ethnic groups.

The forces of time and indigenation are evident. As that process takes place, the American religious heritage may well be altered by a greater impact from the "ancient faith" of the apostolic church, preserved and developed in Greece, Russia and other nations of Eastern Europe.

Orthodoxy was the last of the major Christian traditions to reach America in any sizable number of constitutents. Russian Orthodox missionaries came into the area in the late 18th century. It was not, however, until after World War I that the swell of Orthodox immigrants arrived.

The emergence of closely knit Syrian, Greek or Romanian communities with their churches, particularly in larger cities, was similar to the historical preservation of national cultures, under the Turkish domination, through religion and the Orthodox Church.

Sixteen years ago, Orthodoxy was officially recognized as the fourth major U.S. religions group along with Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism. Orthodox now number between four and five million, a figure probably including the relatively small groups in Latin America.

The recognition did not have immediate impact on the public mind, no doubt in part because the ethnic jurisdictions linked to "Mother Churches" abroad lacked cohesion and had "foreign" connotations.

In the ecumenical movement, especially on the international level, the significance of the Orthodox has long been evident. Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople (Istanbul), spiritual leader of Orthodoxy, was a founder of the World Council of Churches. All national Orthodox Churches are now WCC members.

Orthodox Christianity, with its diversity within unity and its non-involvement in Western church controversies, is sometimes regarded as the "ecumenical bridge" for Protestants and Roman Catholics. Five years ago, mutual excommunications between Rome and Constantinople — handed down in 1054 — were lifted by Patriarch Athenagoras and Pope Paul.

The Patriarch is committed to acommon communion chalice, although not organic union, among all Christians. The Church of Moscow this year extended the right of communion to Roman Catholics.

Opportunities and Challenges

While new opportunities for Orthodoxy are presented in the Western Hemisphere, challenges are also raised. A foremost question is how religion deeply imbued with particular ethnic and cultural roots makes its way in a pluralistic society. It is a question which Catholics, as well as some Protestant groups, have in the past, faced in the U.S.

The Americanizing of young people, the weakening of Old World language traditions and the making of converts are all involved. These factors were much discussed before the 1970 clergy-laity congress of the Greek Archdiocese voted to allow English, or other vernacular langauges, in worship. (Many local Orthodox churches, except for the Greeks, had already been using English translations for part or all of their liturgies.)

Provision was made for a quality translation and the decision to substitute English for Greek was left to the parish priests in consultation with their bishops. Greek was not abolished.

Considerable controversy followed the action. A few parishes objected, but more criticism came from American Greek language and Athens newspapers which accused Archbishop Iakovos, the American primate, of trying to abolish Greek and cut historic ties with the Greek heritage.

Speaking in a manner which the 1,000 congress delegates agreed was realistic, the archbishop observed that the language flexibility was pragmatically needed. While not minimizing the importance of the Greek heritage, the prelate said the continuation of church loyalty to two countries — Greece and the U.S. — "cannot be continued indefinitely."

When completed and approved, the Greek Orthodox liturgical revision in America will be the most extensive Orthodox update of worship texts in six hundred years. In addition to the Eucharist service of Holy Communion other sacramental services will also be studied and changes could be adopted.

Earlier, the Antiochian (Syrian) Church in North America approved an English transliteration of the Sunday liturgy.

The most complex, and perhaps most crucial issue currently facing Orthodox churchmen in the U.S. resolves around the future relations of the ethnic jurisdictions. This matter was dramatized in the first six months of 1970, particularly in ration to the former Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America (Metropolia).

Now called the Orthodox Church in America, the Metropolia was granted full administrative independence (autocephality) by the Patriarch of Moscow, a move which gives some basis for merging the various jurisdictions. Some background is in order.

The historic Orthodox pattern is national Churches — Russian, Greek, Bulgarian — fourteen in all. These are in communion with one another and recognize the Patriarch of Constantinople as "first-among-equals" in the world hierarchy. But they are self-governing.

Orthodox Origins

In most cases, a national Orthodox Church is —or was at one time—the dominant Christian institution in the respective lands. The Muslim invasions of the late Middle Ages made the Orthodox a minority in Middle Eastern countries. Communist takeovers in Eastern Europe during this century substantially decreased church influence and freedom.

The Orthodox church splintering which took place in America was unprecedented. It was caused by immigration. There has been no attempt to date of the "Mother Churches" to work out single structure, although discussions of the diaspora problem date back to 1961 when it was on the agenda of a meeting of autocephalous church representatives at Rhodes.

This atypical scene has concerned many clergy and laymen who would like to see a united American Orthodoxy, one which could more easily deal with American issues and make a greater impact on society.

In 1960, a Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas was formed to foster cooperation. Meanwhile, sentiment for more organic unity has grown in the Antiochian Church and the Greek Archdiocese, whose clergy-laity congress in 1968 went on record in support of a Western Synod under the Ecumenical Patriarch.

Then in early 1970, the Patriarchate Church of Moscow and the Metropolia announced an agreement through which independence was given to the latter. Moscow and the Metropolia saw this as a step toward a possible united American Church.

Other factors were involved. Since 1924, the Metropolia had exercised de facto independence, having in effect severed administrative ties with Moscow because of the situation in Russia after the Communist Revolution. Alongside the Metropolia there existed a small American jurisdiction subordinate to the Church in Russia.

The agreement in 1970 straightened out Metropolia-Moscow relations. It set the stage for the former Russian and all other Orthordox groups to come together, a process expected to develop slowly. A third group, the vigorously anti-Moscow Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia, refused to be involved.

Patriarch Athenagoras said the Moscow-Metropolia decision was unilateral. He refused to recognize the new Orthodox Church in America — which the Metropolia became. Autocephality, according to the Patriarchate in Istanbul, is granted by the Ecumenical Patriarch following a pan-Orthodox consensus, that is a consensus among all "Mother Churches."

Reaction in Athens

Meanwhile, the issue of "some type of autonomy" (less than full independence) for the Greek Archdiocese was raised by Archbishop Iakovos at the 1970 clergy-laity congress. The Greek Church in America is linked administratively not to Athens but to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul.

As in the case of language, accusing cries in Athens were turned against Archbishop Iakovos. He later told a press conference in the Greek capital that he had no intentions of breaking with the Patriarchate, but that it was necessary for American Orthodox jurisdictions to have interdependence and to be able to address themselves to particular, contemporary American issues.

Controversy over the Metropolia independence did not, however, cause a breach between the Greek and Russian leadership in the U.S. Prelates continued to work together in the Standing Conference of Bishops which, according to unofficial reports, showed a favorable leaning toward a Western Synod with spiritual ties to the Ecumenical Patriarch.

In light of and despite the recent developments with their degrees of misunderstandings and tensions, some Orthodox leaders in America spoke this Summer of a "new Pentecost" for the ancient Byzantine religion. While concerned about ways to involve youth in the church and about small per capital financial increase — something all churches face — they were more encouraged than depressed about the future.

To the non-Orthodox, the issues making news and the structural interplay must seem enormously complicated. To those who attempt to interpret the on-going Orthodox history, Dr. Paul Anderson, special consultant to the National Council of Churches on Eastern Churches, has offered a pertinent comment. He points out that Orthodoxy is ancient and has a marvelous record for survival and reconciliation in the face of tensions. ■

WASHINGTON-COMMENT

Charting The Political Landscape

by John W. Turnbull

IS American political opinion moving massively rightward? Practically everyone thinks so, except for the paranoid right, who believe even Nixon is soft on Communism, and the romantic left who hope to bring everyone to Woodstock. John Mitchell says the country "is going so far right you are not even going to recognize it," and George McGovern sees the Administration at work "to create a new and dominant conservative coalition in American politics."

There is plenty of evidence to support the rightward-shift hypothesis: Mr. Agnew's successes, hard-hats, anti-crime legislation of doubtful constitutionality, the "Southern strategy," the challenge to liberal leadership being felt in almost all of our institutions including the churches—these are a few of the items of evidence that come most readily to mind. At the very least, we did elect in 1968, and are now living under an Administration that is the first in more than a generation to offer itself as an unmistakably conservative alternative—though as everybody knows, the popular majority by which we acquired that Administration was not exactly massive: shift a few votes here and there and 1968 would have looked a lot like 1960 or even 1948.

The evidence taken as a whole, however, is confusing and ambiguous. The polls show support as strong as ever for the traditionally liberal positions on the major issues of economic justice on which the New Deal coalition was built—although, as we shall see, these issues may not be rated as *important* as they once were, a possibly momentous change. On traditional civil rights issues—desegregation, voting rights, even diminishing social distance between the races, and even in the South—there has been a marked attitudinal shift in a *liberal* direction, despite widespread resentment, fear and hostility toward black militancy. (Lyndon Johnson thought "frontlash" was more powerful than "backlash," and he is probably still right today.) The Administration's welfare reform program, probably (and perhaps ironically) the most liberalizing piece of social legislation since FDR, enjoys overwhelming public support, and is in political trouble in large part because many liberals are pressing hard for it to go much further than it does, and/or are glad to drag their feet on any piece of social legislation with which the present Administration might score politically.

An Interpretation of the Situation

The perplexing and apparently contradictory facts about the current American political scene are ably set forth in a new book by two veteran political analysts, and you can be sure that no book is being more assiduously read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested in political Washington in this election-year fall. The book is *The Real Majority,* by Richard M. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg (Coward-McCann, 347 pages, $7.95).

The authors not only set out these facts in an arresting and persuasive manner, but more importantly, they look at the welter of confusing facts and offer an hypothesis about what is going on in the land that is of considerable theoretical and practical interest—perhaps not only as a manual for winning elections in the seventies but also as a prescription for hanging on to our national sanity which we so often these days seem to be on the verge of losing.

The hypothesis is quite simply that the answer to our initial question is (surprise!), Yes and No. But the movement is not capriciously to the right on some issues, or among some people, or in some places, and capriciously to the left or static in others. Rather there is *one* constellation of related issues (what the authors call the "Social Issue") about which public opinion is right-leaning, and *another* constellation of issues (the "Economic Issue") on which it is still as "liberal" as ever, perhaps more so. The apparent contradiction is a problem only if, like dogmatists of either the right or the left, you believe that these two types of issues necessarily hang together, and that one set of attitudes on one of them compels the "same" set on the other.

New Issues Becoming Dominant?

What is crucial in assessing the political climate and prospects in general is which of these constellations is encouraged or permitted to dominate political attention and thereby become what the authors call the "Voting Issue," the issue on which elections will really swing. Also, how able the political movement best positioned to capitalize on one of the issues ("conservatives" in one case, "liberals" in the other) is to avoid being outflanked by the other: in short, to capture the political center.

The authors characterize the Social Issue as "a set of public attitudes concerning the more personally frightening aspects of disruptive social change." It will not surprise you to learn that the key symbolic phrase for the Social Issue is "Law and Order," or, negatively, "lawlessness," "immorality," "crime-in-the-streets," even "permissiveness." Consider how public opinion stands on some potent points in this cluster of issues (polls taken in mid-1969): 94% think college administrations should take a stronger stand on student disorders; 90% oppose the demands of the Black Manifesto; 85% favor stricter laws dealing with obscene literature; 84% oppose the legalization of marijuana; 63% (in 1968) think the courts deal too leniently with criminals.

On most of these issues, moreover, there are no significant differences among the various voter groups. On the matter of handling student disorders, for example, the percentages favoring a stronger stand run from 97% among farmers as a group all the way "down" to 89% among young people (aged 21-29). Never mind the merits for a moment, you are just not going to build much of a constituency around the "liberal" position on these issues.

Furthermore, you run the serious risk of alienating your normally liberal constituency on the Economic Issue (not to mention the even more delicate matter of developing a politically viable alternative to the established doctrine on the war) if you keep insisting that their interest in "law and order" is simply a code for racism or repressiveness. If you keep harping on it long enough you may make it so by reinforcing rather than challenging the weird notion that there is some connection between attempts to right grievous social wrongs and the rising crime rate. And you may also invite the suspicion on the part of the lady from Dayton (which Mr. Agnew will be only too happy to bolster) that "liberal" is a code-word for pot-smoking, pornography, and a bleeding-heart attitude toward purse-snatchers.

Seeking a Liberal Consensus

The fact is that the broad range of matters of economic and social justice constituting the Economic Issue still have great political potency on the liberal side; and they are issues that transcend all the currently-celebrated gaps of race, class, or generation. Scammon and Wattenberg neatly analyze some recent elections to demonstrate that when the explosive Social Issue is defused, by neither side allowing the other to preempt it, elections are still won on the basis of performance and promise on the Economic Issue—which, by happy coincidence, is on the whole more within the capacity of government to deal with anyway.

It may be that those who take by the Social Issue, on whichever "side," will ultimately perish by it, for the concerns it represents are at bottom incapable of being met by merely political responses; and the attempt to make political capital of them may well be a really king-sized boomerang. It is hard to imagine any sensitive and thoughtful person, of whatever political persuasion, feeling anything but ambivalence about any of the competing value systems and life styles that are springing up and flourishing all about us. We are living, as they say, in a time of transition, vast and possibly revolutionary. Only the most fossilized, of either the left or the right, can avoid re-examining his commitments almost every day and considering the possibility that there just might be something to be said for the other guy's point of view. Matters of such moral ambiguity and of such emotional explosiveness as the various contemporary counter-cultures and their potential for enriching or endangering our personal and common life are not very good substitutes for the solid and really political issues with which we ought to be primarily occupying ourselves *in politics* —though it is manifestly imperative that we deal with them in other forums.

The trouble is, of course, that nearly all the elements in the Social Issue have some political aspects, and some of them are extremely important both politically and humanly. Most notable among these are the crime issue and the manifestations of black power that are especially anxiety-producing among whites. It is clear that there is no way of dealing even remotely fairly with the facts of life in these areas that will not upset the really insecure, really racist minority. But an analysis like that of Scammon and Wattenberg suggests that with a little care and a little consideration for the fears and hopes of *all* the people, a viable majority can be put together which can react to and work on even these issues wisely, humanely —yes, even liberally. ■

THE CHANGING CHURCH IN HOLLAND

by Niels C. Nielsen, Jr.

THE historical background as well as the long range prospects of Dutch ecumenism are easily obscured in reports of isolated incidents. Assuredly, the recently held Dutch Pastoral Council was unique in the Roman Catholic world. Bishops, priests and laymen sat side by side and talked together as equals. Commissions included Protestants and humanists. Although promulgated on Roman Catholic theological premises, the Council had more in common with a Reformed synod than has been commonly recognized.

What will be the direction of Catholic life in Holland in the face of continuing opposition from Rome? A partial answer, at least, is beginning to emerge. In Utrecht this summer, I found no undue optimism about the modification of the Church's law of celibacy which had been requested overwhelmingly by the Council. Pope Paul's negative response to Cardinal Alfrink's most recent visit was expected. Of course, the Pastoral Council did not claim unanimity of opinion; it was practical rather than theoretical in intent. Nonetheless, its statements reflect the dynamics of the religious situation in Holland, one which has altered drastically during the last decade.

It is important to recognize that dechristianization, widespread experiment and ecumenical rapprochement have come together; they ought not to be separated in appraisal of the situation. "About a decade ago," said the friendly layman who staffs the Roman Catholic Open Door agency in Amsterdam, "we decided against Sunday obligation. Now, when the service and preaching are interesting, the church is filled. When they are not, the church is empty."

Whatever the truth of this, it is clear that neither religiously segregated schools nor confessional political parties have been able to stem the growing tide of indifference. All attempts to maintain the earlier ethos have proved a failure. The Second Vatican Council brought new openness not only in the direction of Protestantism, but of secularism as well. "Now," Dutch Protestants remark, "the Catholics are experiencing the decline we suffered half a century ago in opening to the modern world." It is not surprising that Protestant theologians at the Pastoral Council seemed at times to be on the right of their Roman Catholic colleagues with respect to a number of theological questions. Modernism was never strong in Holland. In a way, Dutch Roman Catholicism is now experiencing its own kind of liberalism in rapid adjustment to changed conditions. Of course, such parallels are made all too easily. Most important for both confessions is the shift from a national folk church to a community of personal belief.

A growing emphasis on personal participation as against alleged "*ex opere operato* ritualism" reflects this trend, assuredly widespread in Dutch Catholicism. New churches are built inconspicuously, and there is emphasis on individual decision in baptism and confirmation. One of the most influential younger priests in Amsterdam told me that there are at least a dozen and a half families whom he has helped to decide against the baptism of their children, as they do not intend to be practicing Christians. He had asked the bishop not to come to his parish for confirmation and preached against the rite as a social convention. But now, mature adults are requesting it in order to be active Christians — and the bishop will come!

The overall pattern which explains such developments among Roman Catholics in Holland is clear enough. The end of the defensive communalism of the emancipation period has coincided with the post-war growth of urban centers and technology. To urbanization and technology has been added the ethos of radical secularity. Life in general has become demythologized. Many of the Dutch seem to have taken Bishop Robinson and Paul van Buren with more seriousness than their English and American readers. The post-war urge for change, begun among the younger clergy, has been taken up now by laymen with strong interaction between the two. A dean of a theological faculty explained: "We have had an overemphasis on the vertical in the past; now, there is radical movement to the horizontal. In the end, there may be a balance."

ONE is told often that problems which remain underground elsewhere have surfaced and can be discussed openly in Holland. Yet the Dutch situation has its own unique features. Roman Catholic piety was long comparable in intensity with the Irish and Polish. Ultramontane and conservative, its vitality was evidenced by the large supply of clergy which overflowed into missionary priests.

Dutch Roman Catholics long remained a cohesive group. Not destroyed in the Reformation period, they received full tolerance and freedom of conscience only in the era of the French Revolution. Not until the mid-nineteenth century were they admitted to the universities and civil service. Re-establishment of the hierarchy in 1853 began a period of rapid institutional growth. The Roman Catholic community was segregated in its own integralist ghetto, as a Roman Catholic political party defended church privileges. There were confessional organizations for every concern: youth, labor, leisure time. The Nazi occupation brought the end of the dominant ethos of Catholic separatism, as Christians learned to trust each other across confessional barriers. The real crisis of Roman Catholic life in Holland has come with the breakdown of this ghetto. Ecumenism has become a reality among laymen as well as clergy.

The Dutch rightly emphasize that their hierarchy, in contrast with that in many other countries, has not been defensive against change and this has reached the laity. The test question of openness to the modern world is acceptance of dialogue with Protestants. Joint Roman Catholic-Protestant discussion groups grew after World War II at the time the *Una Sancta* Movement was discouraged in Germany by the Vatican.

Pressure continues from "below". For example, *Sjaloom,* a movement which includes both Roman Catholics and Protestants in its leadership, has celebrated a common meal from its beginning. Assuredly, it has contributed to an ethos favoring co-celebration of the eucharist in the churches. The members believe that such mutual sharing should precede rather than come at the end of Christian cooperation and action. They have sustained their position only after heavy ecclesiastical pressure and now designate their celebration an "Exodus meal" in anticipation of a new society. Concerned with social change as well as renewal, they have an influence much greater than their numbers suggest.

Supporters of Septuagint, the association of clergy which has recently expanded to include Protestants, number in the thousands. In cooperation with the European Assembly of Priests, it is sponsoring a conference in Amsterdam this fall. Clergy from other continents, Africa, Asia and the Americas, have been invited to examine the Dutch ecumenical model. There will be wide-ranging discussion and debate.

THE advocates of change are not limited to such unofficial groups. The president and secretary of the Pastoral Council's commission on ecumenism continue to be influential and trusted leaders. Msgr. J. C. Groot, representative of the Dutch bishops for ecumenical relations was president; Professor H. A. M. Fiolet, now chief executive officer of the Dutch Council of Churches which was established to continue the work of the Pastoral Council, was commission secretary. Msgr. Groot cites the situation of the Old Catholic Church in Holland. For a long period, he explains, its clergy were not allowed to marry in the Netherlands. In Germany, however, this was not the case. Eventually, a married German priest came to the country and soon virtually all Old Catholic Dutch priests had married. Msgr. Groot, like Professor Fiolet, regards the ministry functionally, understanding it in terms of the role performed in officiating at baptism and the eucharist. The apostolic succession rests in the whole function of the Church, he argues, and not just in the laying on of hands. It is in the totality of what the Church does. Practically, this means that non-Roman Catholic clergy need not be re-ordained, but can be recognized as legitimate.

Professor Fiolet's new book, *The Second Reformation,* provides the theoretical basis for the changes he and similarly minded colleagues are carrying out. Fiolet, an ordained priest, studied Reformed theology at the University of Utrecht. The first Reformation ended in the division of Christendom, he argues. A second must lead to a united, evangelical Catholic Church. He agreed with my comment that his proposals go beyond anything offered by Rahner or Küng. This is particularly the case with his claim that Roman Catholicism must encompass concretely the values of Protestantism including freedom. His present efforts for deconfessionalism carry to the local parish level, and he claims to have active support of the Dutch bishops.

Practically, it is clear enough that the Dutch ecumenical model is a radical one. Whatever they can or cannot change in Rome, the Dutch are experimenting. Indeed, a significant number of clergy and laity have moved beyond experiment and are acting, unofficially, as if there were a united church of Christ in the Netherlands. They are impatient with those who anticipate decades of theological readjustment. "Let us do it first," they argue, "and reflect and explain later". From the point of view of the Vatican, there can be little doubt that the Dutch are in a hurry ecumenically.

CARDINAL Alfrink's earlier controversial stand in re-baptism of the Dutch princess who wished a Roman Catholic marriage in effect has been reversed. There is now mutual recognition of baptism in letters between the leadership of the churches. The consequences of this position are being worked out in other areas. Decline of confessional pressure in mixed marriages has been followed by open communion and unofficial co-celebration of the eucharist. Study commissions are working on the problem of mutual recognition of ministerial office. Some theologians in the Dutch Reformed Church seem willing to accept episcopacy, albeit not in its full traditional guise.

Inevitably, in a population which is nearly half Protestant and half Roman Catholic, there are a large number of mixed marriages. Clergy from both confessions increasingly officiate together. Some even report: "We trust each other and so only one clergyman needs to be present. Later, we decide or let the couple decide, who can be the most effective as their pastor; they remain in their respective communions." All that is expected is a promise that children will be brought up as Christians.

There is ample evidence that the Dutch will not give up their ecumenical stance in the face of opposition from the Curia. For many Protestants as well as Roman Catholics, Cardinal Alfrink embodies the patience and persistence which together are necessary. The dialogue which has emerged between priest, layman and bishop, embodies a uniquely personal mode of authority. No one, least of all Protestants, wishes schism in an ecumenical era. The Cardinal is allowing some priests who have married to remain in their former parishes and carry on pastoral work. They must be accepted by the congregation. While they cannot administer the sacraments, their help is needed to meet the growing clergy shortage. The small number of ordinations arises in part from the fact that only a minority of seminarians will accept ordination under present rules.

Yet in general there is recognition that the question of priestly celibacy is only one aspect of the vocational crisis which confronts Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy alike in new forms of social life. Attention simply to celibacy risks missing the essential claim of Dutch ecumenism: the same problems present themselves throughout the Roman Catholic world, as in Holland, with increasing force and urgency. What is asked most of all is simply dialogue — with fellow Christians and with Rome. Dutch ecumenism has a wide base and will continue to grow. No doubt, its influence will continue to reach far beyond the borders of the Netherlands. ■

Dr. Nielsen is Chairman, Department of Religious Studies, Rice University, Houston, Texas

IT SAYS HERE

DR. STEPHANOPOULAS IS APPOINTED INTERCHURCH RELATIONS DIRECTOR

NEW YORK (RNS) — Dr. Robert G. Stephanopoulos, a Greek Orthodox pastor in Rye, N.Y., and recording secretary of the National Council of Churches, has been named director of the Department of Interchurch Relations of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America.

This and other appointments were announced here by the Primate, Archbishop Iakovos.

Arthur Dore, who had served as director of Interchurch Relations since September 1966, was appointed Executive Assistant to the Primate.

The department acts as a liaison between the Greek Orthodox archdiocese and the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches. It also maintains ties with the U.S. Catholic Bishops Conference, Jewish organizations and others.

Father Stephanopoulos is a member of the National Conference of Churches General Board and serves as vice chairman of the Faith and Order Commission.

★ ★ ★

CHURCH SPOKESMEN REACT TO PORNOGRAPHY COMMISSION REPORT

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Support for the recommendations of the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography has been voiced by the Rev. William H. Genné, director of Family Life Ministries of the National Council of Churches.

Specifically underlining the call for more and better sex education, he said "the fact that people will stand in line for hours and pay good money to see some very mediocre and monotonous sex films is a revelation that they themselves feel their understanding of sex is inadequate and unfulfilling."

He pointed to an interfaith (Protestant, Catholic and Jewish) statement on sex which states "human sexuality is a gift of God to be accepted with thanksgiving and used with reverence and joy," as the basic religious attitude toward sexuality today.

"All the major faith groups have committed themselves to programs of marriage enrichment and sex education which would make unnecessary and unprofitable the commercial exploitation of pornographic sex," he said.

Acknowledging that it takes time to educate both children and adults to achieve more healthy and knowledgeable responses to their own sexuality, he said "the presence of pornography only underlines the urgency of this task."

"We need to mobilize our total communities — homes, synagogues and churches, and our schools — to educate parents and all adults as well as young people to a deeper, richer and more satisfying concept of manhood and womanhood."

Meanwhile, Evangelist Billy Graham described the report as "one of the worst and most diabolical ever made by a president commission." The evangelist charged that no believing Christian or Jew could possibly support the views contained in the report.

The commission's majority, while stating that youth should be protected from such materials, held that there should be no laws preventing the sale of so-called "pornography" to "consenting adults."

Elsewhere, Michigan United Methodist Bishop Dwight E. Loder labeled pornography "poison" for the mind and denounced the commission which advocated relaxing obscenity laws. But a group of 25 professors representing United Methodist seminaries did not seriously challenge the commission findings.

Many Roman Catholic weeklies have voiced strong opposition to the majority report which called for the legalization of pornographic materials for "consenting adults."

One of the strongest clergy voices supporting the commission report was that of G. William Jones, a member of the commission and a United Methodist minister who is a professor at Southern Methodist University in Dallas.

He told a meeting of United Methodist theological professors in Chicago that the commission report constituted a "milestone in the history of communications."

"For the first time someone has thought seriously enough about the problem to seek the truth about it," Mr. Jones, a media expert said. "Now we need to stop chasing our unconscious scapegoats and seek to get to the real roots of antisocial behavior."

He charged that most of the commission's critics "apparently have tried to maintain their objectivity by not reading the report."

As a group, the 25 professors representing 14 United Methodist seminaries expressed strong conviction of the need to have the church join with schools and families in breaking the "conspiracy" of silence about sex.

This painting of the "Madonna of The Andes," by a young Argentine artist Roberto Claverie is among those featured in this year's series of Christmas cards from Lit-Lit — World Literacy and Christian Literature, of the National Council of Churches Division of Overseas Ministeries. The picture depicts a strong, serene Indian mother with her child, limned in deep pinks, purples and blues. The cards are available from Lit-Lit, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

★ ★ ★

CHURCH TASK FORCE TO AID IN ANTI-DRUG FIGHT

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Church groups interested in tackling the drug abuse problem in their communities can find helpful information and descriptions of other community drug projects through the National Council of Churches' Drug Task Force.

Chairman of the Task Force is Dr. Thomas E. Price, a United Methodist minister who is also president of the National Coordinating Council on Drug Abuse Education and Information.

A variety of resources are being made available for church groups in an effort to save them time which would otherwise have to be spent on researching some of the common aspects of the problem. Some resources are:

1. — A handbook for community groups and neighborhood residents who want a way of approaching their neighbors on the subject of drug abuse.

Called *Common Sense Lives Here,* it begins with some basic facts about drugs and a discussion of several assumptions made about their use. It further discusses the make up of communities, draws some links between them and the forces that might lead to drug abuse and develops strategies for action.

2. — A booklet entitled "Drug Abuse: Summons to Community Action" by Eunice Jones Mathews, wife of the United Methodist Bishop of New England.

Mrs. Mathews has written, in her words, "a kind of layman's account in simple language of what is being done in selected communities in the vicinity of Boston, in their sometimes fumbling effort to deal with drug abuse.

3. — A monthly newsletter called *If,* designed to keep people up-to-date on the latest developments in drug abuse.

4. — A multi-media packet called "The Drug Puzzle" with general information on drugs plus special emphasis on heroin, marijuana and LSD.

5. — For professionals in the field, a Drug Abuse Information Service called *Grassroots,* is available on a monthly basis at $60.00 per year. Its first issue includes a Who's Who in national, state and federal agencies, a comprehensive evaluation of drug abuse films, literature resource list, and extensive bibliography. Monthly issues will include the status of legislation, list of meetings and seminars, new developments in drug use and abuse, and *If* the monthly newsletter.

The materials are obtainable from Dr. John McDowell, Director for Social Welfare, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

★ ★ ★

'MAJOR BREAKDOWN' IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF RIGHTS LAW CITED

WASHINGTON, D.C. (RNS) — The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has charged there is a "major breakdown" in the enforcement of the "impressive array of civil rights guarantees" now available.

There is a gap "between what these guarantees have promised and what has actually been delivered," Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, commission chairman and president of the University of Notre Dame, said here.

He warned that "unless we get serious about this, the country is on a collision course."

The commission report released here, "The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort," is a 1,115-page document based on a six-month study of the executive departments and agencies charged with enforcing the body of civil rights law.

"We are a result-oriented nation. We judge the effectiveness of institutions on the basis of the results they achieve," Father Hesburgh noted. "By this yardstick, progress in ending inequity by the application of law has been disappointing."

He urged President Nixon to exhibit "courageous moral leadership" in moving federal officials and the nation toward racial justice.

★ ★ ★

EDUCATOR SEES YOUTH'S WISDOM AS 'WILDLY EXAGGERATED'

CHICAGO (RNS) — The intelligence and wisdom of today's youth has been "wildly exaggerated," delegates to the United Methodist Family Life Conference were told here.

Dr. Morris B. Abram of New York, former president of Brandeis University and the father of five, noted that youth today are no more intelligent than their predecessors. He warned that the youth culture poses a real threat to structured education and political institutions.

The question, Dr. Abram said, is, "How do we absorb the best of what they have to offer and lead them to reject the absurd, unacceptable and dangerous part of their movement?"

Commenting on campus unrest, Dr. Abram held that law and order must be restored "if universities are to survive and if a climate is to be created in which the best impulses of the youth movement are to find freedom."

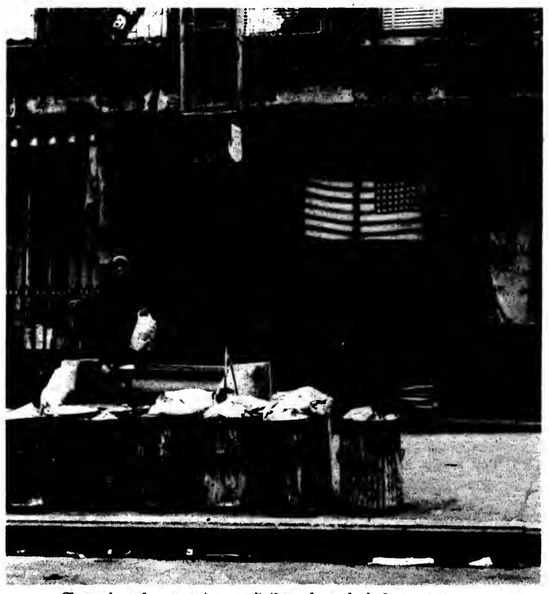
"The only other alternative is repression — and the Agnews are certainly waiting, and not very patiently, on the flanks," he warned.

THE PERILOUS LINKS BETWEEN ECOLOGY AND POVERTY

(Continued from page 3)

profits — seems unlikely, given the power, prestige of, and lack of public controls over large corporations. If profits were somehow substantially reduced, however, industrial expansion would slow down. Of the three alternatives, (1) seems to be the most likely. Yet increasing the price of the products — such as after-burners on automobiles, increased electric power rates, etc. — will affect the poor most severely, unless we make special allowances or adopt new pricing mechanisms.

An increasing Gross National Product (GNP) has functioned in American society like a God-concept does in a religious society. In a word, Americans worship economic growth. Yet increased economic growth which comes about by increased material and power consumption is always accompanied by increased pollution. Our perennial faith in the "technical fix" to solve all of our pollution problems is being shattered. That is, there are limits to technology; we produce new problems faster than we solve old ones. Many ecologists believe that we must begin to deal with root causes, and not symptoms. And a perpetually increasing consumption level of power and material goods (compounded by the population explosion) is one of the root causes.



Clean air and pure water aren't the only ecological concerns . . .

National Well-Being

Ecologists who recommend a slow-down of material economic growth are being joined by a host of others. For instance, former Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall speaks freely of the madness involved in equating the GNP with national well-being.

A cutback in material production would have serious repercussions on the poor and lower income groups. Those who have doubts about this should observe the rising unemployment which is a result of our current attempt to "cool off" an inflationary economy. Also, most industrialized nations finance their poverty programs via incremental economic growth, or a growth dividend. More growth means more jobs for all (especially the poor and lower middle income groups; and more public funds available to finance welfare programs (i.e., without further tax increases). In a word, we are addicted to the "trickle down theory": everyone must receive more if the poor are to receive more. That this theory has not been effective in ending poverty is irrelevant. The poor may not have been helped appreciably by economic growth, but they certainly will suffer acutely if the growth rate declines.

As our society becomes more industrialized, there is a shift from the "goods" to the "service" sector. As productivity increases (due to automation) more jobs will be available in the service sector. However, reliance on the service sector to take up all of the economic slack is another myth. With a slow industrial growth rate, the entire economy will slow down. Hence, the problems of unemployment that will result from the slowing down of economic growth, the necessity of an adequate guaranteed annual income for all, and the need for a redistribution of national income, must be included in all serious ecology debates.

New Challenges

Many of the discussions on the ecological crisis have failed to take seriously the implications of the remedies proposed. Economic and distributive justice must be an integral to all debates. To have economic justice and ecological sanity we might have to radically revamp our pricing structures. For instance, we now pay less for additional units of power consumption, which means that the tenth electrical appliance is actually cheaper (per kilowatt hour) to operate than the first. We are enticed into consuming increasing amounts of electric power that produce environmental contamination. In order to preserve a sound environment with economic justice, the basic units of power should be offered at the cheapest rates. Then a graduated price scale might be imposed on additional amounts so that the ninth appliance (a freezer?) will be more costly to operate than the first (a refrigerator?).

We have touched so far only on domestic aspects of the problem. When we consider ecology on a global basis the links between ecology and economic justice become even more pronounced. For instance, consider the disproportionate consumption of the earth's resources by Americans. The U.S., with 6% of the world's population, now uses roughly 40-50% of the non-renewable resources utilized each year. In order to sustain our increasing "standard of living," by 1980, with around 5% of the world's population, the U.S. will need roughly 60-75% of the non-renewable resources. Can economic justice be a global reality if this trend continues? Is development of the "third world" precluded by our need for their raw materials? After all, non-renewable resources are finite, and took billions of years of evolution to reach their current state. Also, the gap between the rich and the poor nations constantly widens. Yet, if perchance, the entire world consumed at the current level of American consumption the planet would be an ecological disaster.

Our Biblical heritage admonishes us to be responsible stewards of God's creation and to work for social and economic justice. This is not an either/or affair. We have manipulated and exploited people and nature simultaneously. Hence, human ecology must be broadly understood, and urban ecology needs particular emphasis. Rats, congested and dilapidated living spaces, lack of recreational facilities, a repressive atmosphere, are all part of urban ecology. And the rat-infested apartment should not receive less ecological emphasis than bird sanctuaries! We should also fully realize, however, that currently both the environment and the poor are being short-changed, as a war economy gobbles up over half the federal budget. Thus, the question of reordering national priorities is an urgent moral issue.

We must be constantly on guard against the manipulation of the ecology issue as a means to co-opt young people away from the war, militarism, racism, and poverty. For, if economic justice for all is not an essential and integral part of the ecology debate and decision-making processes, real environmental problems will inadvertently be used as a club over the heads of the poor and lower-middle income groups, which includes most of black America. ■

Dr. Faramelli is Associate Director of the Boston Industrial Mission. A former engineer and now an ordained Episcopal priest, Dr. Faramelli is author of the forthcoming book, Technethics: Christian Mission in an Age of Technology, *to be published next February by Friendship Press.*

WHY ARE THE YOUNG SO ANGRY?

(Continued from page 6)

What enables you to cope with parents, peers, education, and problems apparently better than many young people?

I don't know how much better. But I have faith in God that what will be will be. I'm willing to work with the order God has made.

Do you go to church?

No. Sermons are written in the language of the King James version, not the new English Bible. That doesn't mean I never hear any good sermons. Even Billy Graham has preached some powerful sermons I could get into.

How do you worship?

I believe in worship—it's how you live your life every day.

How about prayer?

Yes, I believe in it and I pray, especially when things are really tight. And especially for world peace and an end to conflict.

What has shaped your faith?

My father—a "self-made" man—always for his stockholders or for the best interest of other people involved. And people I've met in the church, at Montreat. And the phonies as much as the real Christians. They've kept me from being overly pious.

What do you mean by phonies and real Christians?

The phony is the guy who states, "I'm a Christian and proud of it and I don't like no hippie, commie, radical." They go to church on Sunday and vote for new drapes in the parlor, new candelabra or organ, but that's all. They don't care about anything except their own church, home, and children.

The real Christian is involved in the world, in politics. He doesn't have to go out on the street demonstrating, but he is honest in all his dealings with people, doing unto others as he would have them do unto him.

How do you see the church of the future?

I envision the church becoming a religious center where people come maybe once a month, instead of a whole bunch of little churches each doing its own thing. They're going to have to band together. I warn the church that unless it is willing to change, the young people may treat it as they have the colleges.

Do you have any final word for your fellow Christians?

Yes. Pray—pray for peace—please! If everybody prayed for peace, we would be out of Viet Nam so fast it would make your head swim. So, pray for peace! ■

(Copyright 1970, Presbyterian Survey)

TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

FIVE EASY PIECES
Starring Jack Nicholson

SOMEDAY the fervent hopes we all harbor for Jack Nicholson will come true. Ever since **Easy Rider**, when he came near to stealing the whole show from the principals, that flickering hope has persisted. There Nicholson came on as the slightly bedazed Ol' Miss alumnus who found himself on the road to New Orleans with the bike duo and ended up clubbed to death n a field of Dixie bluegrass. And for many of us Nicholson was us—halfway between there and here, his hair just medium long, intrigued by freedom of the freaks but still vaguely uncomfortable, certain he didn't like where he'd been but not at all sure about where he was going: "Is that **marijuana?** Mah goodness!" But in **Easy Rider** Nicholson's brilliant cameo was just too short. It left us whetted and fascinated like a tantalizing apertif.

Now in **Five Easy Pieces** Nicholson is given scope—and the genre is similar. Odysseus is once more what we taste is mainly possibility, underway, on the road. But again not satisfaction .And maybe that's the whole point.

In **Five Easy Pieces** Nicholson is the black sheep scion of a cultured and idiosyncratic family, a wealthy home where music has always been central. His brother, a thorough creep, is played marvelously by Ralph Waite (who happens to be my only real friend who is also a movie actor. Ralph is a former Congregational minister whose leap into celluloid should fire the fantasies of many a preacher today.) The sister (in the movie) is a concert pianist. But Nicholson is not on the concert stage. Far from it. He's twirling his arpeggios on a huge oil-drilling rig somewhere in Southern California, hating the job, drinking up the money and coping with what is now called a "difficult relationship" with a waitress named Rayette. We see enough of our hero in different situations to discover that he is genial, temperamental, egotistical, confused and impulsive. He can orbit himself from the local cathouse to Rayette's bedroom in hardly enough time to button his trousers. He can tell off a buddy at work, and call him a "cracker," but rush back a minute later to wade into a brawl for him when the cops come to drag him off.

It is only later that we discover his distinctly non-bluecollar background. Hearing that his father is dying he returns to the family homestead (on Puget Sound apparently) after an insane ride with an antipollution maniac, and tries to reconcile himself to Dad. . . .

The homestead is a strange place. Effete, verbose intellectuals pop in and out. Dad, totally paralyzed after two strokes, merely vegetates, unable to communicate any of his sentiments. Sis is sleeping with Dad's male nurse. Nicholson jumps (literally) on his brother's fiancée. It's the kind of home nobody really wants to come home to.

Finally Nicholson pushes his father's wheelchair onto the beach and tries, one last time, to come clean with him. It is Nicholson at his superb best, and the scene is unforgettable. But maybe that's because it is so archetypal. From Abraham and Isaac to that distracted Ohio father who killed his daughter last June, along with the two boys she was living with, there has always been a bloody barrier between parents and children. Sometimes the barrier is broken, or at least pierced. But it never disappears. Ours is not the first era with a generation gap. Remember David and Absalom?

But in **Five Easy Pieces** it is Odysseus rather than David who comes to mind. It is not just the Father-Son axis that tortures Nicholson. It is permanence-transiency tension. "I've mostly been on the move the last few years," he tells his father, "not because I'm going to someplace that's good but because I'm leaving something bad." Odysseus the rootless one exerts a fascination on the homeless modern imagination. James Joyce and Nikos Kazantzakis, among others, have written under his spell. Most of us, however, can only respond to the siren's song, calling us to be wanderers and wayfarers, in fantasy. We are enmeshed in jobs, communities, families and mostly we like it that way. But there are moments. . . .

At the end of **Five Easy Pieces** Nicholson has left again. Left family, job, car, money, coat, and Rayette, and is off for Somewhere Else. We don't know where, but we suspect wherever it is there will be friends and girls and some kind of work. There will be some satisfactions. But he won't be there long: "Our hearts are restless until they find their rest . . . ?" ■

BOOKS

LET THEM EAT PROMISES: The Politics of Hunger in America, Nick Kotz, (Prentice-Hall, 1969 $6.95)

PROMISES are nothing new to the art of government. They are, indeed, an integral and necessary part of the functioning of our political system. Promises nourish hope, raise expectations, articulate intentions, help win elections. Without promises there could be no expectations of government, no trust in government. They are the grease that makes the system work, the glue that holds the body politic together.

They are, that is, when they are kept. But what happens when promises are made and not kept? Or, more to the point, what happens when people are so far out of the political system that promises are not even made to them?

Nick Kotz's book tells the story of the hungry and malnourished in this land. It tells how they were "discovered" in 1967, and how they have since fared in our political system.

Mr. Kotz has been well situated to write his story. As a Pulitzer Prize-winning Washington correspondent for the **Des Moines Register**, he has made it his business to find out why millions go hungry in this land of surpluses. He has had direct access to the key decision-makers, and to the considerations on which their decisions have been based.

His book has a distinguished cast—Presidents, Senators, Congressional committee chairmen, Cabinet Secretaries—and the hungry. It includes Johnson, Freeman, Kennedy, Clark, Nixon, Hardin, Poage, Whitten, McGovern, Choate, Kramer, Smith, Mayer—and the hungry. Mr. Kotz first discovered the conditions incident to extreme poverty on a trip in 1960 through his wife's native state of Mississippi. He has not forgotten.

His book is a deeply moving story of the uses—and abuses—of power. It tells why a war President, for personal and political reasons, could not admit that hunger existed. It tells why, and how, his successor was forced by political circumstances to commit his Administration, in rhetoric at least, to "end hunger in America for all time." It tells why the chairman of one Congressional committee controlling the government's food programs can refer to the poor as "a bunch of drones" and say:

> "You know what happens in the beehive. They kill those drones. That is what happens in most primitive societies. Maybe we have just gotten too far away from the situation of primitive man."

and yet remain in control of the government's food programs.

IT is not a pretty story. It is, instead, "a dismal story of human greed and callousness, of immorality sanctioned and added by the government of the United States." (p. 246) But it is also "a story that does provide hope that men can change things, that men do care about fulfilling this country's highest ideals and do care about their fellow humans beings." (p. 246)

We American like to think of ourselves as a moral people. We like to think that we use our national power for moral ends. Such innocence cannot survive a reading of this book. Mr. Kotz makes very clear that human motives are very mixed, that power far too often serves only the powerful rather than justice. He implicitly poses the question of whether, indeed, the system is workable, whether it can respond to human need. The testimony of his book is that it does, but very begrudgingly and very niggardly.

Mr. Kotz's story is not finished. The struggle to use our affluence in humane and moral ways, to see that all of our citizens have access to the most basic necessities, is far from over. But he describes a very important chapter in that battle, from the time the hungry were "discovered" to the time when the decision-makers began to make promises to "end hunger in America for all time." One hopes that these promises will be kept. But in light of the broken promises of the Employment Act of 1946, the Housing Act of 1949, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, and, probably, the Family Assistance Act of 1970, one has cause to wonder whether "let them eat promises" will be the government's policy or whether the hungry will finally get something more nourishing to eat. ■

David M. Ackerman

BOOKS

THE RADICAL LEFT AND THE FAR RIGHT, by Gary E. McCuen & David L. Bender. (Greenhaven, Press, 1970 $1.95)

MESSRS. McCuen and Bender have come up with a device for exposing high school students to the opinions of zealots which ought to get by even conservative school boards.

Their social studies booklet contains samples of the writings of Black militants like Elijah Muhammed, Eldridge Cleaver and James Foreman and white racists like Gerald L. K. Smith, the old hate monger; Dr. Edward E. Fields of the tiny National States Rights Party and Dan Smoot.

After reading these first hand sources, students are asked to evaluate the claims and opinions presented by each writer as to probable accuracy and relevance. No editorial judgments are presented so that the class is left to work out its own conclusions. Given a well-informed, open minded teacher as a backstop, by the 10th and final exercise the students should know a great deal more about the polarizing problem of race.

Although the preface contains some cautious but helpful guidelines for evaluating our political extremes, students will learn relatively little about the Radical Left or Far Right beyond the expressed positions on the chosen issue.

Dan Smoot's ties to the John Birch segment of the Right are not noted, for example. The same format could have been used to provide exposure to writings of Robert Welch and/or Billy James Hargis whose positions on civil rights are just as transparently far fetched as those of Fields or Smith. Since the Birchers and Hargis have followers in the areas where the tome will be used, the omissions may be strategically sound since no other high school text we know about gives both political extremes even this much exposure. All in all, a good beginning, available at Greenhaven, 500 Greenhaven Rd., Onoko, Minn., 55305. ■

Charles R. Baker, Executive Secretary, Institute for American Democracy

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TEMPO

In Pace With The Changing Church

DECEMBER, 1970

THE FUTURE OF MAN

In The Age of Technology

THE social and moral problems caused by technology are gigantic. The oceans are dying from pesticides, the air is poisoned by carbon monoxide fumes, thermonuclear devices and other weapons of destruction are ever more plentiful, and the gaps between the rich and poor nations constantly widen. Technological advancement has made obsolete many of the institutions in society. As one person remarked: "We have an eighteenth century political structure, a nineteenth century economy, with a twentieth century technology." A new sense of urgency has arisen—for example, many scientists are warning that man has twenty years to solve his environmental problems before he faces extinction.

". . . I have set before you this day life and good, death and evil. . . . I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse; therefore choose life, that you and your descendants may live . . . ." (Deuteronomy 30:15, 19)

[illegible]

"I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly." (John 10:10)

"For what does it profit a man, to gain the whole world and forfeit his life." (Mark 8:36) . . .

The affirmation of human values is essential in shaping the future of technological society. If religious institutions are to help shape that future, they must change; they must become future-oriented, not past-oriented as they have been. The historical purpose of theology has been to help men interpret

(Continued on page 3)

Yale Divinity Library
New Haven, Conn.

TEMPOSITIONS

LIFE—ECOLOGY—JUSTICE

By Cynthia C. Wedel

LIFE is a gift of God. For all believing people, regardless of how completely they accept the discoveries of science, behind all of man's achievements is the creative hand of God. He is the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the maker of all things. We are endowed with creative ability and with freedom of choice as to how we use our ability because we are made in the image of God.

From very early times religious man has listed pride as the worst of the dangerous and deadly sins. This does not mean pride in the sense of decent self-respect, but the pride which tempts a person to think he is God—that what he does is done entirely by his own great wisdom and skill. It is the kind of pride which leads to domination of others, tyranny, and dictatorship—in a nation, in a business, or even in a family. It is often expressed in the words, "Do what I tell you to. I know what is best for you."

The believing Christian or Jew can never have this point of view. The more able and wise he is, the more sure he is that his capacities are gifts of God, entrusted to him to be used in God's service to the world and his fellow men.

I find it fascinating to speculate as to why God chooses certain times to waken and inspire people to do certain things. He often uses quite unlikely individuals to do his will. Many of those who have in recent years become greatly concerned about the environment have not been "religious" leaders in any obvious way. They have been engineers, or doctors, or bird-watchers, or fishermen. They have been people like Rachel Carson who loved the sea and the shore.

They began to realize that man in the pride of his technology and inventiveness was paying little or no attention to many of the results of his work. Only gradually did we begin to understand how badly we were polluting our rivers, fouling the air we breathe, upsetting the balance of nature with indiscriminate destruction of trees and shrubbery, burying the good earth in tons of abandoned cars and other waste. We were all so committed to a system of free enterprise that we assumed that a man, or a corporation was justified in whatever he did as long as it was profitable.

It is a shame, now that we can look back over recent decades, that the churches were not enough concerned with the physical universe in which they lived to become aware of this despoiling. But when His church fails, God is never left helpless. He raised up others—often quite outside the believing community—to point out what was happening. But the churches must now recognize this, and face their responsibility. We dare not say this is a secular matter and not of concern to the religious community. The gross misuse of God's creation is a profoundly religious problem. The first task of the church is to face this, to acknowledge it, and then to speak about it on every possible occasion with all possible force. Churches must align themselves with all the groups now working to rescue the environment.

But churches have another—and a very special—role to play. The destruction of the environment has come about because people have felt that they had a right to do what they wanted with what they owned. Every one of us has been a part of this. If the situation is really to change, it is not enough to have laws about polluting, or to force industries to clean up their plants. There will have to be a profound change in the way people think and feel. We will all have to give up some things, to make sacrifices, if the environment is to improve.

I heard a discussion recently in which someone said, "Most of us would be willing, but only if we were sure everyone else would." This is probably true. But someone is going to have to make the first move. Someone—or some group—may have to boldly give up some privileges for the sake of the good of all of us. And we'll have to do it knowing full well that some others will laugh at us, call us fools, and go right on polluting.

I don't think any institution in society can motivate and inspire people to this kind of courage and sacrifice except the churches. Do we have the vision and the faithfulness to try?

And while we work on the physical environment we cannot and must not forget the human environment. Already some of the oppressed minority groups in this country are suggesting that concern about ecology is a way in which the majority is "copping out" of dealing with injustice, poverty and repression.

Churches and church people must never rest easy as long as there are human beings in affluent America—or anywhere in the world—who do not have decent housing, enough food, a chance to work. There may have been a time in history when material things were so scarce that some people *had* to be without the necessities of life. But this is not true today. When there is enough to go around—or the know-how to provide enough—it is immoral—an affront to God—if anyone lacks a fair share.

In the area of human justice, then, the religious community has the same two responsibilities it has with the physical environment. Those who believe in and obey God must openly lead action to see that every man, woman and child has a chance for a decent life. And we must preach and pray and work to change the hearts of those who feel that every person has a "right" to get what he can for himself—no matter what others may have.■

Dr. Wedel is President of the National Council of Churches, and Associate Director of the Center for a Voluntary Society, National Training Laboratories, Washington, D.C.

SOME WORDS OF PARTING

OUR small but agonizing chore with this issue is to say good-bye to TEMPO's readers.

As best we could, we of the staff tried to keep the faith, to keep the flame alive. But, simply, the fuel has been exhausted. In a time of shrinking income, the subsidy money that might have enabled TEMPO to keep going has shrunken, too. It doesn't exist any more.

Aside from editorial regret, we feel a perhaps forgivable bit of pride in that TEMPO was not, as far as the evidence shows, a failure. It just wasn't financially successful enough. For example, as it dies in its third year, TEMPO has a family of more than 10,000 paying subscribers — not a bad record for an institutionally sponsored paper that never enjoyed more than a fraction of the resources any publication must command in order to survive.

In retrospect now, we like to think that TEMPO possibly encouraged a sense of community among some Christians who feel the church cannot let social man slide helplessly into the quicksands of contemporary upheaval and a future of untold hazard without doing something about it. We know this sense of community has other homes and other encouragements, for TEMPO was far from being alone in this. As many an editor has learned in humility, there is no such thing as an indispensable publication. In fact, there is nothing more expendable when the realities of money must be faced.

TEMPO came into being in a time of acute national crisis marked by hope — hope that was nurtured by awareness and protest and a glowing conviction that our ability to make things right and just and even to shape a future of greater fulfillment was still in the hands of ordinary people who cared. TEMPO tried to feed that hope and spread that conviction.

The crisis, of course, stays with us. But so does hope, as does the faith that is its foundation.

We will miss your letters and comments. After all, ours was a kind of conversation. Thank you for them.

Above all, we will miss the warm goodwill of many who strove voluntarily to widen TEMPO's circulation — among judicatorial and parish groups particularly. Can friends do more. Again our sincerest thanks.

Our obligations to subscribers remain. Beginning with 1971, we plan to publish a periodical newsletter reporting news of the ecumenical life of the churches. We hope many TEMPO subscribers will accept it and find it useful and helpful. Those who prefer may write for a refund of the remainder of their subscription, enclosing an address label to help us expedite it. Our refund address is TEMPO, P.O. Box 81, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010.

What seems like a century ago, we used to listen expectantly for the sign-off of New York City's gallant and scrappy Mayor Florello La Guardia, at the close of his weekly radio commentary. We still like it: Patience and Fortitude. — The Editors

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Fletcher Coates
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Dorothy Rensenbrink
ART DIRECTOR: Heff Heisler
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: David M. Ackerman, Harvey G. Cox, Dean Kelley, Allen M. Parent, Howard Schomer, John W. Turnbull
Subscription Correspondence: TEMPO, P.O. Box 81, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010
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HUMAN VALUES FOR TECHNOLOGICAL MAN: A NEW CHURCH AGENDA

by Norman J. Faramelli

(Continued from page 1)

their present experience in terms of the divine will. Yet religious institutions have too often been only the preservers of religious tradition. Fidelity to a religious heritage is still necessary, but the pressing social and moral problems in a technological society point out the crying need for spiritual and human values. Therefore, the question, "Does it help shape the future?" should take precedence for Christians over, "Is it faithful to our heritage?"

Christians *can* help guide technological advance. Some experts who want to see science and technology used to attain social and human goals claim that the planning process should involve three related stages: normative, stategic and operational. The normative phase would explore short- and long-term goals of society and set forth what we *ought* to do. Religious values and guidance would be helpful at this stage. In the strategic phase, specific suggestions are considered and what ought to be done is compared with what *can* be done. In the operational, or technical, phase, possible goals are implemented with specific programs.

Though all three stages are interrelated, the strategic and operational phases are more in the realm of political and economic institutions. But the normative phase, the phase in which religious insight can be most useful, cannot be isolated from the others. Religious institutions should awaken their constituencies to the necessity to build into the technological planning process the well-being of society as a whole.

Posing Six Values

The following religious values should prove helpful in shaping new ethical norms that can be used in determining technological priorities.

(1) *Man's stewardship of the creation.* God has entrusted his creation to us. Although we have been given dominion over nature, we have a responsibility to be its custodians and trustees. Hard-headed analysis of technical data needs to be linked with ethical sensitivity, in order to conserve those parts of the environment that will enhance the lives of future generations.

The laws of nature were established by God, and our technical transformation of nature must respect them, or we suffer the judgment of God through the consequences of nature. For every project we should ask: "Does it agree with our understanding of ecology?" The total social, economic and political costs and benefits of each technical innovation should be calculated before we tamper with nature.

(2) *Social and economic justice.* God calls us to affirm and to work for social and economic justice for all; he calls us to prophetic protest against structures that exploit the dispossessed. Without justice there can be no full expression of human freedom. Therefore, not only should the total costs of each project be calculated, but also *who is paying the costs and who is receiving the benefits.* In evaluating technical progress we should ask: "Is that project consistent with our understanding of social and economic justice?"

(3) *Universality and self-determination.* Particular interests (such as race, class or nation) should be secondary to universal concerns. For instance, the national rivalry in the space race should become passé, and international cooperation should be sought. Concern for the "brotherhood of man" ideal, however, should not obscure the need for self-determination for individuals and groups. The Christian's concern for all men must be sensitive to the individual desires and aspirations of particular groups. We should ask: "Does the project work toward bringing together all men, while respecting their distinctive differences?"

(4) *Concern for the well-being of all.* In our religious tradition the quest for meaning and self-fulfillment is understood in terms of service to others, both individually and in community. Love, or a concern for the well-being of others, is the central value. For each project we should ask: "Does the project work toward the well-being of all men, especially the powerless?"

"The future of Christianity and the world may depend on whether the church can exert positive moral leadership in a secular world molded by technology."

(5) *Man's continuing need for redemption.* Our highest aspirations can be corrupted; our best intentions can be destructive (Romans 7). Self-serving ambition often wins out over service to others. Man's best scientific and technological accomplishments are ambiguous; they can be used for good or evil, and often a single project contains elements of both.

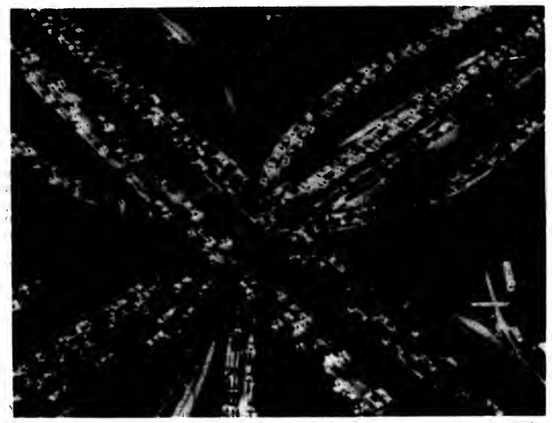
We must become aware of concentrations of power. The checks and balances that are part of our democratic structure were designed with man's ambiguous nature in mind. Today we need new checks and balances over scientific and technological power. The question, "Can the effects of that project be controlled?" needs to be raised and answered for each development.

(6) *Openness to history.* Unlike the electronic robot, man is open to historical possibilities. We anticipate the future and expect it to provide us with new disclosures of truth and meaning. Technological projects should help to liberate as many people as possible from mechanical routines, and orient them toward openness to the future and a sense of hope.

The question is not, "Where are science and technology taking us?" but rather, "How should science and technology be guided?"

Mission of The Church

Before designing a role for the church, we should first remember that twentieth century society is secular. The commonly accepted theological propositions that served to unite previous eras are no longer shared by all. A new social ethic needs to be developed, which could be shared by many who do not accept our theological beliefs. Despite some notions to the contrary, the enemies of the Judeo-Christian tradition are not the secular humanists. The real enemies are those who would canonize technical efficiency, economic productivity and increased standard of living as the most essential values in human existence.



Much has been written about the church in the world, or the church as the transformer of society. Sometimes ambitious rhetoric disguises the realities. The institutional church is a microcosm of society, and hence is a cross-section of the problem. If that is not understood, we will become intensely frustrated. A typical congregation that is more concerned about buildings and growth rather than the well-being of people illustrates what is meant. Hence, to expect the institutional church to be the implementer of radical reform of political and economic institutions is absurd. The institutional church cannot be a base for political action. What the church can do is to challenge its constituents and the public at large about the necessity of a normative phase in technological decision-making. To do this, the church should take its theological task seriously. The images of the Kingdom of God could help us develop models of the alternate futures available for society, and the desirability of some alternatives over others.

The church could enable its members to think theologically about technology, so that science and technology could be viewed from the broader perspective of history and God's providence. Technology could be interpreted in light of the full meaning of human existence—birth, sickness and health, marriage and the family, and death. The church could point out a new way of thinking about old problems and outline the changes necessary to attain them. If it develops effective programs, the church can help to shift the level of awareness of its constituents and the general public. It is doubtful whether the institutional church can do any more. But success in such a venture is no small accomplishment.

Although the institutional structure of the church is often seen as a burden, we should also celebrate its virtues. The local church structure has some sociological advantages; it comes into contact with a substantial element of society. The church can be used as a communications medium, a way of stimulating the consciences of many citizens. Also, there are many businessmen, managers, scientists and engineers in the churches who can supply the technical data necessary to make intelligent decisions. Furthermore, the church, despite all its limitations, is the only institution in society that is in business primarily to deal with moral and spiritual issues.

Citizens Working Through The Churches

It is difficult, if not impossible, to prescribe a specific social action program that a concerned Christian citizen could follow to deal with the effects of technology. If he focuses on one problem, such as air pollution in a certain city, joins a group that opposes the building of the supersonic trans-

(Continued on page 11)

A CALL FOR A FIVE-YEAR-EMPHASIS . . .

WHEN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY MEET

by J. Edward Carothers

THIS is not the first generation to ask questions about the future of man. In 1780 Benjamin Franklin wrote to Priestley: "The rapid progress true science now makes occasions my regretting sometimes that I was born too soon. . . . O that moral science were in as fair a way of improvement, that men would cease to be wolves to one another, and that human beings would at length learn what they improperly call humanity."

Ralph Waldo Emerson felt the early surges of the tidal wave that has struck the contemporary world. He anxiously wrote: "Former men believed in magic, by which temples, cities and men were swallowed up, and all traces of them gone. We are coming on the secret of a magic which sweeps out of men's minds all vestiges of atheism and beliefs they and their fathers held."

It is in our time that three judgments have become so well established that few experts will challenge them. (1) Man has now achieved the power to manipulate his own evolution, and this power will continue to increase. (2) Man now has the power to manipulate nature (other than man) and this power will continue to increase. (3) The whole universe is involved in an evolutionary process of some kind, and this includes not only nature and man but also the social institutions man contrives.

These brief introductory comments provide the backdrop against which the World Council of Churches called for a five-year emphasis or study theme on "The Future of Man in a World of Science Based Technology." During the period June 28-July 4, 1970, 103 specialists from every corner of the earth met in Geneva to develop an agenda of concerns for the churches to take up into their study and action programs during the period 1970-1975. This article is in part a report on the Geneva consultation.

Those from the United States had some advantages in that there had been a three-year project, 1964-1967, in this country under the auspices of the National Council of Churches. Dr. Cameron P. Hall had responsibility for the staff leadership of the project. Dr. Dwayne Orton was chairman and this writer was the secretary of the project and the chairman of the National Consultation held in Chicago, May 1-4, 1967. Out of that national consultation came the small book, *Human Values and Advancing Technology: A New Agenda for the Church in Mission* (Friendship Press, N.Y.). It was interesting to see this book listed in two of the reading lists recommended by scientists from other parts of the world.

The United States project had a depth unavailable to the World Council consultation simply because it was physically possible to create in various sections of the nation nineteen groups to discuss and evaluate "Technology in Our Community." These nineteen groups then fed their findings into four regional conferences. Then came the national consultation as a kind of capstone affair. Therefore, it is understandable that one might suggest that the Geneva Consultation of 1970 ended about the same point that 1967 USA meeting reached.

Five Topics

It is easy to define that point. Both in Geneva and the United States the culmination of the consultation was reached when it was discovered or decided that we do not have a theology for science and technology.

The participants were divided into five working groups which covered the fields of (1) Population, Technology and Ecology; (2) Biological Sciences; (3) Future of Industry and Urban Life; (4) Systems and Ideologies in Future Perspective; (5) Simulation: A Method for Regulating Conjecture.

Whether the topic of discussion was on the implications produced by the computer's ability to do things no person or collection of persons can do or on the delicate subject of genetic manipulations of one kind or another, there was a very open realization that this is a world of science-based technology.

It is significant that emphasis is placed on science-based because that is what's new in our time. Man has always bent his life in the direction of technology, but he has not always had a science-based affair. When the discovery of new features about the mysteries of nature is coupled to an advanced capacity to engineer ways to exploit the discoveries then we have a new, brave-nervous world!

Everything hasn't been said on this subject and it never will be. A few years ago every person in the United States used things and on the average we dumped five pounds of things we had used into the garbage. In 1970 it is eight pounds. No man or woman is really a consumer, according to Buckminster Fuller. People are users and not consumers. They don't consume food, clothing, cars, water or even air. They use it and

In an age of technology, man's alienation has never been greater.

maybe they change in some way whatever they use. But at the rate of so many pounds per day there is a limit to how much man can use for the earth only weighs so many pounds. That is, man is limited unless he learns how to recycle everything he uses so that all of the materials of earth and air are reusable.

Interestingly enough, this is the world problem but only those few in the developed countries who are students of the problem seem to know it. Billions on the planet haven't the least notion that anything is limited or that everything is really in "short" supply if man's future is to have any real freedom plus enjoyment. Representatives from the so-called Third World didn't like to be thought of in those terms but neither did they show much anxiety about the rate of natural resource consumption. They were very much alive to the "green revolution" that has, for a time at least, reduced the threats of world famine. They also charged that most of what people in our country think of as world development hasn't done too much good. It was quite clear that one of the major unfinished tasks in world relations is concerned with the United States and its unfortunate role on almost every level during this century. There was open rejection of the United States as a morally responsible nation.

Theology Found Wanting

As a participant attending in the capacity of churchman with a theological concern my interest was concentrated on that part of the consultation and I regret to report great disappointment. Although this sense of disappointment prevailed for me throughout the consultation I thought this might be due to the experiences in the United States project where we failed to come up with convincing theological affirmations of value. We had not structured the United States project to achieve that end but some of us wished that we had done more along that line.

The Geneva consultation scheduled a panel on theology for the period just prior to the report from the working groups. Professor Marsch of West Germany noted the fact that man's existence is always fraught with danger but he can know in a general way what he is doing. "To help (men) to know this should be regarded as one of the Church's most urgent tasks."

Professor Panikkar of India was intrigued with the meaning of "future" and got it to mean something subjective rather than "out there" on the grounds that we only experience the future as a kind of mirage. He said, "The future is only the mirage of the future, but a mirage is a wonderful thing." Not much help in trying to decide about genetic manipulation or dumping mercury into Lake Champlain!

Professor Harvey Cox was in full Harvard uniform: beard, red shirt, tennis shoes and rumpled slacks. His friendliness is absolutely overwhelming. He told us we will not become a more secular world, but a very religious one—which may be rather dangerous. Religion isn't always a high value experience for society. In any case, theology hasn't anything to say on the subject of science and technology. Theology isn't the "queen of the sciences." It really shouldn't get in step with the world but should, perhaps, "listen to a different drummer."

This produced in me a deep dismay because it rejects the realities of man's life on this planet. I talked afterward to Professor Charles Birch of Sydney, Australia, who is a prominent geneticist and also a churchman (Methodist). He insisted that as a scientist he was also concerned with theology and he could not accept Cox's determination to break off into a separated conclave of theologians.

The Geneva consultation convinced me that we must now go back and pick up the USA project where we had to drop it three years ago while the National Council of Churches became busy with problems related to the "crisis" in the nation. Just how this can be picked up is not too much of a problem, but it will require a lot of work and, as suggested above, an approach from the theology side rather than a belated dragging in of the theological issue.

For it is now clear that all over the world man is applying science and technology in terms of a value system he once found useful and almost adequate. Now that value system isn't good enough or lively enough. The World Council of Churches has started this effort a little late but apparently it couldn't get going any sooner. Now that it is moving in Geneva the churches in the United States owe the world a resumption of a consultative process that had its first phase in 1964-1967 and should have its second phase in 1970-1975. ■

—Since writing the foregoing, Dr. Carothers has resigned as chief home mission executive of the United Methodist Church to direct a new interdenominational Task Force on The Future of Mankind in a World of Science-Based Technology. The project is co-sponsored by the National Council of Churches and Union Theological Seminary in New York City.

An Interpretive Report from Paris

Is The Vietnam War Really Ending?

by Howard Schomer

ALL through the autumn of 1970, the public in both Western Europe and the United States has been encouraged to believe that at long last the war in Vietnam is moving toward some kind of finale. Battlefield news has indicated no major engagements since the reportedly effective dispersion of North Vietnamese forces along the Cambodian border by the pre-emptive American and Saigonese invasion in the Spring. Although the level of U.S. bombing of reputed enemy areas in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos has actually risen to new heights, the weekly death toll among the Allied armies has been declared the lowest in several years. Washington and Saigon have frequently claimed that they now control well over 90% of both the population and the area of South Vietnam. Lon Nol's Cambodian Republic is alive and well in Phnom-Penh even if contested elsewhere in the deposed Sihanouk's kingdom, and the Laotian princes, the royal and the red, have been publicly flirting again with the possibility of a compromise settlement. Most people concerned with world affairs have been glad to see Vietnam move off the front page of their newspapers. International conflicts in other areas, particularly the Middle East, have seemed to demand more urgent attention than Indochina.

It is the American president, of course, who from his unique world podium has led the more-than-willing general public in the West to feel that the Vietnam conflict can henceforth be regarded as a dwindling problem. In late June, he projected the picture of the Cambodian invasion as a paralyzing blow from which the North Vietnamese army could not possibly recover for many months. In July, when he announced the appointment of Ambassador David Bruce as the new chief of the U.S. negotiating team in Paris, he gave the world to understand that fresh, flexible initiatives were in store. In September, he inspired hopes that secret talks with Hanoi were probable. In October, he beamed to the whole world a five-point basis for future Paris conference discussions which, on the surface, appeared so reasonable that even the all-knowing and worst-suspecting Vietnam editorialists of the *New York Times* seemed to think that the door to a negotiated settlement had been opened. By November, most commentators agreed that while the President might not yet have wound up the conflict in Indochina, he had indeed killed it as a domestic political issue in the then current Congressional elections.

Diplomatic Reality

Meantime, a close look at what was actually happening in Paris, in Hanoi, in Saigon, and in Cambodia and Laos, moved experienced ecumenical observers to a very different appraisal of events. When Ambassador Bruce went to his Paris post, the top negotiators of the opposing side, North Vietnam's former Foreign Minister, Xuan Thuy, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government's present Foreign Minister, Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, quickly returned to Paris, terminating their **de facto** boycott of the talks since May, when they grew tired of waiting for the United States to name a successor to Ambassador Lodge, who had resigned at the end of 1969. Then both sides stood around for several weeks, ready to receive handsome gifts from the other in the form of concessions which would signify that "serious negotiations" could now begin. But the great expectations of late August did not even last until Indian Summer. When Madame Binh took the lead with a substantive declaration on September 17, ignored in President Nixon's "Five Points" statement of October 7, it became clear that, all changes in rhetoric notwithstanding, nobody had come to Paris bearing gifts for anyone else.

The PRG, backed vigorously as always by Hanoi, was saying no more than that it would not shoot at U.S. and other foreign troops (no mention of Saigon troops) if the U.S. would pledge their total withdrawal by next June 30, remove the three top-officials of the Saigon government at once, and keep hands off as the PRG leaders co-opted various personalities of the Saigon administration and other South Vietnamese leadership groups to constitute a "provisional coalition government" that could proceed to organize general elections from which, it was presumed, a continuing coalition government would result.

On the other hand, President Nixon—with less than forthright support from the present Saigon, Phnom-Penh and Ventiane governments—called for a kind of ceasefire which seemed to oblige the other side to depose its arms with only some jungle areas under its control; for an international conference (unimaginable without the participation of both Peking and Moscow) which he was well aware the Vietnamese neither desired nor considered feasible; for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops provided the other side accepted the Saigon governmental structures and the North Vietnamese withdrew all of their regular forces from South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos; for a political solution in South Vietnam which would reflect the existing balance of political forces

"I've said for years I'm gettin' out—and I still say it"

there, as it might be determined within existing political structures and under the leadership to which they gave rise; and for the immediate release of all POWs held by both sides. It was at once clear to ecumenical workers who talked with the diplomats of the four parties at the Paris conference that the adversaries were farther apart than at any time since they began to talk to each other on May 13, 1968 — ninety-two plenary sessions ago! They could but sadly agree that **both** sides were right in the mutual recriminations which constituted the stock-in-trade of the rest of the October and November sessions.

Even though both sides continue, behind facades of self-serving rhetoric and self-righteous indignation, to seek victory for their views, the war might nevertheless be coming to an end if either side were nearing physical or moral exhaustion. What is the evidence from the field, i.e., Indochina and the United States? It seems to depend on who is reporting.

Univocal North Vietnam

Outsiders who were sure before they went to Hanoi that the government of North Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam embody the true spirit of Vietnam have not been shaken in their faith. They paint a picture of a heroic people who will never accept defeat, and they are sure that the war will end at once when the U.S. goes home, its mercenaries flee to châteaux in Switzerland, and a coalition government led by the seasoned veterans of the old Viet Minh and National Liberation Front brings to a successful climax the thirty-year struggle for self-determination and unification of the whole land. But observers with fewer political pre-suppositions and harder realism are more restrained. They duly note that this scenario seems to be firmly believed by all those who are free to talk with foreign visitors, and that the government itself, whose control is beyond question, seems ready indeed to fight on for this ultimate victory against any imaginable odds and on into the indefinite future. With commitment like this during the thirty years past, Hanoi's leaders do not ring hollow when they declare they are ready to continue their righteous struggle, if need be, for another generation.

Multivocal South Vietnam

In the same way, observers who go to South Vietnam with the conviction that the government of Saigon is nothing more than an American puppet regime staffed by brutal, corrupt, incompetent and cowardly mercenaries, which will collapse within twenty-four hours if only the U.S.A. withdraws its support, rarely fail to amass evidence for their belief. But observers with fewer ideological preconceptions and a wider range of knowledge of Indochina and its history are forced to report that even the nausea of this long war does not seem to have shaken the determination of most South Vietnamese to achieve Vietnamese independence in full freedom. The vigorous opposition to present political leaders does not stand, privately any more than publicly, for capitulation to the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam or swift absorption into the Communist political and social structures of the North. The mounting opposition seems determined to develop soon a more democratic society in the South, and to begin now the long process of reconciliation and adaptation with the collectivist society in the North.

Some observers in South Vietnam intimate that, whatever the political preferences of the population, the economy is falling to pieces, and economic catastrophe will soon bring the war to an end. This view is not voiced by those few who, with a minimum of ideological assumptions, have visited both North and South. Both economies are in difficulty, that of North Vietnam on the plane of collectivist scarcity and that of the South on the plane of artifically imported inflation and abundance. It is common for a young person in the North to write to an uncle abroad for help to secure a bicycle. It is common for his cousin in the South to get into debt buying a motorcycle. It is unlikely that either government, with their respective alliances with rival Great Powers, will be driven by economic pressures to sue for peace on the terms presently offered by the other.

Is the United States, whatever the will of any of the Vietnamese, going to put an end to the war unilaterally? It might like to, but it cannot. The Indochinese peoples have been struggling with each other and with passing foreign invaders for several thousand years. The United States took its first decisive step into this epic, this complicated, this perennial war, on May 8, 1950, when President Truman authorized the first grant of funds to help one faction, that of Bao Dai, in its battle with another, that of Ho Chi Minh. The United States can only terminate its own part in the long, long struggle of the Indochinese peoples for independence from all dominations, foreign and domestic. It cannot dictate for them the pattern for a peaceful future. Perhaps the American chapter of the Indochina War will slowly come to an end—with the Americans rather than the Viet Cong quietly disappearing into the wilderness—not nature's jungle just outside Saigon, but the man-made jungle in the heart of the American cities. ■

Currently on leave as director of specialized ministries of the National Council of Churches' Division of Overseas Ministries, Dr. Schomer serves the World Council of Churches as its liaison officer for Indo China relations. In recent months he has visited Indo China for informal talks with religious and diverse political leaders. Most recently he joined in unofficial peace conversations in Paris with members of the negotiating teams and concerned world church leaders.

LIFE SUPPORT SYSTEMS FOR PLANET EARTH

by Harriet B. Kurtz and Howard G. Kurtz

"White House Assistant for National Security Affairs, Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, as well as the liberal Members of Congress for Peace through Law, is showing interest in an unusual proposal for reducing international tension tendered by an interdisciplinary group, War Control Planners, Inc. of Chappaqua, N.Y. The proposal, titled "Life-Support Systems for Planet Earth", would commit certain U.S. reconnaissance, weather and environmental reporting satellites to international service. Readouts of the orbiting sensors on military movements and build-ups, weather, oceanographic, agricultural, and geologic conditions would be displayed in a large public "command center" near U.N. headquarters and be available to all nations." — From The Armed Forces Journal, Nov. 2, 1970

All too rarely, in our time of apparently leaderless drift, do we hear voices that propose workable ways out of that drift toward such potential disasters as war, further degeneration of the environment, deepening poverty and the like.

The man and wife team of the Rev. Harriet B. and Howard G. Kurtz (whose previous writings in TEMPO appeared in the issues of Mar. 15 and Nov. 15, 1969) are full-time majors in finding workable ways out of the deep dilemmas of our time, and thereby offering hope in the place of blank discouragement.

As directors of War Control Planners, Inc. Mr. and Mrs. Kurtz recently brought together a number of concerned leaders to study problems of global safety. Among the group was Dr. Cynthia C. Wedel, president of the National Council of Churches. Others included Mr. Charles E. Wilson, former director of the U.S. Office of War Mobilization; Capt. David R. Hull, USN (Ret.), director of research of the Electronics Industries Association; Col. Harold Riegelman, distinguished New York City civic leader; and Mr. Harold Rapaport, industrialist.

In the public interest, and for purposes of stimulating thought and discussion, TEMPO here publishes their findings and proposals for "Life Support Systems for Planet Earth".

WITHOUT jeopardy to the national security, the President of the United States, with strong bipartisan support in Congress, can launch new strategic initiatives to chart a new historic course for world civilization. All nations can be invited to direct a portion of their research and development budgets toward a cooperative *war prevention decade*. No risk to the security of any nation will be incurred, because no nation will be asked to turn over its defense to the experimental global safety organizations, as no one is asked to buy tickets on the prototype supersonic transport plane.

The experiments can go forward with U.S. initiatives, no matter what nations can hold back at present. Matters can be so arranged that any nation will be welcomed into the experiment at any later date.

This mobilization of American creativity for world leadership will be in addition to continued essential defense efforts, as the Manhattan Project was in addition to prosecuting World War II. The following tentative description of a large scale strategic initiative is offered to be debated, and to be improved, to release the creative thought of others, within their special fields.

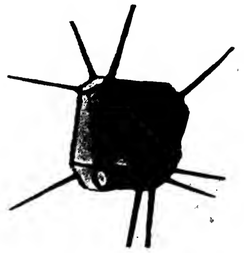
The United States will announce the commitment of a special ten

year continuing series of new earth-orbiting satellites and associated systems to the future safety and well-being of mankind. A giant open-to-the-public information display and model global safety and development management center will be built somewhere near the United Nations Headquarters, where the intelligence information garnered by these systems will be fully available to the press and the public.

All cooperating nations can build identical open-to-the-public management centers. These will be in continuous communication and will operate simultaneously through a global information exchange network.

These satellites, associated systems and ground support centers will have two principal functions. *First*, to maintain public inventory of all potentially dangerous military activity for planet earth. This will be a new, additional level of world military intelligence, separate from each nation's military intelligence, and serving as an additional potential safeguard against a war starting by mistake, or misunderstanding. *Second*, to assist the economic development and human well-being of all nations by providing information of all types to nations on a continuing and immediate basis.

Military, technical and intelligence experts of all cooperating nations will work together developing and testing military suveillance capabilities. All information will be unclassified. Knowledge and experience will be accumulated pertinent to that future time when a



world-wide peace-keeping authority will be in existence. It will be assumed that individuals will distort information due to political or national loyalty, and this will be a decade of experiment in multinational checks and balances to correct for such distortions. It also will be a decade of experiment with increasing capacities and inadequacies of computers and cybernetic systems, in the evaluation of global safety intelligence.

Any nation may try to keep secret any information it considers essential to its security, but it will not be able to prevent other nations from making public such information if they are cognizant of it. The Soviet Union, for example, could make public to the world any information it has about American military activity, or the United States could make public similar information about the Soviet

Union. All nations will be free to make public information about the military activities of all other nations, from intelligence gathered through any source.

Although this ten year prototype experiment will be inaugurated with information garnered from earth-orbiting satellites and high flying airplanes, nations will be able to provide input from all intelligence channels.

Whenever border incidents or war between nations occur, close-up surveillance of both sides, day and night, can supply the world's public with current facts of alleged or actual hostile actions. Audio-visual information from the centers may be transmitted onto home television screens in times of special emergency, by the flip of a switch.

All Nations Invited

All nations having the capability to launch earth-orbiting satellites will be invited to provide their share of scheduled launchings. Otherwise the experiments will go onward with U.S.-launched satellites.

All nations will be invited to design and produce intelligence-gathering instruments to be placed on these experimental "eyes in the sky". A new kind of "race" will be launched in which all nations, large and small, can make contributions to the future safety and well-being of mankind, in contrast to the race to produce powers of violence to destroy world civilization.

Perhaps the greatest benefits will come from the non-military uses of global public inventory services.

In the United States the National Aeronautics and Space Administration; the Department of Agriculture; the Department of the Interior; the Geologic Survey; the Department of Fisheries; the Federal Aviation Agency and many other departments and agencies already have experiments in progress for a series of Earth Resources Technology Satellites (ERTS) to be launched beginning in 1972 in earth orbit.

Through the global information centers and other channels these powers being created in the 1970s will be utilized to serve mankind, rather than in the sole interest of the United States. Experiments are in progress to use satellites for air and sea and land navigation and traffic control, and for search & rescue and emergency help anywhere in the world. In time, even the smallest lifeboat in the largest ocean will be located by these new systems, to save human lives.

Experiments now underway will make it possible to maintain inventory of every kind of agricultural crop and herd, in every country in the world, every day, from outer space. Other experiments in process will make it possible to determine the chemical content of surrounding soil, and its moisture content, and therefore to predict the quality and the quantity of all crops for the future global markets. Global meteorological services already are in existence using photography from outer space.

Satellites will be used to locate the largest schools of fish in the oceans of the world and to direct fishing fleets to them by radio, to facilitate feeding the hungry of the world.

Information will be made available to all nations to monitor the pollution of the air and water throughout the planet, daily. These same sensors will detect illicit military production as it changes the pollution in its environment. Geologic surveys from outer space will help all nations locate oil and mineral and other natural resources. Global forestry management services and water management services will help all nations toward maximum productivity to meet their human needs.

Government-Sponsored Research

Faculty, student and public support for government-sponsored research will grow to encourage the pioneering of peace technology . . . war safety control intelligence . . . war prevention control experiments . . . global development services . . .

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WASHINGTON-COMMENT

ELECTION POSTSCRIPT: STILL A MINORITY

by David M. Ackerman

THIS fall's ritual of political renewal, although it gave neither party an overwhelming mandate, has in some senses been a watershed election. In contrast to the weariness with war and assassinations and riots and, indeed, with the political system itself which characterized the 1968 election, this election has seen a rebirth of political belief and energy. Politics has once again begun to seem worth the effort. Though neither party has yet put together enough of the pieces to be assured of a lasting majority, this election has seen a renewal of the sense that things can be accomplished through politics. Instead of manifesting guilt and self doubt, Democrats are attacking Republicans, and Republicans Democrats, with relish. In short, "politics as usual" has returned.

The concrete results of the election are mixed. Predictably, political leaders of both parties are claiming the spoils of battle. The Democrats term the election a "politically explosive development," a "resounding defeat" for the Republicans. The Administration, with a joy somewhat less spontaneous, claims a "philosophical win," a "very definite ideological change."

The Missed Majority

Nevertheless, the election must be seen as a rebuff to Republican hopes of becoming the majority party. The Republicans have for the last four decades been a minority party. Since the New Deal, they have only twice been able to put together a Congressional majority, in 1946 and again in 1952. They have held a majority of the governorships during that span only a third of the time. In 1968 Richard Nixon became the first newly-elected President since Zachary Taylor in 1848 to fail to carry at least one house of Congress with him, and the first since Grover Cleveland in 1884 to fail to carry both.

Still, the party has been gaining strength in the elections since the Goldwater debacle in 1964. In 1966 they gained 47 House seats, 3 Senate seats, and 8 governorships. In 1968, building on the division of the Democrats, they added five more of each, gaining control of a majority of the governorships for the first time since 1952 but still falling short of control of the House and Senate.

In 1970 the prospects seemed reasonable for the Republicans to continue to gain strength in the Senate, though some slippage in the governorships was also likely. Twenty-five of the thirty-five Senate seats being contested were held by Democrats, and many of these had been first elected only because of the 1958 recession or the 1964 Johnson landslide. The Republicans knew that this kind of opportunity would not appear again in the life of this Administration. Twenty-four of the thirty-five governorships up for election, however, were held by Republicans.

It is clear that the President decided to make a major effort to gain Republican control of the Senate and to limit the expected loss of governorships. Needing seven seats to gain control, he personally persuaded several attractive Republican representatives to leave their safe House seats and make the run for the Senate, campaigned vigorously himself in twenty-three states, sent his Vice-President and a dictionary into twenty-nine, and had his wife and all members of the Cabinet except the Secretaries of State and Defense out on the hustings seeking votes. In addition, the Republicans let money flow like water, and out-spent their rivals five to one.

The results fell far short of the effort. The Republicans did register a slight gain in the Senate, increasing their total from 43 to 45. But in the process they lost an additional nine House seats, saw their control of governorships plummet from thirty-two to twenty-one, and lost control of seven state legislatures. In numerical terms the Democrats strengthened their majority in the House, 255-180; kept control of the Senate, 55-45; gained a majority of the governorships, 29-21; and took control of both houses of nearly twice as many state legislatures as the Republicans, 23-13 (thirteen legislatures split and one — Nebraska — is unicameral and non-partisan). Control of the statehouses and state legislatures will be particularly important in this next biennium as nearly every state will have to redistrict based on 1970 census figures. The party in control of the states, of course, will make sure that it does not suffer by where the district lines are drawn.

In addition to these numerical losses, however, several warts appeared on the Republican elephant that should be cause to worry for Republican strategists. Strained relations between the White House political staff and the Republican National Committee came into the open (Rogers Morton (R-Md.), the chairman of the committee, for instance, had to suffer the ignominy of learning of the President's plans for an election eve telecast from his Democratic counterpart, Larry O'Brien, while on national television). In addition, the much vaunted technical efficiency of the Republicans broke down and permitted a very poor quality tape of the President's speech to be shown as the final bid for votes.

Most important, however, the deep ideological cleavage that exists in the Republican party re-emerged in the purge of Sen. Charles Goodell (R-N.Y.). Whether this move, successful as it was, will work to the advantage of the Administration or lead to even greater factional infighting remains to be seen. But it did serve to recall that the Republicans in 1970 are still largely the party that in 1964 nominated Sen. Goldwater for the Presidency. The lesson of that year was that when a national party opts for ideological purity, it suffers disaster at the polls. The question the Goodell purge reopens is whether that lesson has been learned.

The Social Issue

In pursuing this elusive dream of becoming the majority party, the Republicans clearly took to heart the interpretation of the political landscape offered by Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg in their recent book *The Real Majority*. Through a combination of sophisticated statistical analysis and seat-of-the-pants political intuition, these authors suggested that a major shift might be taking place in the voting patterns of the electorate. In their now familiar interpretation, the Democratic majority of the last four decades has been built largely upon a constellation of issues that can be labelled the Economic Issue. Labor, ethnic groups, the poor, blacks, intellectuals, and the South have voted Democratic since the New Deal primarily on the basis of a belief that the Democrats can handle the pocketbook issues better than the Republicans. In recent years, however, a new constellation of issues has begun to appear that seems to be drawing the public's vote — the Social Issue. This includes such matters as pot-smoking, pornography, permissiveness, crime-in-the-streets, immorality, riots, demonstrations, and bombings. The Social Issue is, in short, a concern for order, for stability, for the traditional values, and a rejection of those aspects of contemporary society that seem disruptive.

The authors' contention is that the electorate is largely middle-class, middle-aged, middle-educated, and white, and these people are voting less on the basis of the Economic Issue and more on the basis of the Social Issue. Consequently, the party that can appear to the public as the one best able to deal with the Social Issue has the opportunity to build a new majority.

The strategy suggested for the Republicans was simple: paint the Democrats as the party incapable of dealing with crime, disorder, and immorality, indeed, the party that encourages permissiveness, coddles criminals, condones disruption, and gives aid and comfort to extremists. Identify the Democrats with extremism, and the political center will turn Republican.

Consequently, the Vice-President sharply castigated named and unnamed "radical-liberals" (all but one of whom, it turned out, were Democrats) as the "nattering nabobs of negativism." The President's rhetoric gradually escalated from general attacks on "creeping permissiveness" to his sweeping condemnation of "thugs and hoodlums" and the "terrorists of the far left" at Phoenix. Advertising for Republican candidates across the land associated the opposition with softness on crime, campus disorders, drug use, and permissiveness. One ad went so far as to call a vote for the opponent a "vote for anarchism."

The Fatal Flaw

This strategy did succeed in turning an otherwise dull election into something akin to a national referendum. It also can be credited with helping to precipitate a national consensus against violence as a means of forcing political change.

But in terms of getting Republicans elected, the strategy had one fatal flaw: the Democrats had also read Scammon and Wattenberg. Hubert Humphrey came down hard on crime. Sen Edward Kennedy's ads condemned student violence. Adlai Stevenson III made the man who prosecuted the "Chicago Seven" the co-chairman of his campaign. Democrats joined Republicans in shouting through the House and Senate a resolution rejecting the findings of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. Democratic-controlled committees strengthened the Administration's crime bills, and rushed them to passage.

In short, the Democrats moved to defuse the Social Issue as a partisan weapon. The results of the election show their success. With the Social Issue moot, the Republicans were left holding a sputtering economy. And consequently, they are still a minority party.

Future Republican Prospects

It seems clear that the Scammon-Wattenberg thesis will not come to pass: the Democrats have successfully drawn its partisan fangs. Therefore, the question for the Republicans is, where shall they turn in their quest for majority status?

The party still needs to broaden its base, and it is in the political center that that base is weakest. The Republican right should be secure; Ronald Reagan had his 1966 margin halved this year and lost both houses of the state legislature as well. So the Administration's worries are reduced to keeping George Wallace out of the 1972 Presidential race while at the same time moderating the party's image.

The party must work to create a positive image, must articulate some vision of the future to which people will rally. In this campaign its stance seemed largely negative, and that is not enough. It was the Democrats, after all, who in Sen. Muskie's election eve telecast put together a positive vision, and it was compelling. The Republicans must move to preempt some of this appeal.

The task will be difficult, perhaps too difficult. One can doubt that the Democrats will permit themselves to be outflanked on issues they have long claimed as their own. A more moderate stand on social issues and a healthy economy coupled with Presidential statesmanship in foreign policy could add up to a victory in 1972. But for now the message of this election to Republicans is that they are still a minority. ■

Why The Selective Service Act Should Not Be Extended

IT'S TIME TO REPEAL THE DRAFT

By Harry Applewhite

THROUGHOUT our history thousands of people immigrated to the United States to escape military conscription. They resented the authority of the state, of the Czars and Prussian leaders, to appropriate their lives for capricious military adventures. They resented the climate of fear and repression in a state dominated by the military. They saw in America a new world, a world in which military power was under civilian control, where people were free and democracy was cherished. The absence of military conscription was evidence of how deeply freedom was woven into the fabric of our institutions.

Today all that is changed. Now, our finest young men flee the country or go to jail to avoid military conscription for an unjust and immoral war. Prosecution for failure to register has practically ceased due to massive non-cooperation. Draft card turn-ins are ever more frequent—even institutional churches and their agencies, such as the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ and the Church of the Brethren, express solidarity with draft resisters by accepting draft cards. Blatant acts of destruction of draft records and property increase. Quiet and respectable middle class families jeopardize their affluent comforts by supportive ministries to draft resisters.

In spite of these symptoms of growing discontent, the draft, an anathema to our forefathers and alien to our history, has become an accepted way of life for most Americans over the last 30 years (with a brief lapse in 1947-48). It is surprising that the general religious community, so steeped in heritage about principalities and powers, so concerned about the evaluation of human values beyond that of the nation state, has been so silent on the need to eliminate the draft. It is surprising that it has failed to see how much psychic and spiritual energy the power of the military derives from the existence of the draft. The response to the draft in the middle '60s of the churches was to try to find ways to broaden the draft law so that persons who objected to particular wars could be permitted to be conscientious objectors. Only recently has the religious community (apart from the historic peace churches) begun to realize that any draft is inherently unfair, and that the best way to eliminate inequities is to eliminate the draft itself.

By breaking the spiritual power which the draft establishes upon the society, it will be easier to express love and devotion to the nation in other ways. It will be easier to discuss the human needs of the society, the security threats sowed by decaying environment and crumbling cities, and institutional racism. The power of the military complex cannot be eliminated by eliminating the draft, but one of its tremendous sources of psychic (and actual manpower) energy will have been neutralized.

Repeal Possibilities

Can we return to the world without conscription for which the immigrants longed, which our forefathers fought so hard to preserve? Can we eliminate the draft and recover at least that measure of our freedom? Powerful new voices say Yes. A surprising coalition of liberals and conservatives, such as Sens. Goldwater, Hatfield, Tower, McGovern, Dole, Schweiker, Scott, Mansfield and others believe it can and must be done. While the Hatfield-Goldwater pay raise amendment was defeated in August, its supporters numbered 40 (including pairs and one absent but committed Senator) and many objections were to the amendment's form, not content or intent. An excellent analysis of the vote and prospects is available from the National Council To Repeal the Draft, 101 D Street S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

President Nixon's own appointed Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force (the Gates Commission, chaired by former Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates) found to their satisfaction that a volunteer army is desirable and feasible by July 1971. Commission members included Milton Friedman, noted economist, Theodore Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame, Roy Wilkins of NAACP, and two former Supreme Allied Commanders, General Lauris Norstad and General Alfred Gruenther.

Basic Repeal Arguments

The arguments for repeal of the draft are quite compelling; Milton Friedman has said, "I have yet to find anyone who looked into the draft issue deeply who did not conclude that (the draft) should be ended, in all and any of its possible forms." There are three areas of discussion that I consider of paramount importance.

1. The draft legitimizes a state dominated by the Military Industrial Complex. The military-industrial (and perhaps university) complex has emerged in the last twenty years as a dominant factor in the life of every American. All segments of society—labor, industry, Congressional districts, schools, and of course the church—are influenced by it. The Pentagon has become the basic economic planning unit in our society, having at its disposal at least $45 billion. This vast machine defines threats to the society, sets goals, claims the resources needed to execute these goals.

It is no accident that the growth of militarism in this country and its foreign policy has been accompanied by the draft. The MIC is sustained by two things: 1) new weapons and 2) a ready supply of manpower. Because the military desires new weapons, we are constantly warned of ever impending threats, with the resultant ABM's, Navy carriers, new bombers, all in the name of national security.

Likewise, the draft enables the military to maintain a large standing army. Draftees, who have already succumbed to coercion, are most likely to put in their time, do the job, and look forward to getting out as soon as possible.

The draft also provides the important function of "legitimizing" the national security state, as Kenneth Boulding has suggested in a brilliant piece of testimony for the National Council To Repeal the Draft before Sen. Kennedy's Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure of the Judiciary. By giving the state the right to draw as many of its youth as it needs, the draft underscores and validates the current assumptions of what the state is; namely, a national security state, dominated by those whose interests are in the military. Patriotism means loyalty to the national security state. To question the actions of the state is to question one's own identity and one's own self: "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country." Indeed, the channeling aspects of the draft exemplify the military's prerogative to define service to the country. (Even with most deferments other than student abolished, there is still a premium on privilege and education in the ratio of physical deferments. Nationwide, approximately 30% of urban youth obtain deferments on physical grounds, while about 70% of suburban youth—with lawyers, family doctors, etc.—achieve the same exemptions.) Through the logic of interest, the draft perpetuates allegiance to bankrupt policies.

Naturally, leading proponents of the national security state fight very hard to prevent discussion about the voluntary army. In November, 1969, Sen. Stennis, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, promised hearings on the draft starting in February, 1970. As of this date no hearings have been held, although they have been promised off and on. Congressman Rivers, Stennis' House equivalent, also indicated there would be comprehensive review of the draft this past year. During September, 1970, one of his Subcommittees, headed by Congressman Hebert, held hearings closed to testimony from Defense Department and Selective Service officials. This despite the fact that numerous groups favoring repeal requested to testify before both of these committees. In 1969 hearings were limited to the lottery and only government witnesses were heard.

This is not a new procedure regarding the draft. The big push in 1947 was for Univeral Military Training, backed by General Eisenhower but not General MacArthur. Bruce Chapman, in *Our Unfair and Obsolete Draft*, describes the special training camp set up at Ft. Knox to "demonstrate that military training as proposed by the War Department is beneficial to the youth of the nation." Propaganda from the camp claimed the Army is "the only organization in America equipped to conduct this kind of efficient training of our citizenry." Citizens groups (PTA's, Kiwanis Clubs and others) rose in anger at this nonsense.

The Army, during the lapse of the draft in 1946-48, expected the volunteer system to fail. Instead, so many people volunteered even without significant pay increases that the Army remained at nearly full strength. Therefore, the passing requirement on the General Classification Test was raised from 59 to 70 and then later to 80. Quotas were set on the number of men recruiters were to enlist, amounting to limits. The minimum term of enlistment was increased, and enlistees with dependents were prohibited. Civilians were fired from the War Department—hospital attendants, guards, clerks, etc.—and replaced with soldiers. With an artificial manpower demand thus created, the Congress reinstituted the draft. Even after this, volunteers ran so high the situation was embarrassing to the Army. Rising to the occasion, it simply raised its test requirement to 90 and eventually created the shortage of men it had claimed existed all along. Since that time, the draft law has always expired in an odd numbered year so that Congressmen will not have to face the electorate while voting on the draft.

2. The draft encourages the power of the Executive at the expense of the Congress. The Constitution is quite explicit about the power of Congress. Congress shall have the power to "declare war," "to raise and support armies," "to provide a navy," "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces, to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the law of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasion" and to "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing powers."

Congress in recent times has dwelt in a colonial, dependent relationship to the Executive. The President sends troops wherever he will, and Congress is put in the untenable position of either providing funds to support American men who are being shot at, or of not providing these funds and thus being accused of deserting its own citizens under combat. One of the important calculations in any decision by the Executive is the ready availability of manpower. Most members of Congress did not realize when they voted for the Bay of Tonkin resolution that they were really authorizing a massive call-up of U.S. troops. Had they been forced to create a draft the whole ball game might have been very different. The nature of the threat would have been more closely scrutinized. The possible needs for meeting the threat could have been assessed. Congress might have muffed it. But at least they would have had a concrete issue to muff.

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Religion, The Arts–And

A CONFERENCE WITH A DIFFERENCE

by Roger E. Ortmayer

This Congress is a strange Congress: no brilliant introductory speeches, no reception organized by the authorities, no rooms equipped for simultaneous translation, no name badges, no Palace of Congres . . . why? We refuse to have a consumption Congress. We want a creative Congress. The success or failure of it rests entirely and exclusively upon all of us. . . .

Francois Houtart

A rare moment of evaluation at a conference where "structure" was experimentally cast aside.

WHAT happens at a meeting when the "delegates" are the content?

Being consumption-conference-oriented, some could not cope at Brussels and reacted with bitter exasperation. About all one could say was what the sculptor said to the Mayor of Dallas when His Honor applied the description of "garbage" to his new work in the foyer of the public library. "Well, Sir, one gets out of a work of art just about what he brings to it."

The Brussels Congress of September last was the successor to the prestigious International Congress on Religion, Architecture and the Arts, held three years ago at the New York Hilton. The New York meeting's findings and addresses were published in book form under the title REVOLUTION PLACE AND SYMBOL (some copies of which are still available from the National Council of Churches Department of Church & Culture, $5.95 postpaid). The Hilton Congress was a memorable affair with many of the great names in religion, architecture and the visual arts participating from all over the world.

To the dismay of some architects and builders, as well as commercial suppliers, the New York speakers articulated a change of ethos. They noted that the day of "monumentality" in art and architecture was gone, that a new "system" was apparent, that the new patterns required a novel style of participation and relationship to the environment.

The Brussels Congress was what the New York conference *articulated*. Under the imaginative guidance of Father Francois Houtart (chief conference planner and organizer in Europe) and ramrodded by a determined consortium of young architects, engineers, artists called the "Mass Moving Group," Brussels was a *process* affair. The "fixed points," familiar to hardened conference goers hardly existed: no registration badges and name tags (so there were many free-loaders, there being no way to identify them); no printed program (so how could one preschedule his day?); no speeches (therefore many felt that nothing happened); no findings (so what could the delegates "take back?") etc., etc.

THE Congress in Brussels did attract more long-haired, anti-establishment young intellectuals (as contrasted to "hippies") than any conference under nominal church auspices in our history. But also mixed into it were solid establishment types from other professions and government.

The location of the conference headquarters was a slum area in the shadow of the Palace of Justice, a huge Babylonian pile designed for giants — if the size of the doors and windows is any clue to occupancy. This site was an alternative choice, the first having been on a nearby site of urban renewal which had been dormant for eleven years. Just as plans for the Congress jelled, the city officials developed a great interest in this neglected project and the bulldozers moved in.

Much of the conference happened out on the streets. Activist Theater Groups such as *De Begings Theater* (Amsterdam;) Le *Trombone Noir* (Sheffield); *Buhne '70 (Dusseldorf) Musica Electronica* (Paris) moved about the city doing social commentary drama, usually to be broken up by the police, whose informers were certainly effective. There were composers and musical groups (mostly rock and jazz and "new music") from France, the U.S.A. and West Germany, rebel leaders from Angola, delegates from Israel and the Palestinian guerrillas, maristy from Indonesia and Latin America, Black Panthers and good solid Republicans.

A moment of spontaneous discourse.

In such a situation and with such a range of personalities where improvisation and participation in doing were encouraged, the mix was bound to be volatile . . . and it was!

American priests were asked to take off their collars and many other Americans were disappointed that there seemed so little that was explicitly "religious." But a Belgian leader commented to me: "We thought this was to be a democratic congress, but it is turning out to be very religious!"

ONE of the most provocative sessions took place in a fine old Capuchin church. It involved an improvised experimental liturgy, organized by Americans led by Harvey Cox. Ed Summerlin arranged for jazz music, Susan Shelton for dance, Rena Hansen with projections. The participants were all asked to bring bread to share. The crowd came and as many as could sat in the chairs facing center where the bread was piled up. Susan danced, the jazz soared, and they began a procession around the nave to the beat of "The Saints Come Marching In." Then the invasion. A couple of dissident groups called "Rupture" and "Swiz" had organized the invaders. They ran, shouted, and jumped. They pried open the organ and played at full blast, commandeered the mike to shout provocations and turned off the power. They threw chunks of bread at the church's priests and other likely targets. They even nailed the entry shut with the sign "Closed because it is open. . . ." They also called the police who shortly arrived, a bit baffled at knowing how to proceed.

Many of the delegates reconvened at the conference headquarters and shouted at each other, far into the night. The Paris Herald Tribune carried a dispatch about the affair which was incorrect in every detail.

Probably it is mistaken to claim for Brussels that it was "the conference of the future." It was however, a conference that preferred *doing* to articulating. It structured probability and improvisation. It did make the participants the subject matter, although conflict often seemed to take precedence over creativity.

The response of Americans to Brussels ranged from "I was robbed and want my money back," to near ecstasy: ". . . the greatest experience of my life!"

Now we are into arrangements for the Congress in 1973. The Mayor of Jerusalem has officially invited the Congress to meet there. The offer, the possibilities, the situation, are attractive, although the steering committee will not make a decision until next January. But wherever the next congress convenes, it will be built on both the intellectualism of the New York session, and the volatile involvement of Brussels. ■

Dr. Ortmayer, one of the principal organizers of the Brussels Congress on which he reports, is Executive Director of the National Council of Churches' Department of Church and Culture.

IT SAYS HERE

CHURCH GIVING IN 1969 MAINTAINED AN EVEN PACE

By Fletcher Coates

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Cash contributions to Protestant churches in the United States in fiscal 1969 just about kept pace with those of the previous year, according to the results of a significant sampling announced here.

Despite unofficial forecasts of a decline in giving, the National Council of Churches reports in its annual review of church finances that last year members of 48 church bodies gave $3,099,589,000. The figure for a comparable group of churches in fiscal 1968 was $3,000,477,000. The money goes to meet congregational (local parish) and benevolence expenses.

Only in the sense that 1969 dollars bought about four percent less than 1968 dollars, due to inflation, can it be said that there was a decline last year. Less the inflationary four percent, the 1969 total would thus amount to $2,975,605,000 in terms of 1968 purchasing power.

The report, released by the Council's section on Stewardship and Benevolence, shows that confirmed church members donated an average of $99.68 over the year, while the figure for inclusive membership (including those not confirmed) averaged out to $87.00. Most of the money — 78.84 percent — stayed in the local parish to meet congregational expenses. The remaining 21.16 percent was channeled to benevolences, chiefly home and overseas missions.

While the ratio between congregational and benevolence giving remained virtually the same as in 1968, benevolence giving is higher now that it was ten years ago when it amounted to 17.8 percent of total contributions.

As is traditional, tithing churches showed up best on the scale of individual member giving. The 404,000-member Seventh Day Adventist Church topped the list of the 48 bodies, with a per capita donation rate of $350.96 for the year. Among others of the smaller, more theologically conservative church were the Evangelical Free Church of America (averaging $307.00 per member), National Fellowship of Brethren Churches ($264.03), Free Methodist Church of North America ($258.54), Brethren in Christ Church ($251.45).

Among major (non-tithing) Protestant bodies approximating a million or more members, the Presbyterian Church, U.S. (Southern-based) topped the per capita giving list with an average of $140.30 per member. This was followed by the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod ($123.76), Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) ($117.53), United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. ($111.34), American Lutheran Church ($100.63), Lutheran Church in America ($95.22), Unitel Church of Christ ($90.16), Episcopal Church ($88.78), Southern Baptist Convention ($73.33). (Missing from this year's survey was the 11,000,000-member United Methodist Church, which recently changed its fiscal year.)

Among related data in this year's report is a table showing a steady decline in new construction of church buildings since the peak year of 1966 when $1,174,000,000 was spent for the purpose. The 1969 figure is $949,000,000. Again with the inflation factor included, the decline here would be more significant than the bare figures show.

According to figures supplied by the American Association of Fund Raising Counsel, cited in the new National Council of Churches report, what is termed "religion" represents the largest slice by far of the American contributions pie. In a summary review of contributions for all purposes, "religion" last year received $7.93 billion out of a total $17.6 billion in donations — or 45.2 percent of the total. The dollar increase over the previous year was 5.7 percent.

It would appear at the same time that clergymen are not on the receiving end of much of the reported contributions to religion. The NCC report says the average income of about 5,000 ministers in a study of salaries in 20 Protestant denominations was $8,037 in 1968. This figure included housing and utilities allowances as well as cash personal income. By comparison a chemist, who has spent a comparable time getting his education, earned $12,751 during the same year, while the income for lawyers averaged out to $$15,283.

Ministers of the Unitarian-Universalist churches fared best among the 20 groups in the study, with an average 1968 income from $10,412. Next in line were the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. with $9,301; Reformed Church in America, $9,136; Episcopal Church, $9,104; Presbyterian Church, U.S., $8,682. Among others were the United Methodist Church, $7,946, and the Southern Baptist Convention, $6,874.

The report cites a number of different factors affecting clergy income, including education, size of church and congregation, experience, regional variations, as well as denominational salary practices. But it all adds up to the conclusion that while ministers anticipate income sacrifices to carry on their work, many cannot keep pace with rising living costs.

The church financial statistics report is updated and published annually by the National Council of Churches through its section on stewardship and benevolence, Division of Christian Life and Mission. It is available at 15 cents a copy (bulk rates on request), from Room 576, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

MASS FOR "ASSASSINATED" PRISONERS
NEW YORK — David Perez, a member of the Young Lords' executive committee, receives Communion from Roman Catholic Bishop Antulio Parrilla Bonilla, former auxiliary bishop of Caguas, Puerto Rico, during a memorial Mass for two prisoners the militant Young Lords claim were "assassinated" in New York City's Tombs prison. The Mass took place in the First Spanish Methodist church which is occupied by the Young Lords. During the Spanish version of his sermon, Bishop Parrilla said he was celebrating the Mass "for the two young men who were assassinated." New York City's Department of Correction says the two men, Anibal Davila Moore and Raymond Lavon Moore, had hanged themselves.

PLANS ANNOUNCED FOR UNITY PRAYER WEEK

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, celebrated throughout the country by Roman Catholic, Protestant and Eastern Orthodox Christians, will be observed from January 18 through 25, 1971.

Begun more than sixty years ago as an attempt to bring "separated" Christians from the different major-faiths together, the Week of Prayer has now also become an occasion to pray and work for reconciliation between those Christians within each faith group who are separated from each other due to race, age, political views and economic class.

"As contrary points of view develop on even local issues we run the risk of losing affection for each other and of excluding those who disagree with us," reads the preparatory pamphlet published by the week's sponsors.

They are the National Council of Churches' Commission on Faith and Order, in collaboration with the World Council of Churches Commission on Faith and Order and the Graymoor Ecumenical Institute. The celebration is recommended by the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs, a committee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

'DEAR LORD, WE THANK YOU FOR POVERTY, STARVATION . . . AND, OH YES, V.D.'

ST. PAUL (RNS) — A highly unorthodox prayer was heard here at a joint meeting of St. Paul school principals and leaders of the American Indian Movement. The prayer for Thanksgiving time addressed to Americans in general was offered by Clyde Bellecourt, AIM director:

"We beseech you to accept our humble words for all you have done. Dear Lord, we thank you for the poverty, starvation, infant deaths, a 44-year life span, diseases such as smallpox, diptheria, tuberculosis, and, oh yes, V.D.

"We thank you for alcoholism and suicide. We thank you for slum landlords and out-houses. We thank you for unemployment, relief rolls and food stamps. We thank you for your missionaries and their hollow words and used clothing, old basketballs, mismatched shoes and evening gowns. . . .

"We thank you for the pollution which fills our streams and kills our game and our fish. And we thank you for 389 broken treaties. . . . We thank you for extermination, termination and assimilation of a proud and noble race. . . . And we especially want to thank the churches for the spirited well-organized fund-raising drives using Indian people and their conditions as incentives for appeals . . ."

BISHOPS' COMMITTEE MEDIATE AS UFWOC, FIRMS AGREE ON TERMS

SALINAS, Calif. (RNS) — The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) reached agreement with three major growers here after mediation by the U.S. Catholic Bishops' Ad Hoc Committee on Farm Labor.

UFWOC, the union headed by Cesar Chavez, signed a two-year agreement with Freshpict Foods, Inc., a subsidiary of the Purex Corporation, and Pic 'n Pac, the world's largest single strawberry grower and a subsidiary of S.S. Pierce of Boston. All negotiations were mediated by the bishops' committee at the request of both the growers and UFWOC.

PROTESTANT GAINS IN SPAIN MINOR DESPITE LIBERTY LAW

MADRID (RNS) — Contrary to expectations, membership in non-Catholic Churches in Spain has not increased remarkably since passage of the religious liberty law of 1967, according to a Protestant spokesman here.

In a statement to the press, the Rev. Jose Cardona, Baptist minister and secretary of the Evangelical Defense Commission, noted that some observers had thought that the law granting religious liberty to non-Catholic Churches would result in a "spectacular increase" in church-mem-

HUMAN VALUES FOR TECHNOLOGICAL MAN

(Continued from page 3)

port, or works with a group advocating mass transit as an alternative to highways, one can think of many specific steps. There are several things, however, that can be done through groups sponsored by the churches. As he plans for developing a program, there are five points that the reader should keep in mind:

(1) The participants in such a venture should be willing to acquaint themselves with the issues of a technological society.

(2) Any group formed should be ecumenical at the outset. Denominational differences are anachronistic in most areas, but they are totally irrelevant to the complex issues of technology. Any venture should be sponsored jointly by several local churches, because in the real world denominational differences do not matter.

(3) Concerned persons should understand their role in light of the ministry of the laity. It should, however, be viewed as a ministry to institutions as well as to indivuals. In order to deal creatively with structures, we need to move out of the parish house into the world where men and women work and decisions are made.

(4) Those interested in technology should deal with the strengths as well as the weaknesses of individuals and institutions. The ministry of the church has focused exclusively on the weakness and powerlessness of individuals and groups. If we are truly concerned about powerlessness, we should explore and deal with some of the power arrangements that keep groups of people powerless.

(5) In exploring the role of technology in society, Christians should be attuned to the revolutions of alienated youth, the poor and the blacks. These revolutions are related but different. The youth revolution (seen in the campus protests), which includes many from affluent suburbs, can be termed the "post-affluent" revolution. As the beneficiaries of technical progress, young people are rebelling against the gospel of material salvation. They see the emptiness of a life built on material consumption, increased standard of living and technical efficiency. The revolution of the poor and the blacks is the "pre-affluent" revolution. It consists of groups of people who have been the victims not the beneficiaries of technical change. Almost all the poor and the blacks in the movement are demanding economic justice and a realignment of political power relationships—hence the cry for community control. Anyone concerned about the future of technology and society must understand what is happening in these movements. They represent good vantage points from which to study the effects of technology on society. . . .

Biblical symbols of life and death are useful in interpreting technological advances. Massive weapons industries with missiles and thermonuclear warheads, exploitation and destruction of the natural environment and other uses of technology, which widen the gap between the rich and the poor, are concerned primarily with death. For instance, at the heart of nuclear deterrency strategy is the possibility of destroying millions of people in cities throughout the world. The Hindu dictum of worshiping all forms of life can be carried to extremes, but industrialized societies, in particular, need to gain a new reverence for all forms of life, especially human life. Without an appreciation of and love for life in the biological sphere, it is doubtful whether we can enjoy the richness of the life with God. In discussing man's selection of technology, an ancient text is appropriate: "I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse; therefore choose life, that you and your descendants may live. . . ." *(Deuteronomy 30:19)*

It is the responsibility of concerned people to see that technical means do not become ends, and that human values, human worth and human dignity always take precedence over technological efficiency. Machines are extensions of man; it is madness to think of man being dominated by his machines. Yet the subtleties of this age are such that unless man fulfills his new responsibilities, he may be overwhelmed by the complexities of his new technology and even become enslaved by his own inventions. Unless men are determined to maintain democratic control and to exercise their rights, it is conceivable that we will develop a rigidly centralized state in which all the decisions will be made by a few experts. Furthermore, unless man alters his attitudes, learns to live in harmony with nature and stops polluting and exploiting it, he will succeed in causing an ecological catastrophe that may destroy earth's life support systems. Unless he deploys his technology differently, billions of people in the Third World will starve. Also economic justice will be a hoax unless affluent societies learn to consume less, and to share what they have with others.

We must not ask where science and technology are taking us, but rather how we can manage science and technology so that they can help us get where we want to go. One of the fundamental problems is the crisis in values. Can the Christian church with its pretechnological tradition exert positive moral leadership in a secular world molded by technology? The future of Christianity and the world may depend upon an affirmative answer. ■

Dr. Faramelli, formerly an engineer and now an Episcopal priest, is Associate Director of the Boston Industrial Mission. His article was excerpted from various portions of his forthcoming book, Technethics: Christian Mission, An Age of Technology, *to be published in February by Friendship Press, New York City.*

TIME TO REPEAL THE DRAFT?

(Continued from page 8)

One of the more important recommendations of the Gates Commission Report is that the draft be restored only upon recommendation of the President and then by *joint resolution of Congress.* President Nixon insists that power be retained by the Executive. To keep control of manpower, it seems likely Nixon will adopt a policy of reducing draft calls to zero but still maintain the draft law. Thus he, and he alone, will determine when we go to war, for what purposes, and on how large a scale. This war-making power, inherent in the draft, is too great for any one man, no matter how wise. That's why the Constitution gave this power to the congress.

3. The draft is not an effective means to control the military. Liberals such as Sen. Kennedy believe the draft is necessary to control the military. They fear a 'professional army.' Students oppose Vietnam as an obscenity, and the Congressional liberal bloc is largely convinced that once drafted, bright young men will curtail militaristic policy.

The first thing to look at here is the fact that we have a professional army now—policies are set totally by career professionals and DOD officials. The second force working against any possible effectiveness of this idea (besides its absolute lack of humanitarianism) is that military codes of 'justice' and processes of ensuring that justice are so repressive that draftees—basically cannon fodder —are extremely limited in their ability to influence even policy governing their routine orders.

The Constitution provides for the civilian control of the military. Many factors contributing to military isolation and professionalism could and should be altered: the complete circumscription of the lives of military men by military hospitals, PX's, housing *et al.*, for example. Civilians could take over a number of military jobs.

Insisting that the crucial task of breaching the military-civilian gap should be done by draftees, however, liberals are now turning to the 'national service' concept as a way out of their troubles with the draft. They are unwittingly supporting another swelling of the federal bureaucracy, further coercive powers of the government, and thus greater resistance and antipathy to this new form of draft. This fall-back position of liberals still runs counter to the new youth generation. The premise is that, although all the institutions of society have lost their capacity to meet the problems of the new technological era which is emerging, somehow the federal government remains unscathed enough to have the necessary wisdom and capacity to conscript its youth and use them imaginatively. National service proposals assume both that the voluntary army won't work (which is simply not true, since it is conscription which has failed in our history), and that youth don't have the imagination and dedication to find meaningful ways to serve society without the government's telling them what to do and how to do it.

Conclusion

We've had enough of conscription. It doesn't work. It isn't needed. It's unAmerican. Youth, in ever-growing numbers, won't stand for it. President Nixon's own Commission says its time is up. We must begin a big push now to prevent extension of the Selective Service Act on June 30, 1971.■

Harry Applewhite is Director of Peace Action, Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ.

LIFE SUPPORT SYSTEMS FOR PLANET EARTH

(Continued from page 6)

with research and development directed toward pro-human purposes.

All cooperating nations will be invited to participate in continuing series of war prevention games, seminars, workshops and conferences. (Where war games test the proficiency of nations in destroying each other, war prevention games will test the proficiency of nations in protecting each other from war.)

New kinds of multi-national military colleges and war prevention colleges will study future law enforcement structures to enforce world safety, law, and to maintain lasting world peace, instead of to wage world war.

New kinds of multi-national engineering institutes and strategic 'think-factories' will pioneer the technical aspects of planetary armed forces management systems, eventually to bring an end to war.

New kinds of economics schools and business colleges will project new concepts of global organization to manage Earth-orbiting satellites and other global services, in the interest of all nations, rather than in the interest of the superpowers.

New kinds of law schools and bar associations and world law institutes will continue to pioneer new concepts of inter-nation conflict law and undersea resource management law, and other unprecedented imperatives for planet-wide law, and enforcement power.

New kinds of political science colleges and schools of diplomacy will study unprecedented checks and balances and controls for the new world organization, or reconstituted United Nations of the future, in which all nations will find national security . . . and in which all nations will find national independence.

A New American Purpose

After World War I the League of Nations was established to bring an end to war. It was not given authority or power to achieve this objective. Then after World War II the United Nations was established to bring an end to war. It was not given authority or power to achieve this objective. If we wait until after World War III to create the global public authority capable, in fact, of bringing an end to war . . . it will be too late. One thing is certain: no progress will be made through present global strategies of the two superpowers or until a massive research and development and testing commitment is made, and maintained, firmly committed to this goal of a future free from war.

No risk to the national security is involved in the experiments which are herewith proposed. ■

TEMPO GOES TO THE MOVIES with Harvey G. Cox

Buñuel's Heresy Trip: The Milky Way

ARE these two pilgrims making their way from Paris to Santiago de Compostella (Saint James of the Milky Way) in northern Spain? Or are they two put-on artists, two utter scamps, or maybe Castor and Pollux? After a few minutes of this film, Luis Buñuel's most explicitly theological production in a lifetime of strafing religion, we don't really care. It's a trip.

The journey in space soon becomes a journey in time. The vagabonds find themselves in the midst of a Cathari mass (12th century), a debate between a Jansenist and a Jesuit (17th century), and even encounter a funny Jesus with his disciples.

For those who've forgotten, or have never known, the Cathari ("Pure Ones"), sometimes known as the Albigensians, flourished in southern France for nearly two centuries until they were wiped out by a holy, and very bloody, crusade in the late 1200's. They taught a mystical dualism reminiscent of the ancient Manichees, and deeply opposed the whole idea of marriage. But since this celibacy was a little difficult for the average person, they tolerated sex until (usually on the deathbed) a simple "believer" became one of the "perfecti." After that he really abstained, at the pain of having an ineradicable mortal sin on his soul. This license for temporary licentiousness is right down Buñuel's alley: the comic capers of these bizarre religious people!

Buñuel sometimes likes to make us think he's the ultimate dirty old man. But that's really not what's most vital to him. The truth is he is spellbound by religion and always has been. When you're a Spaniard the Church is not just something you belong to — it's something you are. Even when you're an atheist, you can't really shake it.

Sometimes Buñuel lays it on rather heavily — a scene of the Inquisition, another in which a firing squad executes the Pope — but usually he flicks instead of clobbering. After all, he seems to realize, where would we be if it weren't for this fantastic history of saints, creeps, martyrs, fakers and hypocrites? What else could ever provide such a juicy target, such an inexhaustible fund of symbols and stories? Despite himself, Buñuel demonstrates that, for good or ill, the images of Christianity, orthodox and heretical, still provide the stuff out of which we ask each other the most basic questions of all.

Here it's heresy. But what is heresy anyway? The word comes from the Greek word "to choose". It came eventually to mean to choose for oneself, to have one's own opinion rather than simply to make one's own "the faith of the Church." Fine. But what, we may honestly ask today, is the faith of the Church? Dewart's or Danielou's? MacIntyre's or Camara's? Berrigan's or Buckley's? Whatever heresy once meant, today we are all heretics because we have to decide what *we* believe. Yes, there's the Creed, the Bible, the infallible (?) teachings. But what they *mean* to us now is up to us. As Karl Rahner says in his excellent little book on the subject, the development of the contemporary religious consciousness may already have rendered the whole concept of heresy anachronistic.

Buñuel may be making another point, however. History, as Norman Brown and others now remind us, is no longer a sequence of events in the past. It's all present, sometimes jumbled and juxtaposed, right inside our heads. Out of the stuff of human and Christian history, including its saints and heretics, we each build our own collage. The church is not a club for people with identical ideas, it is the kaleidoscopic community where all these collages intermesh, drawing on each other, sustained by the astonishing diversity-in-unity of the whole.

At the end of *The Milky Way* the pilgrim-vagabonds find themselves at last in Santiago, within sight of the basilica. The trip has been arduous, even exhausting. But the travellers never go into the church. Good old Buñuel, he knows full well that in religion as in many things it is the journey that's important, not the arrival. Hail to thee, Luis Buñuel, you crusty old heretic. You can be my fellow-pilgrim any day. ■

The Ousmane Sembene Story

Africa's Apostle Of Film

by Dorothy Rensenbrink

IF Ousmane Sembene, prize-winning African filmmaker and novelist, were an American, one might be tempted to describe him as a combination hard-hat, black militant, new leftist.

The frightening feeling that comes to an American talking to him arises from the knowledge that apparently no such person does or can exist in our country. One senses how fractured we are, when one meets someone who combines these philosophic polarities easily in his person, living in this time.

Ousmane Sembene was born in Dakar, Senegal, where he lives in a house he is still building high on a cliff overlooking the Atlantic Ocean—not "on the edge of the abyss" but "at the beginning of life," he says. He likes Senegal, a so-called "developing" country, where "an ancient culture easily swallows up imported ideas, values and faiths, and where people honor work almost as much as they do life itself."

The future of Senegal, like that of other "developing" nations, is always described in bleakest terms in the economically and technologically "advanced" first and second worlds. Perhaps because those are the only ways these worlds can judge the health of a nation or a people.

It has been said often enough in the past several years that film has replaced theatre as art form. Claiming the honors in the international field are such lights as Sweden's Ingmar Bergman, whose themes are God and man; Italy's Antonioni and Fellini on estrangement alienation; France's Truffault, Resnais, Godard; Spain's Buñuel—and the list goes on of the great western directors.

What of the "third world?" Africa offers Ousmane Sembene, new on the international scene and the best that continent has to offer, according to many film buffs.

His film "Mandabi" (The Money Order) was shown at the New York (1969), Venice, San Francisco and London Film Festivals. Another of his features, "The Black Woman From" won the gold award in 1966 from the First Carthage International Film Festival in Tunisia. He also made "Black Girl" and "Borom Sarret."

Most recently he has been in New York, editing a 20-minute photoplay called "Taw" (African name meaning 'elder brother') for the National Council of Churches' Broadcasting and Film Commission.

"Taw" speaks the Sembene theme—"for man to live honorably with his brother and in peace with his conscience." It is appropriate for the Church, which draws a blank at Bergman's more direct and dismal encounter between institutionalized man and his inner self.

Sembene says "the greatest courage for man is to struggle to live honestly, to earn a living for his family, to be at peace with his soul . . . this is greater courage than any soldier's act of bravery on the battlefield." And, not oddly at all, the Church asks him to say that on film for it.

That sort of film could at this time only come out of a "developing" country background. But with an American recession pinching the corporation man, with engineers by the thousands out-of-career, technocrats becoming unwanted persons, and the grey flannel button-downed man becoming an anachronism in his home country, it also has something to say here. Courage-to-live is needed not only in underdeveloped, but also in overdeveloped places.

Sembene's credentials in the art of survival are impressive. Beginning his career as a fisherman, he went through the workingman ranks by becoming a plumber, bricklayer, apprentice mechanic, docker and trade union leader — the latter in Marseilles.

Along with this, he studied at l'Ecole de Ceramique at Marsassoum, Senegal and wrote novels—still his first love. "But people have no time to read anymore, so I make films of my books."

All of this has given him a habit of work and modest living. When he arrived in New York in September to edit "Taw," he had been checked in at the Americana Hotel, much to his quick distaste. His preference, he explained, was the Theresa Hotel in Harlem, an edifice that didn't manage to survive too many years after Fidel Castro and his chickens made it famous. A compromise was finally reached by choosing a slightly seedy hotel on upper Broadway.

He has an instinctive reaction against white radical youth here, whom he calls "the rebels" and yet much of what he says about the quality of life echoes them. "The rebels who do nothing here have more money and live better than the grown man who works full time and more in Africa. They are well-fed, they do not know of the fantastic struggle to live.

"In order to succeed in revolution, one must be generous, unselfish," he says. "One must be ready to give up one's self for others. The young rebels here want to make a revolution and survive it. They must be willing not to survive."

He has a good word for the Black Panthers, whom he calls organized, controlled, single-minded, and sacrificial. "They have nothing to lose but lives, and they are willing to lose that."

He thinks America is the last country in the world that could become Communist. "But it is the first country that could become an anarchy." There are so many contradictory philosophies, people holding them unable to bend—nothing to glue them together, he says.

He does credit the "rebels" with some success—putting the spotlight on the major "cancer" in the U.S., the Vietnam war. That and the fact that America has blinded itself against entering into dialogue with the biggest nation in the world—China—and the "fantastic shutting off of Cuba, driving it into the arms of Russia through economic genocide."

All of this has also been said by the Church. But ecclesiastical pronouncements seem to do little to move men's minds and hearts. Art does that. Ousmane Sembene may be a forerunner of the long overdue coming together of religion and art. ■